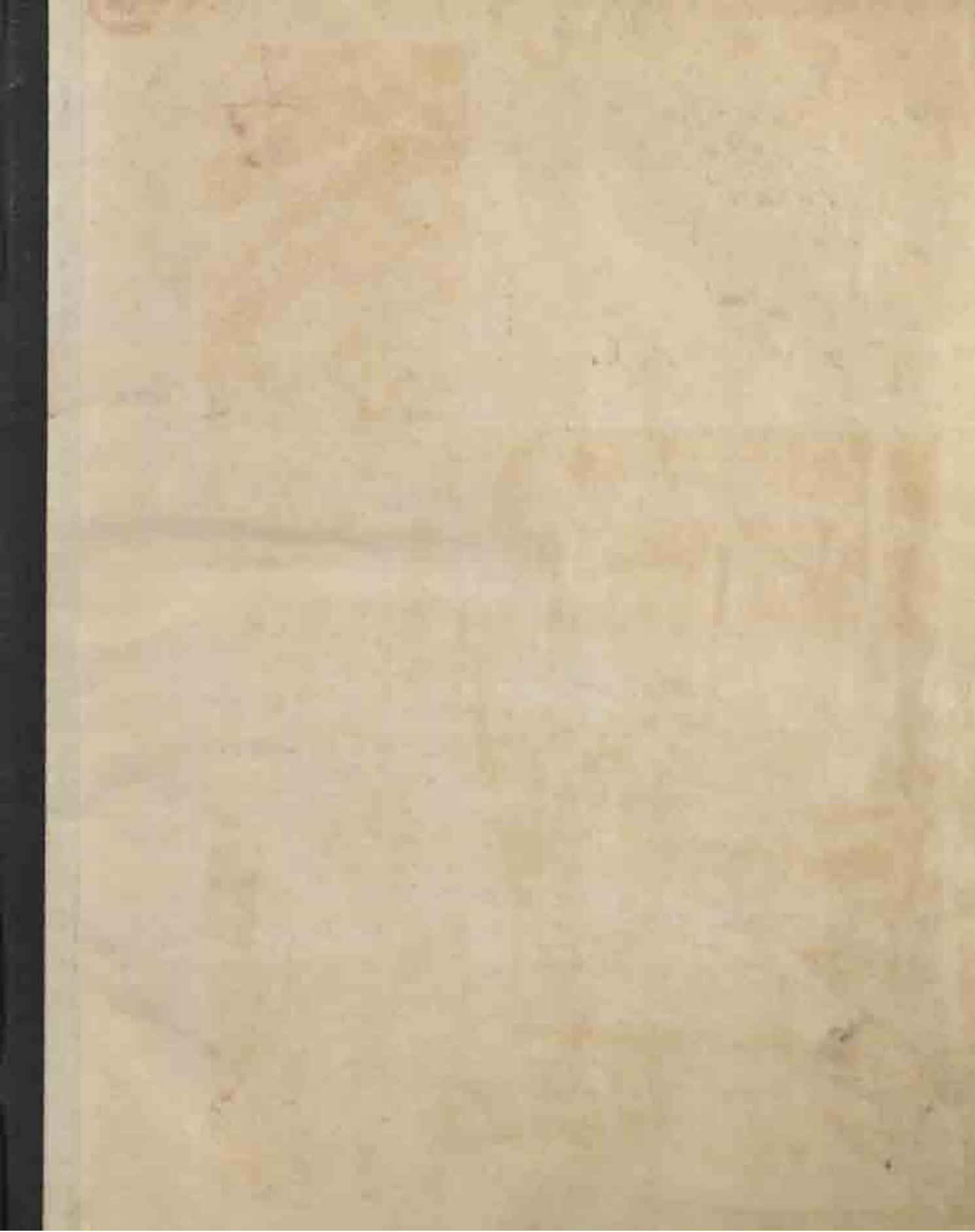


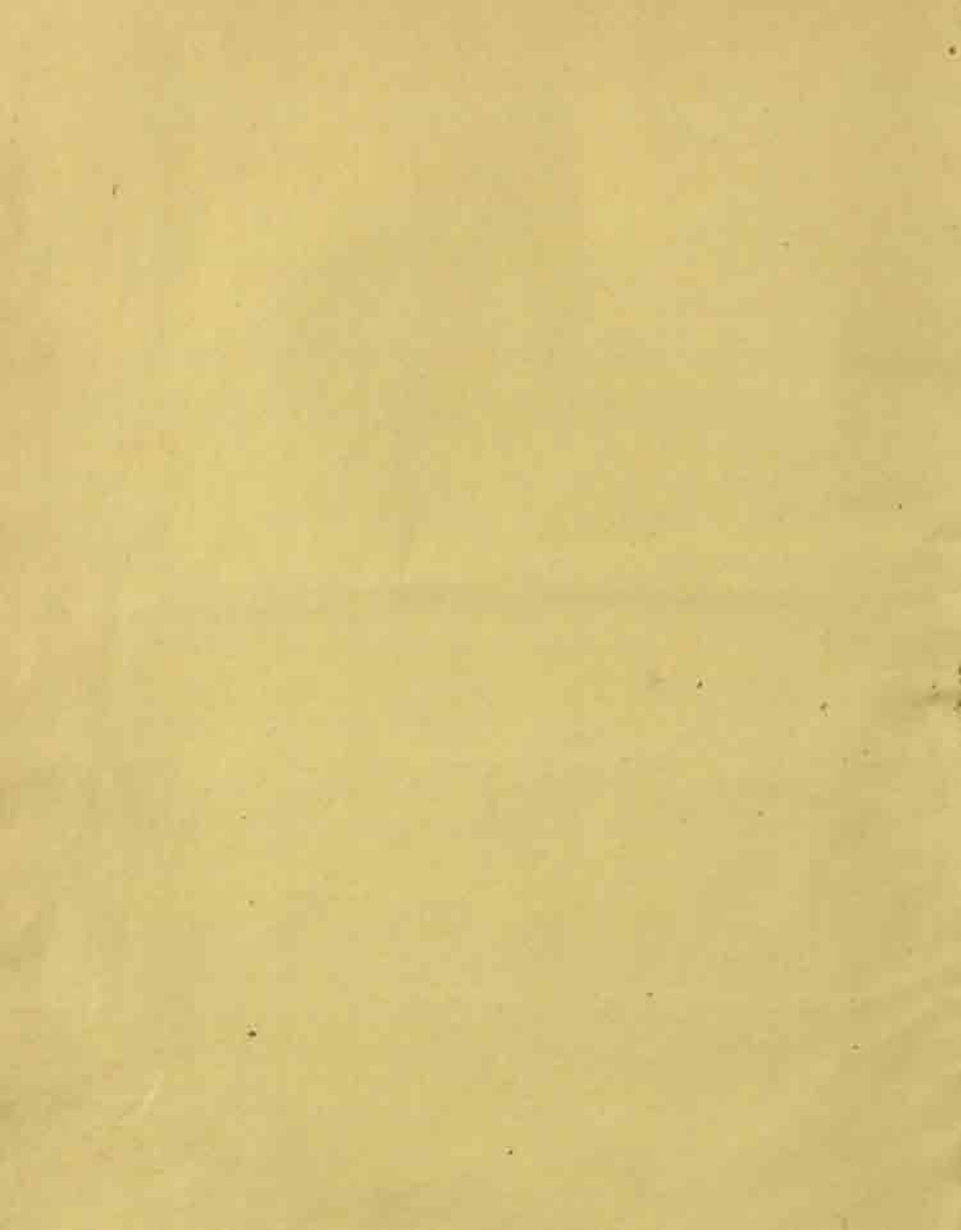
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AND

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EDITED BY

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GOVERNMENT EPICRAPHIST FOR INDIA.



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CONTENTS.

The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

	PAGE
AMMAVA, G. V. :—	
No. 23. A Grant of Gurjara King Jayashata III : (Kalachuri) year 480	147
ALLEN, A. S., M.A., D.Litt. :—	
No. 7. Three Madakas Inscriptions on Yupas : Krita year 295	43
" 20. Two Inscriptions from Shergaith	121
" 48. A Note on the Date of the Manu Plates of Ramba Banavaloka	207
BASAK, R. G., M.A., Ph.D. :—	
No. 19. The Puri Plates of Madhavavarman-Sainyabhatta	172
BHATTACHARYA, P. N. :—	
No. 13. Badakhshani Copper-plates of Indravarmān	78
" 47. Nalanda Plate of Itharnapaladeva	200
CHAKRAVARTI, S. N., M.A. :—	
No. 42. Four Ganga Copper-plate Grants	261
CHANDRA, B. CH., M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. :—	
No. 12. Indian Mesopotamian Plates of Ganga Devendravarman : the year 308	73
" 21. Upalaha Plates of Banaka Banadava	141
" 31. A Note on the Tiriyay Rock Inscription	190
" 40. Sonapur Plates of Maha-Bharagupta (II)-Janamejaya : the year 17	249
" 45. Umanandi Lamp Inscription in Kharoshthi	269
DAVIS, S. R., KRISHNA SASTRI :—	
No. 38. A Note on the Rajapura Copper-plates of Madhuranatakadeva : Samvat 957	244
DIER, HARTI KRISHNA :—	
No. 34. Sona-East-Bank Copper-plate of Indralava and Udayaraja	222
DIRKHT, K. N., M.A., RAO BHARAT :—	
No. 16. A Note on the Blue State Museum Copper Plate of Kumbha II	99
" 17. Three Copper-plate Inscriptions from Gauri	101
KANOU, SHUN, Ph.D. :—	
No. 6. Hida Inscription of the year 74	35
" 39. Allahabad Museum Inscriptions of the year 57	245
KRISHNAMACHARI, C. R., B.A. :—	
No. 27. A Note on the Betah Copper-plate of Bhajadava	240
KRISHNARAO BHAVARVI V., B.A., B.L. :—	
No. 15. Tandikonda Grant of Ammaraja II	161
LAW, BIMALA CHURN, Ph.D., M.A., B.L. :—	
No. 26. A Pall Counterpart of the Nalanda Text of Pratityasamutpadavibhanga	241
MATHURAN, N. G., M.A. :—	
No. 8. Nandapur Copper-plate of the Gupta year 169	62
" 24. Mallasarai Copper-plate of Vijayaditya	153
" 32. Four Copper-plates from Sora	167

	PAGE
MAJUMDAR, R. C., M.A., Ph.D. :—	
No. 9. Sringeravarupakota Plates of Anantavarman, King of Kalings	60
" 10. Narasimhapalli Plates of Hastivarman; the year 79	60
" 11. Ganjam Copper-plates of Vajrabasta III; Saka-Samvat 901	67
MIRASHI, V. V., M.A. :—	
No. 1. Pundarikonda Plates of Pratapamalla; the [Kalachuri] year 960	1
" 2. Anjanavati Plates of Govinda III; Saka year 122	6
" 14. Pattan Plates of Pravarasena II	81
" 15. Mallar Plates of Maha-Sivagupta (see also Pandya, L. F., Pandit)	112
" 20. A Note on the Dates of Uchchikakula Kings	171
" 33. Two Copper-plate Inscriptions from Betar	204
" 41. Karnatai Stone Inscription of Lakshminarayana; [Kalachuri] Samvat 333	255
" 49. A Further Note on the Date of the Mammi Plates of Simbha	295
NIGAM, Y. M., M.A. :—	
✓ No. 29. Fragmentary Stone Inscription of Queen Uddaladevi; V. S. 1294	186
PANCHABURHI, R. S., M.A. :—	
No. 15. Tandirada Grant of Prithvi-Maharaja; 46th year	88
✓ " 28. Sangur Inscription of Devaraya-Maharaja; Saka 1129	132
" 30. Sangur Inscription of Yadava Mahadevaraya; Saka 1180	189
PANDYA, L. F., Pandit :—	
No. 3. Azing Plates of Maha-Sivernarya	16
" 18. Mallar Plates of Maha-Sivagupta (see also Mirashi, V. V., M.A.)	112
RAMANATHA AYYAR, S. S., B.A. :—	
No. 45. Four Pandya Records from Uthirankottai	283
SANKALIA, H. D., M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. :—	
No. 43. Six Silahara Inscriptions in the Prince of Wales Museum (see also Upadhyaya, S. C., M.A., LL.B.)	269
" 44. A Stone Inscription of Yadava Rameshchandra; Saka 1222 (see also Upadhyaya, S. C., M.A., LL.B.)	281
SUBRAMANIAM AYYAR, K. V., B.A. :—	
No. 4. A Note on the Panchavara Committee	22
UPADHYAYA, S. C., M.A., LL.B. :—	
No. 43. Six Silahara Inscriptions in Prince of Wales Museum (see also Sankalia, H. D., M.A., LL.B.)	269
✓ " 44. A Stone Inscription of Yadava Rameshchandra; Saka 1222 (see also Sankalia, H. D., M.A., LL.B.)	281
UPADHYE, A. N., M.A. :—	
No. 5. Kolhapur Copper-plates of Gandaradityadeva; Saka 1045	28
VENKATACHARI AYYAR, V., B.A. :—	
No. 22. The Molpatti Inscription of Vijaya-Kamperikramavarman	143
" 27. The Vallur Inscription of Kopperunjingadeva	174
VYAS, ARUNAYA KRISHN, N.A., Sanskrit Pr. :—	
No. 35. Seungi-Rishi Inscription of Prince Mahala	270
INDEX, — by B. Ch. Chakrav. M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D.	290
Title-page, Contents, List of Plates and Additions and Corrections	i—vii

LIST OF PLATES.

No. 1. Pondicherry Plates of Parthasarathi : the Kalachuri Year 965	between pages	4 & 5
" 2. Anjanavati Plates of Govinda III : Saka Year 722	to face page	16
" 3. Arang Plates of Mahendravarma	between pages	20 & 21
" 4. Kuthapur Copper-plates of Gaudarasidya : Saka 1048	" "	30 & 31
" 5. Hilda Inscription of the Year 28	to face page	42
" 6. Three Mithathi Inscriptions on Yupa : Krita Year 201	between pages	52 & 53
" 7. Nandapur Copper plate of the Gupta Year 569	to face page	54
" 8. Srangavarapada Plates of Anantavarman, King of Kalinga	between pages	60 & 61
" 9. Narasingapalli Plates of Hastivarman : the Year 70	" "	66 & 67
" 10. Ganjam Copper-plates of Vajrahata III : Saka-Samvat 991	to face page	72
" 11. Indian Museum Plates of Ganga Devendravarma : the Year 308	between pages	76 & 77
" 12. Badakhshani Copper-plates of Indravarma	" "	80 & 81
" 13. Pattan Plates of Pravarasena II : i to iv, &	" "	84 & 87
" 14. Pattan Plates of Pravarasena II : iv, & to v	to face page	88
" 15. Tandikonda Grant of Prithvi Maharaja : 10th Year	between pages	96 & 97
" 16. Three Copper-plate Inscriptions from Ganai— A.—Fragmentary Grant of the Rudrasena Bhavannavarsha (Govinda IV) : Saka 851	to face page	105
" 17. B.—Plates of Vakpati-Munja : V. S. 1038	between pages	106 & 107
" 18. B.—Plates of Vakpati-Munja : V. S. 1038 (II)	to face page	111
" 19. C.—Plates of Vakpati-Munja : V. S. 1042	between pages	112 & 113
" 20. Maller Plates of Mahasivagupta	" "	120 & 121
" 21. Puri Plates of Mahendravarma Samyabhatta	" "	128 & 129
" 22. Upahala Plates of Ramha Ramadatta	to face page	132
" 23. Malpatti Inscription of Vijaya Kampavikramavarman	" "	147
" 24. A Grant of the Gurjara King Jayashata III : [Kshichuri] Year 498	between pages	153 & 154
" 25. Malharai Copper-plate of Vijayaseva	" "	160 & 161
" 26. Tandikonda Grant of Anantaja II	" "	168 & 169
" 27. The Vallur Inscription of Kopperunjigudera	to face page	180
" 28. Four Copper-plates from Sero— A.—Plate of Maharaja Sambhoyasa : the Year 209 B.—Plate of Somadatta : the Year 15	to face page	200
" 29. C.—Another plate of Somadatta : the Year 15 D.—Plate of Maharaja Bhavadatta : the Year 5	" "	201
" 30. Two Copper-plate Inscriptions from Bera— A.—Shivali Grant of Govinda III : Saka Year 722	" "	202
" 31. B.—Lohara Grant of Govinda III : Saka Year 734	between pages	210 & 211
" 32. Som-East-Bank Copper-plate of Indradatta and Udayaraja	to face page	222
" 33. Srungi-Rishi Inscription of Prince Mahala	" "	228
" 34. Allahabad Museum Inscriptions of the Year 87	" "	233
" 35. Sompur Plates of Maha-Bhargava (H) Jananajaya : the Year 17	" "	242
" 36. Kartolai Stone Inscription of Lakshminaraja : [Kalachuri] Samvat 503	" "	249
" 37. Four Ganga Copper-plate Grants— A.—Plates of Maharaja Jayavarmanadatta	between pages	253 & 254
" 38. B.—Plates of Bhuvanavarman	" "	254 & 255
" 39. C.—Plates of Bhupendrarmanadatta	to face page	267
" 40. D.—Plates of Ranaka Jayavarmanadatta	between pages	268 & 269
" 41. Four Pandya Records from Ukkirankottai	" "	285 & 287
" 42. Utmanai Lamp Inscription in Kharoshthi	to face page	293

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 2, last l.—For *Karaga* read *Śrīkaraga*.
- 4, text l. 13.—For *भृगु* read *भृगु*.
- 7, (V. 15).—For *Brahmana* read *Brāhmaṇa*.
- 9, l. 25.—For *niyukta* read *niyuktak*.
- 10, l. 25.—Omit 1 in the beginning of the line.
- 12, f. n. 2.—For n. 4 read p. 11, n. 7.
- 12, f. n. 6.—For *भृगुभृगु* read *भृगु*.
- 12, f. n. 10.—For *Abhidhāna-Chintāmaṇi* read *Abhidhānashintāmaṇi*.
- 12, f. n. 11.—For *भृगु* read *भृगु*.
- 15, text l. 17.—For *भृगु* read *भृगु*.
- 16, f. n. 1.—For *Vaigyan* read *Waigyan*.
- 26, l. 14.—For *śukla* read *śukla*.
- 27, l. 37.—For *-Bhim* read *-Bhima*.
- 27, last l.—For **vārin* read **vārin*.
- 37, l. 9.—For *Khema* read *Kshema*.
- 38, l. 30.—Insert in before 'Vinaya Pīṭaka'.
- 41, para. 5, last l.—For *pacchaya* read *pamchaya*.
- 46, l. 27.—For *Hōtri* read *Hōtri*.
- 53, l. 26.—For 8 read 7. (N. G. M.)
- 52, last l.—For bounded on the south by . . . and on read situated to the south of . . . and to. (N. G. M.)
- 55, text l. 15.—For *kā-lam* read *kālam*.
- 55, text l. 19.—For 8 read 7. (N. G. M.)
- 56, l. 3.—For (. . . bounded) on the south by . . . and on read (. . . situated) to the south of . . . and to. (N. G. M.)
- 58, l. 13.—For 8th read 7th. (N. G. M.)
- 64, f. n. 1.—For XVIII read XVII.
- 66, text l. 13.—For *Rapabhitoday* read *Rapabhitoday*.
- 67, l. n. 1, l. 2.—For *Saka* read *Śaka*.
- 71, last f. n.—For 36 read 26.
- 75, top l.—For 398 read 308.
- 77, f. n. 14.—For *danda* read *danḍa*.
- 78, text l. 37.—For *khaddimala* read *Khaddimala*.
- 82, f. n. 6.—For *Podāgadh* read *Podāgadh*.
- 84, last f. n.—Insert the figure 8 before *See*.
- 86, f. n. 9.—For **kritya* read **kritya*.
- 87, text l. 44.—For *भृगु* read *भृगु*.
- 89, f. n. 7.—For *Bṛihatprōshā* inscription of Umāvarman read *Bṛihatprōshā* grant of Umāvarman.
- 90, f. n. 6.—For *Sōmavāsi* read *Sōmavāsi*.
- 107, f. n. 2.—For *vyāghat* read *vyāghat*; and for *kartavya* read *kartavyam*.
- 110, f. n. 3.—For *Pāṇhāma* read *Pāṇhāma*.

- Page 141, text l. 14.—For कुम्भक read कुम्भक.
 " 144, l. 11.—For Miyāru- read Miyāru-.
 " 147, l. 6.—For Miyāru read Miyāru.
 " 156, f. n. 6.—For *Indian Historical Quarterly* read *Above*.
 " 165, l. 28.—For Lakulisa- read Lakulisa-.
 " 166, l. 26.—For Kapjōruvāṭi- read Kapjōruvāṭi-.
 " 168, text l. 39.—For 'रिज्ञेन' read 'रिज्ञेन'.
 " 174, f. n. 8.—For Rajasirha read Rājasirha.
 " 175, l. 4.—For *vetas* read *metes*.
 " 190, l. 3.—For Chāvundarasa read Chaudarasa.
 " 190, l. 9.—For Changār read Changāra.
 " 192, last para. l. 4.—For Arjunvād read Arjunavāḍa.
 " 194, l. 2.—For Bāsura read Bāsura and for Chanjūra read Changūra.
 " 194, l. 7.—For Bāsura read Bāsura.
 " 194, l. 9.—For Changura read Changūra.
 " 195, last l.—For Bāsura read Bāsura.
 " 204, para. 3, l. 13.—For -āśā-vadhayāḥ read āśā-vadhayāḥ.
 " 206, f. n. 4.—For Tungabhadra read Tuṅgabhadra.
 " 214, l. n. 2.—For Appasāvi read Aṇṇasāvi and for Saṇṇasāvi read Saṇṇasāvi.
 " 216, l. 4.—For Śrīvardhana read Śrībhavana.
 " 220, l. n. 3.—For श्रीविष्णु read श्रीविष्णु.
 " 221, f. n. 9.—For 'मदविष्णु' read 'मदविष्णु'.
 " 223, para. 5, l. 5.—For *nipa* read *nripa*.
 " 224, l. 2.—For Śrīdhara read Śrīdhara.
 " 225, l. n. 4.—Insert 223 after *ya* and 1 after *n*.
 " 226, l. 6.—For Mahāmānda- read Mahāmāṇḍa-.
 " 226, l. 11.—For Jayvijaya read Jayavijaya.
 " 227, l. 23.—For Chalukya read Chālukya.
 " 227, l. 32.—For Sikkhargi read Sikkhargi.
 " 239, text l. 23.—For 'महादेव' read 'महादेव'.
 " 242, l. 4 from below.—For p. 15 read p. 16 and delete the first inserted comma.
 " 242, f. n. 2.—For *Ibid.* read *C. I. I. Vol. III.*
 " 248, No. 40, para. 1, l. 4.—For Khambhavarat read Khambhavarī.
 " 250, f. n. 14, l. 2.—For *lakala*- read *makala*-.
 " 252, text l. 32.—For (सेन) read (सेन).
 " 262, f. n. 8.—For Jēḍa(gatā)śringa read Jēḍa(Jatā)śringa.
 " 269, l. n. 1, l. 2.—For Rā aka read Rāṇaka.
 " 276, text l. 9.—For 'ममि(र)' read 'ममि(र)'.
 " 280, l. 7.—For Chardidje read Chardidje.
 " 280, l. 13.—For Chanja read Chanjo.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXIII.

No. 1.—PENDRABANDH PLATES OF PRATAPAMALLA: THE [KALACHURI] YEAR 965.

By PROF. V. V. MIKASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

These plates were first brought to my notice in February 1934 by Pandit Lochana Prasada Pandeya, Honorary Secretary, Mahāsamā Historical Society, who desired me to edit them. I requested the Curator of the Nagpur Museum to procure the plates for my examination, which he kindly did through the good offices of the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur. The plates are in the possession of Thākūr Gokul Singh, Milgūār of Pēndrābandh, a village (N. Lat. 21-39, E. Long. 83) in the Balōdā Bāzār taluk of the Raipur District, C. P., and it is said that they have been in his family for some generations.

They are two massive copper-plates measuring from 11½" to 12" in length and from 7½" to 8" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The first plate weighs 155 *tolas* and the second 133 *tolas*. At the centre of the top of each plate there is a hole, ½" in diameter for a ring to connect it with the other plate. This ring, which is also of copper, is circular in shape and about 4" in diameter, with a round seal 2·6" in diameter. About one-third portion of the ring was broken off when the plates reached me. The plates were not, therefore, connected by the ring, but there is no reason to doubt that the latter actually belongs to the plates. The weight of the broken ring with the seal is 16 *tolas*. The edges of the plates have been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. Still the inscription is very well preserved and there is no uncertainty about its reading. The plates are inscribed on the inner side only. There are 33 lines in all, 17 being inscribed on the first plate and the remaining 16 on the second. The average size of letters is .3" except in the last two lines where it is reduced to .2". On the seal is inscribed in the centre a crudely executed figure of Lakshmi, seated cross-legged on a lotus seat, flanked on either side by an elephant with a jar in his uplifted trunk to pour water on the head of the goddess. In the lower part of the seal there is the legend *Rāja-śrīmat-Pratāpamallādēva* in a horizontal line and below it appears a sheathed sword lying parallel to it. The characters are Nāgarī. The letters are deeply cut but not well formed. Besides the usual form of *k*, there appears another in the conjunct *kā* and occasionally in *kṛ*; see *dh(e)kramāṇa*, l. 9 and *amākrīṭa*, l. 10. In writing conjunct letters the engraver has not distinguished between *pa* and *pa* and *la* and *pa*; in some cases he has also incised *pa* for *sa*; see *baṇṇa*, l. 6, *āḥarṇa*, l. 12 and *Sauṇṇa*, l. 21, and *siṃpita* for *siṃmīṭa*, l. 9. A final consonant is shown by a slanting stroke at the foot of the vertical only in one case, viz., *ṣaṭ*, l. 32; but contrast *andhāna* for *bandhāna*, l. 6, *atrāna* for *atvāna*, l. 9, etc. The signs for the superscript *r* and *anuvāra* are, in some cases, added before the sign for medial *i*: cf. *radīṭ*, l. 19 and *maḥāṭīṭ*, l. 19. The sign for *anuvāra* in l. 2 differs from that in l. 26. A superfluous syllable is scored off by two short vertical strokes at the top, see *ari* in l. 32. The *visarga* which was wrongly omitted after *dhāṇṇa* in l. 14 is written immediately below the line. In two other cases the omission is indicated by a *śāṅgāda*, whose position and

form indicate whether the addenda are given at the top or at the bottom of the plate. A figure following the addendum indicates the line where the omitted syllable or word is to be supplied. Thus *svayataḥ* and *ga* which were omitted in ll. 11 and 14 are supplied with the figures 11 and 14 respectively at the bottom on the first plate. Similarly *sa*, which was omitted in the second line on the second plate, is incised with the figure 2 at the top of the plate.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the customary salutation to Brahman in the first line and mention of the date and the place of issue in the last, the whole record is in verse. The verses of which there are twenty-nine, are all numbered except the last one. As regards orthography we may note that *v* is generally written for *b* and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (cf. *Pratāpamalla* and *Sivah* in l. 1) and vice versa, e.g., in *śāid-śāima* for *śāid-śāima*, l. 16; *y* is used for *j* in *Vāyapēya*, l. 31. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated only in a few cases; cf. *Kārttavarīyaḥ*, ll. 2-3, *mārggaṇḍ*, l. 4, etc.

The object of the plates is to record a grant made by **Pratāpamalla**, a Kalachuri king of Ratanpur. After the usual salutation to Brahman in the first verse, comes the description of the genealogy of the donor. In the family of Manu, the primeval king, who was descended from the Sun, was born **Kārttavarīya**. From him were descended the **Haihayas**. Their descendants became well known as Kalachuris in the Chōḍī country. In their family was born **Kōkalla** who had eighteen very brave sons. The eldest of them became the lord of Tripuri. He made his brothers lords of *maṇḍalas*. In the family of their younger brother was born **Kālīgarāja**. The engraver has, inadvertently, omitted here one complete verse which occurs in cognate records¹ and mentions **Kamalarāja**, the son of **Kālīgarāja**. The present record, as it stands, makes **Ratnarāja** (I.) the son and successor of **Kālīgarāja**. From **Ratnarāja** (I.) was born **Prithvidēva** (I.), the father of **Jājalladēva** (I.). The latter's son was **Ratnadēva** (II.), of matchless valour who routed **Chōḍagaṇḍa** and **Gōharappa** in battle. From **Ratnadēva** (II.) was born **Prithvidēva** (II.); his son was **Jagaddēva**, the father of **Ratnarāja** (III.). From the latter was born **Pratāpamalla** the donor of the present plates. From the description in the plates that, though a boy, he was a second **Bali** in strength, it seems that **Pratāpamalla** came to the throne while quite young. The only important point in the otherwise conventional description of these princes is the mention of **Gōharappa** as an associate of **Chōḍagaṇḍa** in the fight with **Ratnadēva** II. I have elsewhere² discussed in detail the bearing of this on the date of the light. Again, it is noteworthy that the present inscription has corroborated what Dr. N. P. Chakravarti had already shown from the damaged **Kharoḍī** inscription³, viz., that **Jājalladēva** II had a brother named **Jagaddēva**,⁴ the father of **Ratnadēva** III. Our inscription has omitted **Jājalladēva** II's name probably because he was a collateral.

The next four verses (15-18) give the genealogy and description of the donee and state the occasion of the grant. There was a Brahmana named **Savarṇapakṣa** of the **Pāṇḍara-gotra** and three precursors, viz. **Varāḥa**, **Sakti**, and **Pāṇḍara**. He had a son named **Dīvākara**, who was proficient in the **Vēdas**. From him was born **Sādhāra**⁵ who was honoured by the Kalachuris. To him **Pratāpamalla** gave a village named **Kāyathā** situated in the **Anargha-maṇḍala** on the day of the **Makara-mākrāntī**. Then follow nine benedictory and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The last verse states that **Pratāpamalla**, who was born in a **Gauḍa** family and was the light (i.e., the chief) of the **Karṇa** or Record Office, wrote on the plates with clear letters. The last line states

¹ See e.g. the **Amodī** plates of **Prithvidēva** I. above, Vol. XIX, p. 70, the **Amodī** plates of **Jājalladēva** II, *ibid.*, pp. 211-212, etc.

² Cf. the **Kharoḍī** plates of **Ratnadēva** II, above, Vol. XXII, pp. 1811.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 169 and 182.

⁴ This king may be identical with king **Jagaddēva** glorified in v. 1261 of the *Śrīraṅga-paddhati* (Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1888, p. 207).

⁵ See below, p. 5, footnote 1.

that the plates were issued from the victorious camp at Palasudā on Tuesday the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha in Śaṁvat 965. The *tithi* and the year are expressed in decimal figures only.

As in the case of most other records of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur, this date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri-Chōdi era. Till now Ratnadēva III, whose Kharoḍ inscription is dated Chōdi Śaṁvat 933, was the last known prince of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris. The present plates give us one more name, viz., that of Pratāpamalla, in this line. As a matter of fact the name of this prince was already known from some copper coins, round or hexagonal in shape, found in the vicinity of Bālpur on the Mahānadi. Mr. Pandeya's conjecture that Pratāpamalla was a Kalachuri king¹ has been corroborated by the discovery of the present plates. It may be noted in this connection that like the seal of the present plates, these coins also bear the figure of a sword on the reverse² and can, therefore, be undoubtedly assigned to the donor of the present plates.

The date of our record appears to be irregular; for according to R. B. S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha in the Chōdi year 965 (taking it to be an expired year as in the case of most other dates in the Chōdi era) fell on Thursday, 23rd January, A.D. 1214 and not on Tuesday as stated in our plates.³ If we take the year to be current, the *tithi* falls on Saturday, 2nd February, A.D. 1213. The discrepancy can, however, be explained as follows:—Though the grant was made on the day of the Makara-saṁkrānti, the plates were actually issued a few days later as in the case of the Kāvi grant⁴ of Jayabhata III. Now the Makara-saṁkrānti in the expired Chōdi year 965 fell on Wednesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa (25th December, A.D. 1213). The plates were, however, actually issued after about a fortnight on the tenth *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha, which (taking the month to be *pūrṇimānta* as in the case of other Chōdi dates) fell on a Tuesday. The engraver may have, by mistake, incised *sudi* for *sudi*. The corresponding English date is, therefore, Tuesday, 7th January, A.D. 1214.

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present plates, Anarghavallī, as stated elsewhere⁵, roughly corresponds to the modern Jānjgir *tahsil* of the Bilāspur District. The village named Kāyathā is still extant in the form Kaitā about 14 miles almost due west of Pēdrābandh and about 4 miles beyond the southern limit of the Jānjgir *tahsil*. About Palasudā I may mention that there are several villages named Parsadi or Parsadi in the Balodā Bazar *tahsil*, but the village, where Pratāpamalla's camp was pitched, may be Parsodi about a mile to the north of Kaitā.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

[Metres: Vv. 1, 7, 9, 11, 15-16 and 19-20 *Anuṣṭup*; vv. 2, 5 and 14, *Uppajit*; vv. 3 and 12 *Bṛāhmarī*; v. 13 *Sārdūlavikrīṭit*; vv. 8 and 18 *Mālinī*; v. 10 *Sādhariṇī*; vv. 4, 6 and 17 *Vaṁśatīlakt*; v. 29 *Indravajrā*.]

First Plate.

१ चो ब्र(ब)ह्मणे नमः । निर्मु(यु)वं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(मि)वं परमकारणं(नम) ।

भावपात्रं परं ज्योतिष्मयं रुद्र(ब)ह्मणे नमः ॥१॥

¹ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. III, p. 175.

² I owe this information to Mr. L. P. Pandeya who has kindly sent me some coins of this type.

³ [The date may be Wednesday, 22nd January, as on this day the tenth *tithi* commenced 1 hour 45 minutes after moon sunrise.—Ed.]

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 229-31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 163.

⁶ Expressed by the letter *ṣ* with a dot on it.

- 2 यदेतदधेसरमंभ(म)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य पुत्रो
मसुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेभूद्वि कात्-
3 वीर्यः ॥२॥ तस्माच्छ्रुतिर्कोर्तः सकलगुणधरा दैव्या नेकसः को जाताः
प्रत्यर्धपुष्पोपतिरिह-
4 रयो मारुतौ कल्पवृक्षाः । तदंभा(शा)येदिदिसे(मि) कलशुरिति च स्याति-
भीयुष्णरिन्द्रा जातः कोकजदेवो नृ-
5 पतिररिकुलज्जामुजा धूमकेतुः ॥३॥ षष्टादसा(शा)रिक्किरिक्भविमम्भसिंहाः पुत्रा
व(व)भूववतिसौ(शौ)यंप-
6 राव तस्य । तत्रापजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीस(म) आगो(सी)त्पार्त्वि(त्र्यं) च मंडल-
पतीस चकार वं(वं)धुन(नृ) ॥४॥ तेषामनूकसु
7 कलिंमराजः प्रतापवन्दि(ङ्गि)चपितारिराजः । जातोन्वये [दु]ष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियानना-
श्वोरुहपाश्वणे-
8 न्दुः ॥५॥ तेनाव चंद्रवदनोजनि रत्नराजो विश्वो(श्वी)पकारकुरुवाजितपुष्पभारः ।
येन स्ववा(वा)वुवु-
9 गनिर्मि(मि)तदि(वि)क्रमेण नीतं यक्ष(म)सि(सि)भुवने विनिहत्य स(श)धुन(नृ) ॥६॥
पृष्णोदेवोभवत्तस्मात्पुः सा(शा)दूल-
10 विक्रमः । नखदर्पणसंक्रान्तनमद्रूपालमंडलः ॥७॥ अथ रुचिररुचिसौ(श्वी)रात्रयः
सत्कलाना-
11 मनुपहितकलकोनर्वमुत्तिः सुष्ठत्तः [१*] सकल[गु]णसमृद्धः सी(श्वी)मतस्तस्य
सुसुर्विधुरिव सुष्ठतानारधा(त्वा)म जाज्जदेव-
12 : ॥८॥ रत्नदेवीभवत्तस्मादभूतोपमविक्रमः । यद्योडमंगीकर्णौ युधि चक्रे परासुखौ
॥९॥ ततोमृदासौम-
13 क्षितिपलयधिक्रान्तमहिमा क्षिमातीवत्वानौज्यगदपि यशोभिर्ध्वं(ध्वं)वल्लवन(नृ) ।
रणे कक्षा(ह)धेमिदिपदलनदीवाहरिसमः

* Read वैद्यः.

* The intended change of मृ to वृ here is ungrammatical. See Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 1. Read वैद्यः.

* Read विह.

* The vowel of मृ is lengthened for the sake of metre. Many other records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur read मृष्य which seems to be proper, since such a word is required to be connected with मृष्ये . See Sarkh's plates (above, Vol. XXII, p. 186, footnote 1).

* Other cognate plates read विह.

* This word which was omitted here is supplied with the figure 11 at the bottom of the plate.

* The engraver had first inscribed the conjunct मृ but afterwards cancelled it and inscribed only the letter मृ at the top of मृ .

* The vertical stroke of मृ is not engraved.

SEAL



ACTUAL SIZE.

From a photograph.

- 14 सुतः पृथ्वीदेवो दनुजदलनस्तस्य सृपतेः¹ ॥१०॥ प्रचंडाच्छंडभूपालयुक्त्वकंश्रुतिस्वदनः²
[1⁹] जगद्देवोभवत्तस्यासृपः स्व(श)र्दल-
15 विक्रमः ॥११॥ तत्पुत्रश्चिवकीर्तिः सकलकलत्रुरिच्छामुक्तां भूषणवीः श्रीमानुत्कृष्ट-
मञ्जीनि-
16 करनिभयसो(शो)रामि(शि)भिर्चातविस्वः(स्वः) । आशी(सी)दाशी(सी)मभुमीरत्नयपरिवृ-
टप्रौढदोःकांडकीला-
17 निर्हृतासे(शे)यवैरिचितिपतिनिवहो भूपती³ रत्नराजः ॥१२॥ पुत्रश्चास्य यसो(शो)-
स्वि(स्वि)लो-

Second Plate.

- 18 ललङ्घरोनिर्हृतदिरमंडलो मूर्त्त्या निर्जितमश्वः समभवत्तथी(च्छी)मयतापी सृपः ।
भूपालान्धवसो(शो)यणे
19 सुनिरसो आपालचूडामणिर्दनि वंदिजन⁴ द्विजे गुणिमणे नित्यं हि चिन्तामणिः
॥१३॥ मत्वा मत्वा मत्तो म-
20 शीतः(शः) प्रतापमञ्जी वमदेकमजः । पृथ्वीमपृथ्वीमकरीकराभ्यां व(व)लिज
वा(वा)लोपि व(व)लिर्द्वितीयः ॥१४॥
21 वसिष्ठस(श)क्तिपारास(श)र इति प्रवरजयः । सुवर्णशरनामाभूजोत्रे पारास(श)रे
द्विजः ॥१५॥ दिवाकरश(स)मो लोके
22 सेनाजनि दिवाकरः । येनाज्ञानतमो नष्ट⁵ वेदतत्त्व(त्त)विदा भुवि ॥१६॥ तस्माद-
जायत गुणो गुणिनां मणे-
23 पु दानं ददक्षु कृपयार्थिजने(नि) वदान्यः । मूर्त्त्या मनोभवसमो महिलामनसु
साधार इत्यमवनीत-
24 लसुप्रसिद्धः ॥१७॥ अस्त्रिजजनवरिष्टो(ठो) प्रथमकीर्त्तिप्रतिष्टो(ठो) जनितजनविशु(शु)-
दित्या(म्बा)यनिष्ठा(णा)ननु(नु)दिः । सकलसु-
25 षससूडः सत्यसाधारनामा कलत्रुरिक्तुलमाभ्यो दीभवत्तस्य पुत्रः ॥१८॥ तस्यै
प्रतापमज्ञेन कायटा-

¹ The engraver first incised शृ and then corrected it into शृ .

² The vowel of शृ was first incised as long and then shortened.

³ The stamp after शृ which was omitted at first is incised below the line.

⁴ The syllable शृ which was omitted here is incised with the figure 14 at the bottom of the plate. There are superfluous marks of शृ on both शृ and शृ .

⁵ The curve of the medial शृ here is not clearly formed.

⁶ The syllable शृ which was omitted here is incised with the figure 2 at the top.

⁷ The same requires the form शृ here.

- 26 अनर्जमंडले । चावी मकरसंज्ञातो दत्तः^१ संकल्पपूर्वकः ॥१८॥ सं(ग्रं)स्त्रं^२ मद्रासनं
च्छ(ह)त्रं गजास्त्रं(यं) वरवाहनं(नम) । भूमिदानग्र(स्त्र) वि-
27 ज्ञा(ज्ञा)नि फलं स्वर्णः सुरंदर ॥२०॥ व(व)भूमिर्जसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरा-
दिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य ।^३
28 तदा फलस(म्) ॥२१॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिष्ठेत्ता(ज्ञा)ति यश्च भूमिं ययच्छति ।
उभो तौ पुण्यकर्माणी तिर्यतौ स्वर्गमा-
29 मिनो ॥२२॥ पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिस्वी यज्ञाश्च सुरंदर । महीं महीक्षतां
से(चे)ष्ट दानाच्छ्रेयो हि पालनं(नम्) ॥२३॥
30 स्रदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेद्दत्तं व(मं)धरां(गम्) । स वि(ज्ञा)यां कृमिर्मूला
पितुभिः सद्य मय्यति ॥२४॥ तडागानां सद्यस्त्रे(से)ण
31 वाय(व)पियस(ग्र)तेन च । महां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न स(द्य)भ्यति ॥२५॥
प्रतिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
32 आच्छेत्ता ज्ञातुमत्ता(न्ता) च तान्येव नरजे वसित् ॥२६॥ दृष्टन्दतं(सं) हुतं चैव
यत्किंचिद्विद्वत्संवितां(तम्) । अहीगुलिन सीमावाः^४
33 हरेणेन प्रणस्य(श्र)ति ॥२७॥ यवाप्सु पतितं स(ग्र)ज नैलविं(वि)दुर्विभर्षति ।
एवं भूमिजतं दानं सद्ये सद्ये प्रवेदति ॥२८॥
34 गौडान्वदीयं प्रतिराजसा(जा)मा विद्यासु(म्बु)धिः सी(यौ)करणप्रदीपः । स्वच्छा-
स(ग्र)यः सर्वजनप्रसिद्धस्तांस(स्वास्त्रे) तिलिख प्रकटैस्तु वर्णैः ॥२९॥^५
35 संवत्(त्)८६॥ द^६ पत्तसद्राप्रसांवासिद्वि(तवि)जयकटके ॥ माघसुदि १० मंगलदिने ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om! Obedience to Brahman!

(Verse 1) Obedience to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe) and supreme light, conceivable by the mind.

(V. 2) This foremost luminary of the firmament that is the Sun, the primeval Being. Then was (born) his son, Manu, the first of kings. In his dynasty was (born) Kārtavīrya on the earth.

(V. 3) From him who surpassed the fame of Indra, were born on the earth many Hailhayas, endowed with all merits, who were lions to the elephants in the form of hostile kings and wish-

^१ The engraver first inscribed अ and then corrected it into म.

^२ म which was first inscribed is corrected into ग.

^३ This dash is superfluous.

^४ There is a syllable नै after इ but the engraver has indicated by two vertical strokes—et: it—that the syllable was inscribed by mistake and is to be omitted.

^५ Read संविता.

^६ This syllable is superfluous. In the present case, it can hardly be taken as the Kaneros gunitre affix. [The portion in this line beginning with पत्तसद्रा and ending with the dash after कटके should perhaps have come at the beginning. It may be that the engraver finding out his mistake used this sign to indicate that this portion is not connected with the date.—Ed.]

fulfilling trees to the suppliant. The kings, who were (*born*) in their family, became famous as Kaleshuris in the Chōdi country. (*In their family*) was born king Kōkalladēva, who was a comet to the kings of the families of his enemies.¹

(V. 4) To him were born eighteen, very valorous sons, (*who were*) born in breaking open the temples of elephants in the form of his enemies. The eldest of them was the lord of Tripuri, and he made his brothers the lords of *manḍalas* by his side.

(V. 5) In (*this*) family was born their younger brother, Kaliragarāja, who exterminated the hostile kings by the fire of his valour, and who was the full-moon to the day-leetuses in the form of the faces of the beloveds of the mighty warriors of (*his*) wicked enemies.

(V. 6) He begat the moon-faced Ratnarāja, who had acquired a mass of religious merit by showing compassion to and conferring obligation on the (*whole*) world (*and*) who, destroying his enemies by the valour of both his arms, spread his fame in the three worlds.

(V. 7) From him was born king Prithvidēva whose prowess was like that of a tiger (*and*) in the mirrors of whose nails was reflected a host of princes who bowed to him.

(V. 8) Then that glorious king's son was Jājalladēva who was, like the moon, without any spots, who was of radiant complexion and majesty, was the repository of good arts (as the moon contains the *kalās*), was endowed with an inestimable form, was virtuous (as the moon has a well-rounded form), who possessed all the qualities and who was an abode of all merits.

(V. 9) From him was born Ratnadēva of incomparable valour, who, in battle, vanquished Chōḍaganga and Gōkaruṇa (*lit. made them turn their faces away*).

(V. 10) Then was born to that king a son named Prithvidēva, whose power extended to the bounds of the circle of the earth, who whitened the world with his lovely glory, like a mass of snow, who devoted himself to the extermination of his wrathful foes in battle, as a lion does (*in the case of*) infuriated elephants and who was a destroyer of demons (*i.e., wicked people*).

(V. 11) From him was born king Jagaddēva, who possessed the prowess of a tiger and who destroyed the itch of fighting of all powerful kings.

(V. 12) His son was the glorious king Ratnarāja, of wonderful fame, who was the excellent ornament of all Kaleshuri kings; who filled the universe with the mass of his fame, resembling a heap of blooming jasmine flowers; who destroyed all the hosts of hostile kings by the play of his massive arms, which were the masters of the circle of the earth to the (*extreme*) boundaries.

(V. 13) Then was born his son, the glorious king Pratāpa, who has cleaned the circle of quarters with the rolling waves of the ocean of his fame, who has surpassed Cupid by his form, who is the sage (*Agastya*) in drying up the ocean in the form of (*hostile*) kings, (*who is*) the crest-jewel of kings and who is always the philosopher's stone to the poor, the panegyrists, the Brāhmanas and the meritorious.

(V. 14) Pratāpamalla, of great intellect, who is the lord of the earth, (*and*) the pre-eminent warrior of the world, and who, though a boy, is a second Bālī in strength and has made, by his arms, this wide earth (*look*) small.

(V. 15) There was a Brahmana named Suvaryakara in the Pārāra-gotra, with three pre-*strut*—*etc.*, Vasuktha, Śakti and Pārāra.

(V. 16) He begat Divākara, who was like the sun in this world, who knowing the essence of the Vēdas, dispelled the darkness of ignorance on the earth.

(V. 17) From him was born a meritorious (*son*), who has become well-known by the name of Śādhāra, who, is (*reckoned as*) the (*most*) meritorious among multitudes of meritorious persons (*and as*) beneficent among those who make gifts out of compassion (*and*) who in form appears like the mind-born (Cupid) to the minds of ladies.

¹ *I.e., he caused their destruction.*

(V. 18) Who was his (i.e., Divākara's) son, the foremost among all people, who is famed for religious merit, who has caused the purification of the people, whose intellect is proficient in Nyāya (logic), who, being possessed of the whole multitude of merits, is truly called Sādhāra and who is honoured by the Kalachuri family.

(V. 19) To him Pratāpamalla gave, with a solemn declaration, on the Makara-saṅkrānti, a village named Kāyathā (situated) in Amargha-narayaṇa.

(Here follow nine benedictory and imprecatory verses.)

This ocean of learning named Pratīkṣa of the Gauda family, the light (i.e., chief) of śrī-karṇa (Record Office), who entertains pure thoughts and is famous among all people has written (on this) copper (charter) with clear letters.

At the victorious camp pitched at Palasādā, on Tuesday the tenth of the bright half of Māgha in the year 965.

NO. 2.—ANJANAVATI PLATES OF GOVINDA III; SAKA YEAR 722.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., AND L. R. KULKARNI, M.A., NAGPUR.

The copper-plates, which are edited here for the first time, were found in May 1935, in the possession of Mr. Narayan Tukaram Pande of Anjanavati or Anjati, a village (lat. 20° 55' N., Long. 78° 6' W.) in the Chandur Taluq, about 22 miles almost due east of Amraoti, in Berār. We obtained them for editing from Mr. N. R. Paranjpe of Nīchaggaon through the good offices of Dr. K. B. Hedgewar of Nagpur. The plates when first found, were covered with verdigris in some places but they have since been cleaned by the Government Epigraphist who has also kindly supplied us with ink-impressions.

They are three copper-plates each measuring 10·3" in length, from 6·5" to 6·9" in breadth and about ½" in thickness. The middle plate is slightly thicker than the others. Their ends are raised to serve as rims for the protection of the inscription. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. At the centre of the proper right side, about ½" from the end, each plate has a circular hole about ½" in diameter for the ring which has connected it with other plates of the set. The ends of this ring, which is about ½" in thickness and 3·1" in diameter, were soldered into the socket of a seal. The latter is circular, 1·6" in diameter, and contains on a countersunk surface a representation of Garuḍa, sitting cross-legged on a lotus and facing full front. The seal does not contain any legend. The ring was not cut when the plates came to our hands. The weight of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 228½ tolas.

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letters here and there are damaged by verdigris, but in almost all cases they can either be read from the traces left on the plates or easily supplied from other records of the Rāshtrakūṭas, with which the present plates have a considerable portion in common. The names of the donees and localities are difficult of deciphering due to the careless manner in which the record is incised. The repetition of the names of most of the donees in ll. 55-58 where their *gṛhas* as well as the shares assigned to each are recorded, has, however, helped us in the correct decipherment of some doubtful letters. There are 58 lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first plate, thirteen and fifteen on the first and second sides respectively of the second plate, and the remaining sixteen on the third plate. The last line

¹ This verse *pramāṇa* seems to describe a person named Satyaśādhara, who was a son of Sādhāra mentioned in the preceding verse. But, in that case, Satyaśādhara would be a queer name, though the title 'Indrakūṭapala-Sādhāra' of Arantjanāraya Pulakēśin may be cited in support of it. I think the poet shows in this verse how the name Sādhāra was truly significant. He was so called because he was the support (śādhara) of all virtues. There are thus two verses in praise of Sādhāra. An analogous instance is furnished by the Nidhanapur plates of Bhāskara-varma. See verses 17-18 (above, Vol. XII, p. 74) and footnote 11 (ibid., p. 77). [But cf. names like Vijaya-śādhāra and Samati-śādhāra in the Arīhṇa inscription of the Paramāra. Maṅkayāditya (above, Vol. XIV, p. 300). On this analogy Sādhāra and Satya-śādhāra of the present inscription may be the names of the father and the son respectively.—Ed.]

which is incised in the right hand corner of the third plate for want of space, is only 3' in length. The letters are deeply, though somewhat carelessly, cut. They do not, however, show through on the reverse. Their average size is about 3' except in the last four lines where it is reduced to 2'. Several letters have identical or closely similar forms, so that in many cases it is difficult to say which of them is meant; see, for example, *z*, *s* and *dh* in *-vādhāḥ*, l. 11, and *sum*, l. 35 and compare *s* in *śāstra*, ll. 19-20, and *pāṭakṣa*, l. 47 with *m* in *-aganad-*, l. 19. Similarly, *p* and *y* are exactly alike in *Parumabhāṭāraka*, l. 28 and *yathā*, l. 31; so also, *ka* and *ko* in *kr-āṣi*, l. 18, and *kāṭā*, l. 5. Again, the looped form of *n* stands for *la* in *a-ḥra-vāhanigam-*, l. 9, *dhaya*, l. 18, *dhyantra*, l. 41, etc.; for *ḥ* in *-kṣayakaraṇa-*, ll. 18-19; and also for the subscript *ḍ* and the superscript *t* in *daya-*, l. 10 and *-dāyatra*, l. 19 respectively. The vertical stroke of *ḥ* is not incised in some cases, e.g., in *kṣmāpaḥ*, l. 5, *kāṭā*, l. 11, *Kaṇḍāka*, l. 36, *Nārouka* and *Chāṭāḥikamara*, l. 57 and probably also in *Kaṭṭāḥikā-iti*, l. 55. The engraver has again inadvertently omitted some words and syllables in a few places, e.g., **vaidha-* in l. 2, *chāra* in l. 25, *-krāḥ* in l. 22, etc., and has wrongly repeated *dhūpaḥ* in l. 2, *dāma* in l. 4, *-śārasaḥ* *sa-parikṣaḥ* in l. 39, etc. The words [*nadi*] *Mariṣṭa*] (l. 37) and the letter *sa* in *Vājanā* (l. 57) which were at first omitted are engraved immediately below. In one case the engraver has corrected his mistake by scoring out a wrong stroke; see *Aṃjānāvati* in l. 37 where the curve for medial *u* of *ju* is cancelled.

The characters are Nāgarī as in the Paṭṭan plates of Govinda III. As regards individual letters we may note the following peculiarities:—Besides the regular form of initial *ā* in *āśid-*, l. 1, another in which the letter is laid on its side occurs in *ā-chand-*, l. 40. The medial *ā* is generally marked by downward vertical stroke, but in conjunction with *y*, *t*, and *ḍ* it rises upwards, occasionally ending in a curve, cf. *-prajā-vādhāḥ*, l. 11, *-bhāṭāraka-* and *Maḥārāja*, l. 28. The medial *u* is generally shown either with a serif as in *Danduraga*, l. 7, or with a curve open on the left as in *chatur*, l. 8, but also occasionally with a loop as in *krōḍhāḥ-āḥḥā*, l. 15, *vigulā*, l. 31, *vinda*, l. 52 and with a curve turned downwards in cases where the vertical stroke already ends in a serif as in *rucka*, l. 17 and *Dhruva*, l. 22. Besides the usual form of the medial *ā* as in *dhūpaḥ*, l. 2, *tanūpaḥ*, l. 6, etc., there are two others seen in *-rūpaḥ*, l. 19, and *-grāmāḥ*, l. 31. Several letters have more than one form; see for example, *j* in *Rājādhirāja*, l. 10 and *vājanā*, l. 3; *p* in *prajāyaka*, ll. 13-14 and *virecapuraka*, l. 14; *la* in *lōkṣā*, l. 7 and *a-ḥra-vāhanigam-*, l. 9; *i* in *Vallabha* and *dāṣi* both in l. 20 and *rucka-āḥḥā*, l. 5; *v* in *vā* l. 1, *Vajra*, l. 8 and *-varga*, l. 18; *ḥ* in *Chāṭāḥikamara*, ll. 34-35 and *Vasāḥka*, l. 32; and finally the subscript *ḍ* in *Pāṇḍya*, l. 8, *Mayūrāḥḥāḍi*, l. 42 and *daya*, l. 19. *N* is generally shown with a loop and *s* without it, but the opposite forms also occur sporadically; see *n* in *-āḥḥāḥḥā*, l. 37, *-dhyantra*, l. 41, *Vājanā*, l. 57, etc., and the superscript *t* in *-dāyatra*, l. 19. *H* occasionally shows a tail as in *maḥā*, l. 22 and *s* a loop on the left as in *-rucka*, l. 5, *-prahāṣaḥ*, l. 15; when the latter forms a member of the ligatures *rya* and *rya* it is placed horizontally as in *vūrya*, l. 42 and *paravāṣa*, l. 40. The conjunct *ṣā* is marked by a curled curve turned to the left as in *sumasthāḥ* and *Pārth-āḥḥāḥ* in l. 23. The final form of *t*, which occurs in ll. 7, 12, 49, and 50, is shown with an encircling curve.

The language is Sāṅghī. Some of the names of the donees and *gāṇas*, however, are in Prākṛit, e.g., *Chāṭāḥikamara* for *Shāṭāḥikamara*, *Kramāṣa*, for *Kramāḥḥa*, etc. The first twenty-seven lines which form the eulogistic part are in verse. Then comes the formal part of the grant in prose, which is followed by four benedictory and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The last four lines are again in prose, and record the name of the writer and the *dātā* of the record as well as the *gāṇas* and shares of some of the donees. As regards orthography attention may be drawn to the following:—(1) The consonant following *r* and that before *y* are occasionally doubled;

e.g., *Dantidurga*, l. 7 and *pāl-dvaidhya*, l. 29. (2) A clam nasal is only rarely used for *amśāra*, e.g., *atānta*, l. 10; *palāha*, l. 36, etc. (3) *ṛ* is used for *ṛ* throughout, cf. *śāra* for *śāra*, l. 8; *śāśha* for *śāśha*, l. 11, etc. (4) *ṛ* is wrongly inserted for *ṛ* in *Kaśha-āśha*, l. 6, *krīṣṇa-āśha*, l. 36, etc. (5) *Amśāra* is wrongly changed to *a* in *Amśa-pitāṇ*, l. 5 and occurred in *maṣṭa-āśha*, l. 31, etc. (6) The palatal *ś* and the lingual *ṣ* are wrongly inserted for the dental *ś* in *śāśha-āśha*, l. 42 and *Chāśha-āśha*, l. 57 respectively.

Besides these, there are several mistakes due to the carelessness of the writer or the scribe, e.g., the use of the unspirant *h* for the aspirant *ḥ* in *śāśha*, l. 43, the omission of *amśāra* before *ś* in *amśāśha*, l. 47, the use of *amśāra* to denote length in *maṣṭa-āśha*, l. 34 and *maṣṭa*, l. 53. In the formal part of the grant there are some wrong readings, e.g., *paśāśha* for *paśāśha*, l. 40; *paśāśha*, l. 42, etc.

The plates were issued by the *Rāshtrakūṭa* king *Gōvinda III* from his victorious capital at *Mayūrakhaṇa* on the occasion of a *śāśha-paruṣa*¹ gift at the time of a solar eclipse in the expired *Saka* year seven hundred and twenty-two. The date cannot be verified for want of the necessary details. There was only one solar eclipse in the expired *Saka* year 722, viz., that which occurred on the New-Moon day of the month of *Āśvīn*, the corresponding Christian date being Thursday, 25th June, A.D. 800. This date falls in the reign of *Gōvinda III*, who ruled from circa A.D. 794 to A.D. 814.

Like the earlier *Paṭṭa* plates² the present inscription incorporates many old verses descriptive of the ancestors of *Gōvinda III*, which are known from the older records of *Dantidurga*, *Krishna I* and *Dhruva*. The eulogistic part of the present plates is, however, shorter than that of the *Paṭṭa* plates, as eleven verses, viz., 3, 8, 10, 12, 17, 20-22, 25-27, which occur in the latter are not included here.

The genealogy of *Gōvinda III* is given here as in his other plates, commencing from *Gōvinda I*, viz., *Gōvinda (I)*; his son *Rākṣa (I)*; his son *Indra (II)*; his son *Dantidurga*, who defeated the immortal forces of the *Karmāra* which were clever in defeating the lord of *Kāśhi*, the king of *Kāśi*, the *Chola*, the *Pāṇḍya*, the illustrious *Hanḍa* and *Vajra* and³ who attained the position of *Rājādhirāja* *Paramāra* by easily defeating *Vallabha*; (his uncle) *Krishna-Śubhantaka* *Arjuna*, the son of *Kakka I*, who defeated *Rāṣṭra* and assumed the titles *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramāra*; his son, *Gōvinda (II)*; his younger brother *Dhruva*; his son *Gōvinda (III)*, who was crowned king by his father in supersession of his other sons. *Gōvinda III* is here said to have assumed the *śāśha* of *Prakāśa-cāṭaka*, *Prakāśa* and *Śrīvallabha*. There is nothing new in the eulogistic verses, which, as stated above, are copied from earlier records. As in the *Paṭṭa* plates there is here no reference to any of *Gōvinda's* campaigns in the north or the south.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village *Arjuna* *Arjuna* on the occasion of a solar eclipse to the following thirteen *Brāhmaṇas*:—(1) *Ruddappa* *Dikṣita*, son of *Gōvinda-Śrī* of *Vasīṣṭha-gotra*, who was a religious student of the *Rigveda*, and a resident of *Vasīṣṭha*; (2) *Durgappa* of *Kṛṣṇa-gotra* who was a resident of *Talavāṇa*; (3) *Dēvadatta* of *Hāridra-gotra*; (4) *Nārāyaṇa* of *Kotimāṇa* (*Kotimāṇa* *ṛ-gotra*); (5) *Madappa*;

¹ *Gōvinda III* seems to have weighed himself against gold before making the gift: cf. The *Camby* Plates of *Gōvinda IV*, B. 46-47 and 50-53, above, Vol. VII, p. 40. A similar expression *śāśha-paruṣa* occurs in the *Śāśha* plates of *Dantidurga* which *Pratt* was inclined to take as an astronomical expression (see *Asiatic*, Vol. XI, p. 199), but the expression probably qualifies the word *maṣṭa* which seems to have been omitted inadvertently.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 102.

³ The plates of nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10-12, which were at first omitted, are supplied in B. 53-57.

⁴ This name appears wrongly as *Nārāyaṇa* in l. 50.

(6) Vāṇṇa of Hāṇḍa-gōṭa; (7) Aiyana¹ of Mōggala-gōṭa; (8) Gantiyamma of Bhāradvāya-gōṭa; (9) Lavvaṇa; (10) Kasmanna² of Kāṣṭhapa-gōṭa; (11) Chhachhikunara of Vājasaṇḍya-gōṭa³ (?); (12) Nāraka of Sigali (Sāṅgali ?)-gōṭa and (13) Vādi. The revenue of the village was divided into eighteen (equal) shares of which the Dīśaluta Ruidappa was given five, Devadatta two and the remaining eleven one each. The donated village was situated in the *malaya* (district) of Achalapura and was bounded on the east by the village Raṅgalaṇḍhy and the river Mari, on the south by the village Gāṇḍāṭṭā, on the west by the village Sallamāla and the hill Timasa, and on the north by the village Kote and Vatapura. The charter was written by Kūṭhaka, the minister in charge of peace and war, and the son of the military officer Sāmasa iri-Gaṇḍa, by the order of the Emperor (Govinda III), and with the consent of the Great Queen (Mahadevi). The *dātaka* was the illustrious Chāṅkīrāja.

The present plates do not add anything to our knowledge of Govinda III's reign, but the mention of Chāṅkīrāja as the *dātaka* of the present grant is interesting. He evidently occupied a high position at Govinda's court and is probably identical with the illustrious Chāṅkīrāja, the lord (*adhirāja*) of the entire Gaṅga-maṇḍala, who made a request to Govinda III to grant a village to the Jaina ascetic Arhakiṛti to avert the adverse influence of Saturn from his sister's son Vinulāditya as recorded in the Kadaba plates of the reign of Govinda III*. The circumstances which led to the elevation of Chāṅkīrāja, who was at first an officer at the court of Govinda III, to the position of the ruler of the entire Gaṅga province can now be clearly stated. The Gaṅga king was one of those princes who had come to the help of Govinda II, when his brother Dhruva rebelled against him. He was imprisoned by the latter who placed his son Stambha in charge of the conquered Gaṅga province. The Gaṅga prince was released by Govinda III after his accession, probably to create a rival to his brother who had become hostile to him*. He ungratefully joined Stambha but was speedily defeated along with the latter. Though Govinda III magnanimously pardoned Stambha as implied in the Sanjān plates*, he is not likely to have reinstated him as a ruler of the whole of the Gaṅga province. He must have placed some trusted officer of his, like Chāṅkīrāja, in charge of some portion of the Gaṅga-maṇḍala to serve as a check on his brother. Later on, when the whole Gaṅga country was annexed consequent on a second revolt or, perhaps, the death of Stambha, Chāṅkīrāja must have been put in charge of the entire Gaṅga province as stated in the Kadaba plates. If the above reasoning is correct, Stambha's revolt and defeat must be placed between A.D. 800, the date of the present grant and A.D. 805, the date of the Nēvari plates, in which the defeat of the Gaṅga king is mentioned for the first time†.

¹ This name is written as *Aya(ni)* in l. 56.

² The name appears as *Kasmanna* in l. 56.

³ The name of the *gōṭa* is here wrongly mentioned as *gōṭa*.

* Above, Vol. IV, p. 232.

* *Atelier*—*The Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, pp. 61 f.

* Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 244, note 38.

† In this connection attention may be drawn to the following note of Mr. N. Lakshminarasimha Rao:—

Though it is known from inscriptions that Govinda III put down the rebellion headed by his elder brother Stambha, it is nowhere stated that Govinda pardoned him. But from the Mangū plates (*Ep. Car.*, Vol. IX, XI: 61) of A.D. 802 and the Badamaṇṇya plates (*Mem. Arch. Report*, 1927, p. 112) of A.D. 808 both issued by Kṛṣṇachadōṭa (i.e., Stambha), we learn that he was a subordinate of Govinda. The former of these records states that Kṛṣṇachadōṭa made the grant specified in it with the permission of his younger brother while in the latter he acknowledges the sovereignty of Govinda. There is no reason to suppose that he was placed in charge of only a portion of the Gaṅga-maṇḍala, since the two grants referred to above were issued respectively from Mangūpura (Mangū in Mysore State) and Talavananagara (Talākōḍ in Mysore), the two important capitals of the

While editing the Kadaba plates Dr. Lüders has enumerated in detail the several circumstances which, in his opinion, create a suspicion about the genuineness of those plates¹. The occurrence of Chakirāja's name in the present plates², though it cannot decide the question, may still be adduced as a point in favour of the genuineness of the Kadaba grant.

As for the places mentioned in the present plates, **Mayūrakhaṇḍī** where the King's victorious capital was situated is mentioned as the place of issue in four other published records, viz.—**Vaṇī-Diṇḍori**³, **Rādhapur**⁴, **Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala**⁵ and **Kadaba**⁶ plates. In the first three of these the word '*vijayakandhāṇḍra*' does not occur. Our plates⁷, however, have it in common with the Kadaba plates. Dr. Bühler first identified Mayūrakhaṇḍī with **Morkhaṇḍ**⁸, a hill fort in the Sātmālī or Ajantā range, close to Saptaśringī and north of Vaṇī in the Nāsik District and this identification has, since then, been accepted without question. As Mayūrakhaṇḍī has been mentioned as a place of royal residence in as many as five records⁹, it could not have been only a temporary site of the royal camp. Besides in the present plates the charter is said to have been written with the consent of the Great Queen (*Śahādā*), who was, thus, probably present at Mayūrakhaṇḍī at the time of the solar eclipse. The place may, therefore, have been the Rāshtrakūṭa capital in the time of Gōvinda III. No other place has been mentioned as the capital in any of his plates. We may, again, note in this connection that *śahādā* is used in Sanskrit in the sense of a royal capital¹⁰ also and the word *vijaya* (victorious) is not unknown as a prefix of its name¹¹. As for Bühler's observation that Mayūrakhaṇḍī does not seem to have been Gōvinda III's capital, 'though it may have been an occasional place of residence' because 'Indian princes do not usually govern their dominions from lonely forts', we may point out that the difficulty pointed out

Gaṅga-maṇḍala. Further, neither in the record under publication, which contains the earliest mention of Chakirāja, nor in another set of Maṇḍa plates issued by Gōvinda in Śaka 722 (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 88), is he called *Gaṅga-maṇḍal-dāyaka*, which epithet is applied to him for the first time in the Kadaba plates of A.D. 812. It is therefore likely that he was appointed to govern the Gaṅga-maṇḍala only after the death of Kṛamīha, which must have taken place subsequent to the date of his *Budhanagappa* plates, viz., A.D. 808, and probably after A.D. 810, the date of the second set of Maṇḍa plates which does not style him 'the ruler of Gaṅga-maṇḍala'. So, the mention of Chakirāja—without even an official designation or title—in the *Aljamasvati* plates cannot help us in fixing the date of Stamīha's revolt or defeat. All that can be said is that Stamīha must have submitted to Gōvinda before A. D. 802, the date of the first set of Maṇḍa plates where also we find the earliest mention of the defeat and re-imprisonment of the Gaṅga king—and not in the Nāsari plates of A.D. 803 as stated by Prof. Hirahara.—Ed.]

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 333 f.

² [Chakirāja's name is found also in the Maṇḍa plates of A.D. 810; see n. 4 above.—Ed.]

³ *सुरसमीपमासिद्धिर्दत्तः* इत्यादि. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 159.

⁴ *सुरसमीपमासिद्धिर्दत्तः* इत्यादि. Above, Vol. VI, p. 243.

⁵ *सुरसमीपमासिद्धिर्दत्तः* इत्यादि. *Khata, Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, pp. 271, (pub. by R. I. S. Maṇḍala, Poona).

⁶ *सुरसमीपमासिद्धिर्दत्तः* इत्यादि. *सुरसमीपमासिद्धिर्दत्तः* इत्यादि. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 243.

⁷ *सुरसमीपमासिद्धिर्दत्तः* इत्यादि. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 243.

⁸ *सुरसमीपमासिद्धिर्दत्तः* इत्यादि. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 243.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 64. The expression '*vijayakandhāṇḍra*' occurs also in two more sets of Gōvinda III's plates recently found in Berar, which record donations of villages in Berar.

¹⁰ See the above foot-note.

¹¹ The word is used in the sense of capital in the *Mahābhārata*, *Adhyāya* 185, verse 6, (Bombay Recension) and *Bhāṣa's Haraka-charita*, p. 153 (Niraya Sagar ed.). Cf. Hemachandra's *Aśāṅkha Chintāmaṇī* (ed. by N. C. Bhattacharya) p. 35. Note also in this connection the expression *वीरद्वयसमासमिति* which occurs in many plates of the Gujara-Pratihāras. Mahādāya was the capital of the Pratihāras. Cf. The Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV, v. 19 (above, Vol. VII, p. 33).

¹² Cf. *विजयविहङ्गपुराण* in the *Surat Plates of Vyāghraśāha*.

by Bühler is of his own creation. For we need not identify Mayūrakhaṇḍī with Morkhaṇḍ, the hillfort in the Nāsiḥ District, where no early remains of any kind are found. There is a village called Markaṇḍī on the bank of the Wainganga, 56 miles south-east of Chāndā in the Central Provinces. It contains some twenty elaborately carved temples which have been described and enthusiastically praised by Cunningham* whose opinion Bloch† has endorsed. As Cunningham says, it was once a large place, but frequent inundations have driven most of the people away. The principal temple is called after Mārkaṇḍēya Rishi; there is another, named after his brother Murkaṇḍ Rishi. Both of these are dedicated to Śiva and assigned to the 10th or 11th century A.D. by Cunningham. There is another temple called Daśāvatāra dedicated to Viṣṇu to which Cunningham assigned a period two or three centuries earlier. There are, besides, inscriptions on square monolith pillars which, on palaeographic grounds, can be referred to the 6th or 7th century A.D. It is clear, therefore, that Markaṇḍī was a flourishing place in the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and may have been the ancient Mayūrakhaṇḍī mentioned as a place of royal residence in several grants of Govinda III. In later times, when its ancient name was forgotten, it seems to have been conjecturally connected with Mārkaṇḍēya Rishi. **Añjanavaratī** the donated village still retains its name practically unchanged. **Achalapura**, which gave its name to the district in which the above village was situated is identical with modern Ellichpur in Berār‡. Most of the boundary villages can also be definitely identified in the vicinity of **Añjanavati**. Thus, **Gāhasōdvā** is Gahvā, 1½ miles to the south; the village **Sallaimāla** is now represented by two villages—**Salūra**, 3½ miles to the west and **Amlā** which lies about 5 miles to the south-west; **Kurā** is undoubtedly modern Kurhā, 3 miles to the north-west and **Vaṭapura** is Vajur about a mile east of Kurhā. **Ratigalachhya** cannot be identified. **Tīmisa** may have been the ancient name of the hills west of **Añjanavati** and **Marī** that of a nālā flowing near by, which have no particular names now. **Vēyaghana** and **Talēvāṭaka** where the dopeses resided are now represented by **Waigaoa** 3 miles south and **Talegaon** about 10 miles south by west of **Añjanavati**.

TEXT.*

[Metres: Vv. 1, 18 and 20 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 15 and 16 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 5 *Uti*; vv. 8-10 and 17 *Āryā*; vv. 12 and 13 *Śṛaṅgharā*; v. 14 *Uṇjāt*; v. 19 *Indravajrā*; v. 21 *Paśupitāgrā*.]

First Plate.

- 1 चो [१*] स वोव्यादेधसा [ध]म यवामिकमलं कतं [१*] हरव यव
का[न्ते]दुक्तवा कमलंक[तं] ॥१*॥ चामीदि[द्वि]प-
2 तिमिरमुद्यतमंडलायो [ध्व]स्तिवयवमिमुखो रणशर्वरीषु [१*] भूपः भूपः यवि[रि]वा-
स्तदिगन्तकी.

* Cunningham, *A. S. B.*, Vol. IX, pp. 142 ff.

† *P.R.A.S.*, E.C., for 1907-1908.

‡ This name is a corrupt form of *Achalapura* which is derived from *Achalapura* by metathesis. Hama-chandra has actually cited the present name to illustrate metathesis (*Achalapurā cāṇḍā*) in his *Prakṛit Grammar* (*Śaṅkha-Himachandra*, VIII. 2, 118). *Achalapura* is mentioned as the place of issue in the *Tivarkhē* plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nannarāja, *Saka* 553 (above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 ff.).

* From the original plates and ink-impressions.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* This word is superfluous.

* Read चवि after यवि.

* Read चवि. The *Alia* plates of Yuvarāja Govinda II read भुवामिकमलं.

- 3 तिर्नोविंदराज इति राजसु राजसिंहः ॥२*॥ तस्यामजो जगति विद्युतदीपः¹
जोतिरा[र्त्त]र्त्तिसारित्रिवि-
- 4 स्वमधाम[ध]म[ध]मारे] [१*] [भू]पस्तुविष्टपटपा[नु]जतिः क्षतत्रः श्रीक²कराज इति
गोचमणिव[र्व]भूव] ॥३*॥ त-
- 5 स्व प्र[मि]करटभुतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहारविरोहिष्ठिताम्ब³पोठः [१*] आपः जितौ
क्षपित[ग]चुरभू-
- 6 तनुजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकादृ⁴विंदराजः ॥४*॥ तस्योपावितमहसः⁵ तमयवतुसदधि-
- 7 वल[यम]रत्निकाः [१*] भोक्ता भुवः यतकतुसहस⁶योदन्तिदुर्गराजोभुत् ॥५*॥
काक्षीशक[क्ष]वल-
- 8 नराधिपक्षील⁷पाषाण्योदपेजवटविभेदविधानदत्तं [१*] काष्ण्णिकं व[व]लम[न]न-
- 9 मजियमन्मैर्भुत्यैः किवद्विरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥६*॥ अभूविभंगमयक्षीत-
- 10 निमातयस्त्रमन्वा¹⁰न्तमप्रतिष्ठतामपेतयत् [१*] यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डव[व]लेन
जित्वा
- 11 राजाधिराजपरमेस्वरतामसाप ॥७*॥ तस्मि¹¹दिवं प्रयाति वल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजा-
वा[वा]धः [१*]
- 12 श्रीक²कराजसूनुर्मेक्षोपतिः क्षणराजोभुत् ॥८*॥ अभूतुंशतुंगतुरगमहदरेण-
- 13 ई[ई]रुहरपिकिरणं [१*] श्रीमेपि नभो भिखितं पाट्टालायते स्पष्टं ॥९*॥
दीनानाथप्रण-
- 14 यिषु यवेष्टचेष्टं मभीहितमजसं [१*] तत्क्षणमकालवर्षो ययति मन्वा¹²र्त्तित-
र्त्तपण¹² ॥१०*॥

Second Plate, First Side.

- 15 राक्षसमात्मभुजजानव[व]लावले[पमा]जौ विजित्य निशितासिलतामहारैः [१*]
[पा]लि-

¹ The Alia plates read दीनकीर्ति.

² This word is superfluous.

³ Read सिद्धिद.

⁴ This name generally appears as kura. The Patthar plates, however, give श्रीक²कराज इति.

⁵ Read त्रिजिगायपीठ.

⁶ Read लल्लभदि-

⁷ The Alia plates read कुरु; and the Talagan plates of Krishnapada (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 279 E.) तनु.

⁸ Read कुरु श्रीदन्तिपुरं.

⁹ Read श्रीक as in the Patthar and many other plates.

¹⁰ The Alia and Talagan plates read चहातमर्त्तविताम.

¹¹ Read त्रिजिदि.

¹² The Alia and Talagan plates read मन्वा¹²र्त्तितर्त्तपण.

- 16 ध्वजावलिभूमामविरेच दी च राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां ततान ॥[११^{*}] क्रो-
[धादु]त्खातख-
- 17 इपस्यतश्चिचयैर्भीषमानं समतादाजावुद्भुतवैरिप्रकटगजवटाटोपसंचोभ-
- 18 दत्तं [१^{*}] गीयै त्वका(का)रिवर्मां भयचकितवपुः कापि दृष्टेव^१ मथो दर्पा-
क्षातारिचक्रचयक-
- 19 रसगमयत्य दोर्दण्डरूपं ॥[१२^{*}] येन मे(ये)तातपन्नप्रहतरविकरवाततापासलोत्तं
सग्मे [ना]-
- 20 सौम्यलोधवलितगिरिभा वल्लभाख्या(ख्यः) सदाजी [१^{*}] स यौगोविंदराजी जित-
जगदह[तस्मै]-
- 21 शवेधव्यहेतुस्त्रासो[त्^{*}] सुनुरकाचगणदलितारातिमलेभकुंभः ॥[१३^{*}] तस्यानु-
- 22 जचोभुवराजनामा महागुभावी धिततप्रताप^२[१^{*}] प्रसाधितागेषनरेन्द्र[क्रः^{*}]
क्रमेण
- 23 व^३ वा(वा)लाजैवपुर्ज(जै)भूष ॥[१४^{*}] तस्माप्यभुद्रुयन्भारभृतौ समर्थः पार्योपमः
पृथ[स]मा-
- 24 नगुणो गुणघ्नः [१^{*}] दुर्वारवैरिनितातुलतापहेतुमोविंदराज इति सुनुरिप्रता-
- 25 पः ॥[१५^{*}] यच्च प्रमुचतुररुदारकौर्त्तरासेदिवाचिरूपमस्य पितुः सकाशात्-
(त् । स)त्स्रज्यने-
- 26 कतनयेषु गुणातिरेकान्मूर्धाभिषिक्तपुष्पमस्तमाय राज्यं ॥[१६^{*}] तेनेदमनि-
- 27 लविद्युर्बलमवलोक्य जीवितमभारं [१^{*}] चित्तिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 28 व(व)ज्रादायोय ॥[१७^{*}] स च परमभहारकमहाराजाधिराज[प]रमेश्वरवीमजारावर्ष-
- 29 देवपादानुज्जातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपृथ्वीवल्लभप्रभूत्व-
- 30 पंचोवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशलौ ॥ सर्वानेव यथासं(व)ध्यमानकान्नाटपतिविषय[प]-
तिष्ठाम-
- 31 कूटानुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहन्तरादीं समाज्ञापयत्वास्तु वः संविदितं यथा भया
भातापि-

^१ Read हरि.

^२ Read 'स'.

^३ The Palitba plates read महागुभावीप्रताप.

^४ This syllable is redundant.

^५ Read -सुनुरकाचदार- as in the Palitba plates.

^६ Read महन्तरादीन्.

- 32 श्रीराजनैवैजिकामुषिकमुष्णयशोभिद्रव्ये [वे]यचन'वास्तव्य यमिद्रसगोत्रव(व)हृच-
सच(त्र)-
- 33 द्वापरिम'सकमोवैभमटमुचकइपदीचित । तथा तलेवाटकवास्तव्यदुर्मध्यकमइत । मो-
34 त' । ईवदत । नारायण । मंगय । वीप्यन' । ऐयनि' । मंतियन्य ।
लवै[व्य] । कसमन । इठि-
- 35 कुमर । नारौक । वादि । एवमाद्यटादयसंख्याभागविभक्तस्य' म[हा]जसस
[व(व)लि]-
- 36 चरुवैद्यदेवान्निर्वातिविपचमसायचक्र(कि)योस्य'पाये श्रीमदवलपुरवि[पया]नमोत-
37 'शंजु(ज)पयंलभिधानो ग्रामः यस्वाचाटनानि पूर्वतो रंगलक्षि ग्रामः [नदी]
सरि[च] द[चिणतः] [गो]इसो
- 38 [वा]'ग्रामः पचि[म]तः सजैमानग्रामस्तिमिसगिरिच उत्तरतः कुर्या[मः] वद-
[पु]रं च एवम-
- 39 यं [चतु]राचाटनोपलक्षितः सोदंगः 'सपरिकरः सधान्यद्विरण्णादेय[:*] सोदंगः"
सपरिकर-
- 40 समस्ताराजकीयानामहस्तप्रवेपणीयो" चाचन्द्रार्काणंवल्लितिसरित्यवे(वे)तसमकालीन[:*]
पुत्रपोलान्व-
- 41 यक्रमोपभोष्योभ्यन्तरसिद्धा शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरये(य)तिषु म(स)तसु द्वाविंश-
त्यधिकेषु मयूर-

* The first letter of this place-name can also be read as *कु* or *कु* and the third letter is damaged by rust; but the reading given above appears probable, as it corresponds to Facon in the vicinity of Añjanavati.

* Read *क्रमसमीच*. It may be noted in this connection that the enumeration of the *gōtas* in II. 25. 27 starts with *ईवदत*. The *gōta* of *दुरंग* must, therefore, have been mentioned before. Besides, the number of the Brahmin donors was only thirteen. So *gōtas* cannot be taken as a name. (*Kramasā* probably stands for *Sri. Kramasā* and not *Kramasā* as suggested by Prof. Mirashi. *Kramasā* as a *gōta* name does not find place in the *Gōta-Purana-samanta-kārikā*. It may be that the *gōta* of *Durgappa* who was a *śaṅkarī*, was omitted through inadvertence.—Ed.)

* With the first letter of this, compare *वे* in *सहस्रनाके* in I. 22. The name occurs again in I. 34 where the first letter is clearly *वे*.

* That the first letter of this name is *सु* is clear from the form [सु]इदने which occurs in I. 25.

† [Or probably *Lachubaiya*.—Ed.]

* This expression should properly qualify *दुरंग* in I. 37. Read, therefore, *सिद्ध*.

† The annexed on *च* is clear on the original plate. The engraver first incised the medial *च* of *च* and then cancelled it. Read *संज्ञाचक्रनिपाते*. [The fourth letter here looks more like *प* than *स*.—Ed.]

* This syllable can also be read as *हृ*, but the reading given above is probable, since the name corresponds to *Gahvi* near Añjanavati.

* This word appears as here in the Fañhan plate also. Read *सोपरिकर* as in many other plates.

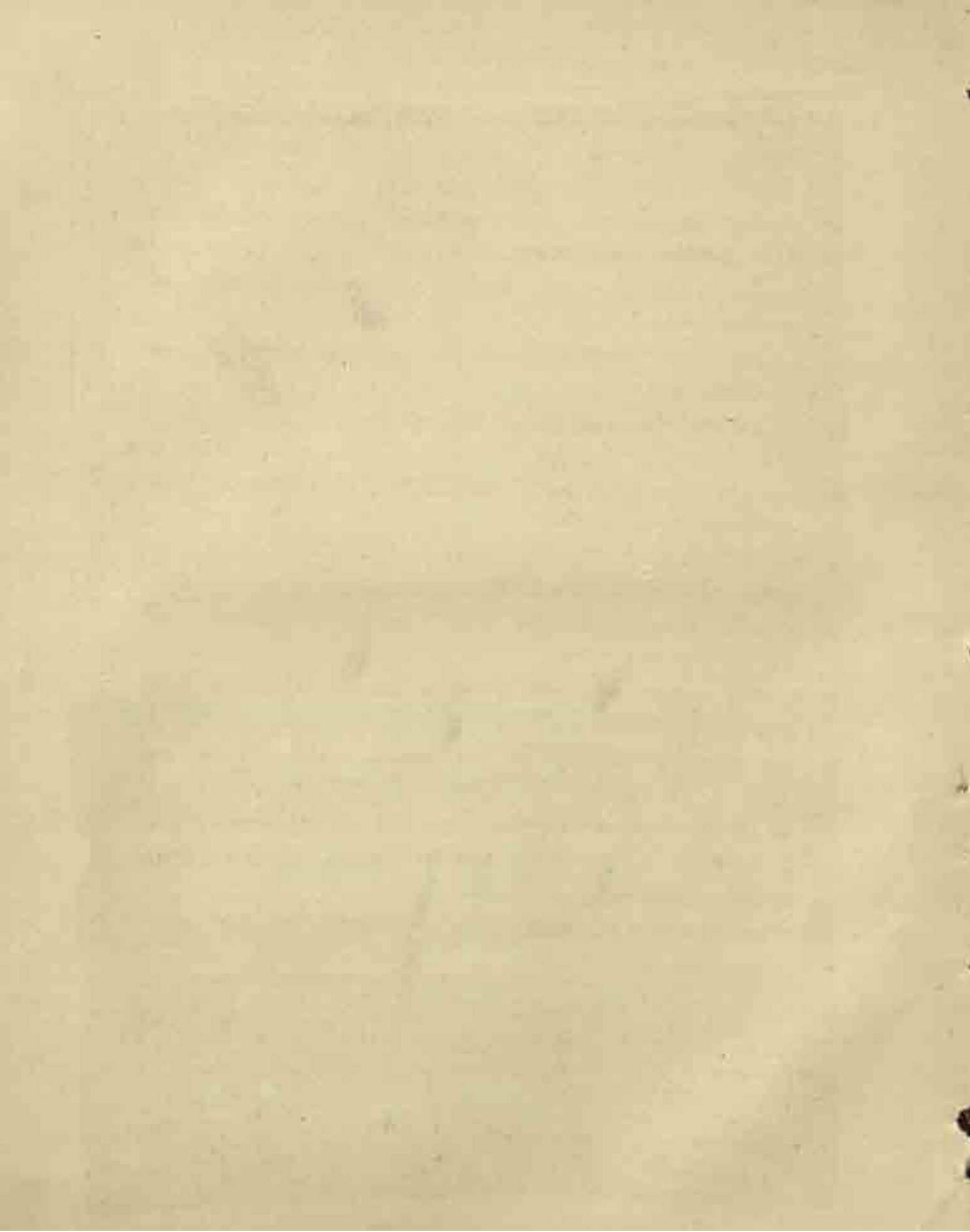
* This and the next word are unnecessarily repeated here.

† Read *प्रवेपणीय चाचन्द्रा*.

446

[illegible]

44
46
48
50
52
54
56
58



- 42 [ख] शीसमाधासितविजयप्रकम्भागरावस्थितेन¹ सूर्यप्रकणे तुलापुरुषप्रदानप[र्व]स्त्रिदक्षा-
निसर्ग-

Third Plate.

- 43 ण प्रतिपादितो महाजनस्य [1*] यतोऽधोचितया त्र(त्र)ज्ञादापस्ति(स्थि)[त्वा]
कथतः क[वि]यतः भुंजती भोजयतः
44 प्रतिदियतो²र्वा न केनचिद्गामिधे प्रवर्त्तितव्यं [1*] तथागामिभद्रपतिभिरस्मई-
य्यरन्धेय्वां सामान्यं
45 भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युज्जीलान्धनित्यैश्वर्याणि तृ[णा]चलन्मज्जलविं(विं)दुर(च)चलं
च जीवितमाकल-
46 य खदायनिर्विघ्नेषोयमस्माद्वायोनुमंतव्यः रा(पा)लवितव्यश्च । यथाज्ञानतमिरपट-
लावृत-
47 मतिराहिं(चिं)थादाहिं(चिं)यमानं वानुमा(मी)दितं स पंचभिर्गङ्गापातकैश्चोप-
पातकैश्च संयुक्तः³ स्थादित्यु-⁴
48 कं च त(भ)गवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं वर्षा(पं)सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्यं
तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] याच्छेत्ता चा-
49 नुमंताच⁵ तान्धेव नरके वसितुं ॥[१८*] चम्पेरपञ्च(त्वं) प्रप्र(य)मं सुवर्णं
भूर्ध्वेण्वी सूर्यसुताश्च ग(गा)-
50 वः [1*] श्लोकत्रयं ते[न] भवेद्वि दत्त(त्त) यः काश्चन गां च महीं च दद्यात्
॥[१८*] व(व)हुभिर्ज्वलुधा
51 भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभ(भिः) [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं⁶ ॥[२०*] इति
52 कमलदलाभुविन्दुलो⁷ विजय(म)नुचिंत्वा मनुष्यजीवितं च [1*] सज्जलमिदमप्राप्त-
53 तं च वु(वु)द्धा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विज्ञोध्याः ॥[२१*] लिखितं
चेतस्यया धर(मि)शराश्रया
54 श्रीमह(त्वा)दिव्यानुमतेन श्रीवाहिराजदूतकं सामन्तश्रीमोतव(व)लाधिकतस्तुनां मधामा-

¹ Read विजयप्रकम्भागरावस्थितेन.² The writer first wrote यदणि and then thought of joining the last syllable with the initial of उदङ्.

Read यदणुदङ्.

³ Read प्रतिदियतो वा.⁴ Read तदिति ।⁵ Read नुमन्ता च.⁶ Read दलाभुविन्दुलो.

- 55 शिवविग्रहाधिकृतश्रीकु[क्षै]केनेति । देवदत्तस्व चो[हा]रिद्रगोचं । मीमलमो[चं]
[च]इत्यनेः [i] [मं]-
- 56 तिवमस्य भ[भा]रदाजमा[मो]चं । नारणस्व^१ कुतिमायगोचं । वीषणस्व चारिद्रं
गोचं । कसमनस्व का[श्च]प-
- 57 गोचं । नारोकस्व^२ सीगुलि [i*] इतिकुमरस्व^३ वाजमने^४गोच[चं] [i*] दीक्षितस्व
भागाः पंर[च] देवदत्तस्व [चो] भागो^५
- 58 मेघा एकादश [i*] एवमष्टादश भा[गाः] i*

No. 3.—ARANG PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA.

By PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA.

The charter which is edited below consists of three copper-plates and was first brought to light by me in March, 1929. I published a short notice of it in the English paper "The Hitavada" of Nāgpur in its issue of April 11, 1929¹. The plates² were in the possession of a cultivator named Bhagirathi Sonkar of Arang in the Raipur District of the C. P. Nothing definite is known about the provenance of the grant except that it had been lying in the house of the owner for over fifty years—since the time of his father.

Arang has all the appearance of having once been a large and important city. Here and there are many fine old tanks with numerous remains of temples and sculptures, both Jain and Brahmanical. The only temple that is now standing is of Jain origin. It is popularly known as Bhandilewal from the fact that it contains three colossal naked Jain figures. The temple is richly carved and adorned with a profusion of sculptured statues on the outside, many of which are highly indecent. To the west of the town on the bank of a tank there is a small temple dedicated to Mahāmīyā. A description of this temple and also that of the other antiquarian remains at Arang has been given by Cunningham³. Besides the present set, two other sets of copper-plates were discovered at the place in addition to a fragmentary Brāhmī inscription.⁴

The plates are held together by a ring the ends of which are secured in a circular seal about 3½" in diameter. The seal is identical with that described by Fleet in *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 196. Its upper part shows the representation of a standing Lakṣmī facing full front, on each side of her

¹ The vertical stroke of the superscript $\dot{\text{a}}$ of अ is not incised.

² Read नारायणस्व.

³ This name is evidently identical with भारिद्र in l. 35 above, though here the medial stroke of भ is not incised.

⁴ Read इतिकुमरस्व. The vertical stroke of इ in इ is not incised.

⁵ Read वाजमने.

⁶ These letters are damaged by rust, but traces of the first and the last can be marked on the plate.

⁷ Traces of अ are visible on the plate.

⁸ Hiralal also has noticed it in his *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 106-A.

⁹ Since writing this the plates have been acquired by the Central Museum, Nāgpur, where they are now deposited.

¹⁰ Cunningham, *A. & B.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 20 ff.; see also *Raipur District Gazetteer*, pp. 257 ff.

¹¹ See above, Vol. IX, pp. 242 ff.; *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff. and Hiralal, *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), pp. 94, 105 and 110.

an elephant is standing on a water-lily, with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is a figure of an expanded water-lily and in the proper left that of a conch (*śaṅkha*). Below is the legend in two lines. The rims of the plates are not raised. The plates measure 6·4" in length and 3·2" in breadth. The weight of the plates is 48½ tolas and that of the seal 45 tolas. The letters show through on the back of the plates, especially in the case of the last plate which was too thin and was, therefore, cut while incising the second and third letters of l. 21. The engraver has, therefore, left 1" of the breadth on the back of the last plate unincised. The first plate contains five lines of writing on its second side and the second plate has the same number of lines on its first side. The second side of the second plate and the first side of the third contain each six lines of writing, while the second side of the third plate has only four lines.

The characters belong to the box-headed type in which the inscriptions of the Vīkīṭakas and the Rājim and Balodā plates of Mahāyasa Tivararāja, are written.¹ The sign of the *syndhānīya* occurs in ll. 3, 8 and 17, and that of the *jāśāwāṇīya* in l. 21. The numerical symbols for 8, 9 and 20 occur in l. 26. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting the five benedictory and imprecatory verses at the close, the whole record is in prose.

As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the use of *rs* for *rs* in *śrīśaṅkha*, l. 6; of *ś* for *anuvāsa* in *śākyarddhānāsa*, l. 10 and of *ya* for *yā* in *śaṅkha-āyana*, ll. 25-26. In *śāśānī*, l. 21, the *anuvāsa* is wrongly retained after its change to the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs.

The engraver was Drōṣamāgha, who also engraved the Khariyār Plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja and the Raipur Plates of the same king, both of which records were issued from Śarabhapura.

The record is dated in the 5th regnal year² of the donor Mahā-Sudēvarāja on the 29th day of Vaiśākha. The place of issue was Śarabhapura, which town or city has not yet been definitely identified. Sambalpur town in Orissa, Sirpur (old Śrīpura) the ancient capital of Mahākōśala on the bank of the Mahānadi, in the Raipur District, Śarabhavarman in the Godāvari District, Śarapgarh or Śarabpur in the Gangpur Feudatory State in the E. S. A. and Sarawā, a village near Sheorinarayan town in the Bilāspur District have been suggested by different scholars as the probable site of the ancient Śarabhapura. These suggestions have been made on the similarity of names only. No authentic evidence has yet been found to confirm the identification. But this seems certain that the dynasty held sway, at least over a part of Mahākōśala—present Ohhattingarh Division in C. P.—where about seven charters of this family have been discovered. They belong to three different kings:—viz., Mahā-Sudēvarāja, Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja.

Mahā-Pravararāja's charter was issued from Śrīpura, which is no other than the capital town of Mahākōśala referred to in the Rājim and the Balodā Plates of Mahāyasa Tivararāja who is styled as the supreme lord of Kōśala (*Kōśalādhipati*). The other charters were issued from Śarabhapura. Whether Śarabhapura was also the capital of Prasannamātra and of his son Mānamātra is not known. No copper charters of either have yet been brought to light.

A silver coin of Śrī-Prasannamātra, the grandfather of Mahā-Sudēvarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja and the father of Mahā-Jayarāja, with the legend inscribed in beautiful box-headed characters was recovered from the bed of the Māna or Mānū³ river near Sāhepāl, a village lying in the

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 291 ff. and above, Vol. VII, pp. 106 ff.

² [See below p. 22 n. 4.—Ed.]

³ This river is a tributary of the Mahānadi—the great river of Mahākōśala—otherwise known as Chitrīpāl.

Rajgarh Feudatory State, E. S. A. and is in the possession of the Mahākōśala Historical Society at Balpur in the Bilaspur District.

No materials are available to ascertain whether the town or city of Śarabhapura was situated on the Mahānadi and whether it was ever the royal capital of the lords of Kōśala. Not a single charter out of the seven sets of plates of this family known to us, mentions its donor as 'the lord of Kōśala'. Nor does any set describe the village granted to be situated in the Kōśala kingdom. The only reference to the name 'Śarabha' is found in the Eran Posthumous Stone Pillar Inscription of Śōparāja, dated in the Gupta year 191 (A. D. 510-511), in which he is stated to be the daughter's son of one Śarabharāja.

The present charter records the royal confirmation of the grant of a village named *Sivliṅga-ka* situated in the *Tōśaḍḍa-bhūti*, by the *Pratidāra* Bhōgilla. The particulars of the donors and their shares in the village are as follows:—

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| (1) Yajñavalkin of Kātyāyana-gotra, a student of the Mādhyamika-śāstra of the white Yajurveda; one share and a half. | |
| (2) Kumāracārin of Bhāradvāja-gotra | |
| (3) Yajñavalkin of Ācārya-gotra, a student of the Kāya-śāstra of the white Yajurveda. | } one share each. |
| (4) Viśākṣavalkin of Kātyāyana-gotra | |
| (5) Gūḍavalkin of Kanika-gotra, a student of the Mādhyamika-śāstra. | } ½ share each. |
| (6) Dīnādārasvamin, same as above | |
| (7) Dīnāsvamin, same as above | |
| (8) Paśchādāsvamin of Bhāradvāja-gotra | |
| (9) Dīkṣita Kyāntika of Bhāradvāja-gotra | |

Of the geographical names *Tōśaḍḍa* may be the *Tōśarā* village in the Patnā State, E. S. A. Prof. V. V. Mirashi identifies *Tōśaḍḍa* with *Tusā* near Dumarpalli about 30 miles to the south-east of Araṅg. *Sivliṅgaka* is not traceable near about Araṅg and Sirpur (old Śrīpura).

I edit the inscription from the original plates.¹

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री स्वति [१] शरभपुरादिकुम्भोपनतसामन्तमकुटचूडामणिप्रभाप्र-
- 2 सेकास्वधौतपादसुगन्धो विपुविनामिनोमीमन्तोदरणहेतु-
- 3 र्वसुवसुधामोप्रद-परमभागवतो मातापितृपादानुध्यात-
- 4 र्थ्योमहासुदेवराजः तौमदु(इ)भुक्तोयशिविलिङ्गके प्रतिवामि-
- 5 कुटस्विनस्यमाज्ञापयति ।² विदितमस्तु वो यद्ययं ग्राम-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 स्मृ(स्मि)दशपतिमदनसुखप्रतिष्ठा[क³]रो यावद्विश्वमिताराजिरण्यपति-

¹ Impressions of this inscription were also kindly supplied to me by Mr. M. A. Saboor of the Nagpur Museum, through Prof. V. V. Mirashi of the Nagpur University. I am indebted to Prof. Mirashi for very valuable suggestions towards the correct reading and interpretation of certain portions in the text.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The engraver had begun to make *va* after *pa*, but later on corrected it into *pa*.

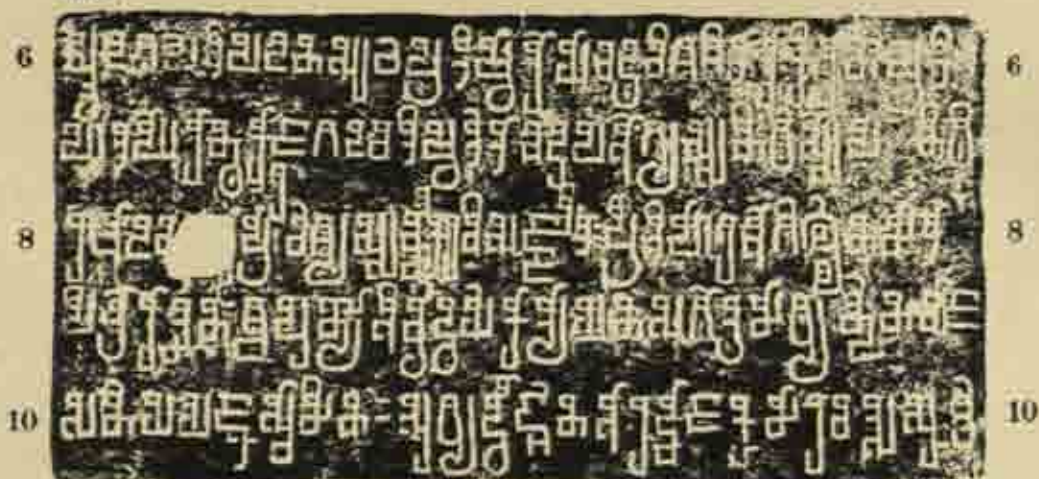
⁴ The subscript *r* appears like the sign of medial *ri*.

⁵ This mark of punctuation is shown by two dots.

i.

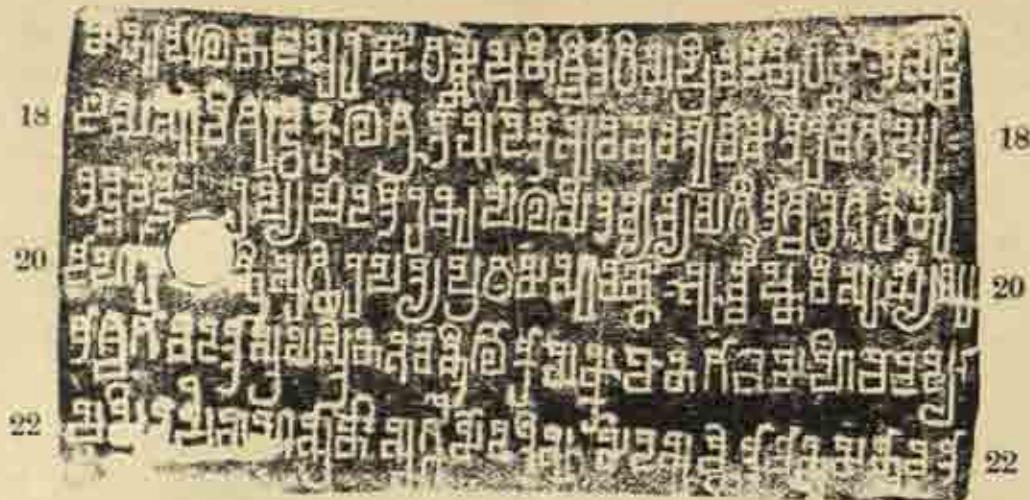


ii, a.



ii, b.





Seal

From a photograph.

Actual size.



- 7 हतधोरान्वका[र]¹ जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यव्यतिषिञ्चोपतिषि-
 8 रचाटभट² पावेय्यव्यञ्जकारविसर्जितः³ प्रतिहारभोगिज्ञेन माता-
 9 पिचोराम्नच पुष्पाभिहृदये कात्यायनमगोचमाध्यन्दिनवान-
 10 सनेययज्ञस्वामिनः(ने) शब्दज्ञेन⁴ भारवानकुमारवत्तथा(वका)चे-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 11 यकावुवाचसनेययज्ञस्वामिनः(नौ) प्रत्यज्ञेन⁵ कात्यायनविशा[ख]-
 12 स्वामिकौशिकम(मा)ध्यन्दिनगोतस्वामि एवं दामोदरस्वामि दामस्वामि
 13 भारवानपञ्चानिस्वामि दीक्षितायनीका[न]⁶ प्रत्यज्ञेन⁷ ताम्ना(स्व)शास-
 14 नेनातिष्ठथो भूत्वास्वाभिरनुमोदितः⁸ [1^{*}] ते यूयमेवमुपलभ्येषा-
 15 सांज्ञावक्त्रविधेया भूत्वा यद्योचितं भोगभाममुपनयन्तक्षुषं
 16 प्रतिवन्ध्य [1^{*}] भविष्यतश्च भूमिपाननुदगयति [1^{*}] दानाविगिट⁹

Third Plate : First Side.

- 17 मनुपालनज(ञ) पुराणा धर्मेषु निश्चितधियः¹⁰ प्रवदन्ति धर्म(मर्म) ॥ (1)
 तस्मादि(दि)-
 18 जाय सुविश्वकुलश्रुताय दत्तां भुवं भवतु वो मतिरेव गोप[न]¹¹ ॥¹²
 19 तद्वद्विरप्येषा दत्ति(त्ति)रनुपालयितव्या [1^{*}] व्यासगोता(ता)षाच लोकां-
 20 दाहन्ति [1^{*}] अग्नेरपत्य(त्वं) प्रथमं सुवर्णं ॥¹³ भूर्वर्णवी सूर्यसु-
 21 ताच गावः[1^{*}] दत्ताख्यस्तेन भवं(ध)न्ति लोका यद्वाचनं गां च मही-
 (र्ही) च दद्यात् [1^{*}]¹⁴

¹ The letter *ra* which was first omitted is written below *ja* of *japa* with a *lekha* sign and the *assada* meant for *ra* is placed on *ek*.

² The cross on *u* shows that a syllable was omitted.

³ *Ta* is written below the line.

⁴ The *visarga* is superfluous.

⁵ Read *चन्द्रादेन*.

⁶ Read *तामि*.

⁷ Read *प्राप्तज्ञेन*.

⁸ The medial *i* sign which was first suppressed above *hi* by mistake has been cancelled.

⁹ There are two small horizontal strokes here.

¹⁰ Metre : *Paustallala*.

¹¹ The sign of punctuation here is superfluous.

¹² Metre : *Paustallala*.

22 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः ।*] आच्छेत्ता वागुमं(म)न्ता च ता-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

23 न्वेव नरके वसेत् ॥*] वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता(त्ता) राजमिहगरादिभिः ।*

24 यस्व यस्व यदा भूमित(स्त)स्व तस्व तदा फलं(लम्) ॥*] स्वदन्ता(त्ता)
परदन्ता(त्ता) वा यन्ता-

25 द्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर ।*] महीश्वहिमतच्छ्रेष्ठ दाना'च्छ्रेयोनुपाननमिति' ॥*] स्वसु-

26 स्यान्म(त्त)या संव(वत्) ८' वैशाख दि २० ८ उक्ती(त्ती)च्छ्रे द्रोण[सिन्वे]न ॥

The Seal.

1 प्रस[त्राण]वसन्त[त]मा[न]मावेन्दुजन्मनः ।*

2 त्रीमख [श]मन' ॥*

NO. 1.—A NOTE ON THE PANCHAVARA COMMITTEE.

By K. V. SUDRAMANYA Aiyer, B.A., COIMBATORE.

One of the principal duties of the village assemblies, of whatever description they may be, *sabhā, ūc* or *nagara*, was to secure to the king the taxes or incomes due by the village as a whole. These incomes seem to have been once for all determined and entered in the accounts of the State, the *nāḍa* and the village. The various assemblies mentioned above are given a latitude of free action in the general management of the lands in the village, but are made primarily responsible for the realisation and payment to the State of the incomes due to it. Subject to this responsibility, they seem to have been empowered to dispose of lands according to circumstances, *etc.*, to compound taxes on lands given away as *dēvadānas*, *brahmadāyas*, *paṭṭichchavudus*, *śīlābhāgas*, *etc.*; to afford facilities for making the waste lands arable; to authorise the opening of channels, tanks and the like for improving farms; and to regulate the supply of water both for drinking and for cultivation purposes. Besides this responsibility, their chief function appears to have been the management of endowments made to temples and charitable institutions in the villages under their jurisdiction; the well-being of the subjects; local administration of justice, *etc.*, for which they seem to have been vested with necessary powers. For carrying out these varying duties, the members of village assemblies appear to have formed themselves into different committees.

* Metre : *Anuṣṭup*.

* The syllables द्रष्ट which were omitted here have been inserted below the line with a *kāṇḍa* sign.

* Read 'pāṇḍava' ūc.

* [I am inclined to read this symbol as 7.—Ed.]

* Metre : *Anuṣṭup*. Read the latter half of the verso as *Śrīmat-Sudāmaṇḍaśya aṣṭāṅga-jyotiḥ śāstrina(n)* following the other plates of this rubric.

EXTRACT II.¹

I-nallattāl vanda pū-pponam pañchavāraṁ vālikkāṁ nirvilaiyum uḷḷitta antarāya-gaḷum vaṭṭi mutṭaiyūl eṇchōṭṭu-kkūṟṟuṁ uḷḷitta kuḍimaigal eppōṟpattadam oṇgaḷ ūṟgaḷ mēḷe eṭṭi. I-nallattāl vanda iṟai-ḷiṇḷi.

TRANSLATION.

All the internal taxes (*antarāya*) inclusive of *pū-ppon* (gold due at harvest) *pañchavāraṁ*, *vālikkāṁ* (the *kāḷu* due on *velli*), and *nirvilai* (water-rate), as well as all *kuḍimai* inclusive of *vaṭṭi*, *mutṭaiyūl*, *eṇchōṭṭu* and *kkūṟṟuṁ*, accruing from this land, shall (*hereafter*) be imposed on our village and this land shall be enjoyed free of taxes.

NOTE.—From this extract it is made plain that *pañchavāraṁ* is one of the internal taxes or fees (*antarāya*) accruing from lands such as *pū-ppon*, *vālikkāṁ* and *nirvilai*, which incomes, we know from other inscriptions, were due to the king from lands. The fees forming the *antarāya* are, in this inscription, differentiated from another kind of fees named *kuḍimai*.

EXTRACT III.²

I. 3 kōv-Irājākṣaripaṇmar-āṇa uḍaiyār śrī-Rājādih(i*)rājādēvarku yāṇḍu 38-
ēvadu Jayaṅgōḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalattu

9 Oymā-nāṭṭu-kKikkay-nāṭṭu-kKijaṅgil-āṇa Mummaḍiśōḷanallūr [ūrōm] mīla-
vilaiy-āvanam (i*) oṇgaḷ-ṭiruttōḷāvaramuḷḷaiya-māḍḍa[r]

10 kōyilḷi śrī-Irājādihirājavīṇkar-Śaṇḍēvaradēvar-pakkal koṇḍa kāṇ 100 i-kkāṁ
nūruṇ-koṇḍa nāṅgaḷ-ēṇṇuṁ kadhīrādittavar-ēḍḍāya-ppañchavāraṁ uḷ-

11 paḍa-ēṇṇilvanyum peruvaiyūm ellām iṇṇka ittēvar-ṟaiyilḷi aṅḁarikka-kkaḍa-
varāga viṟṟukkuḍutta mīlam-ēvadu (i*)

12 śrī-Rājādih(i*)rājaviṇṇakadēvar nāṅgaḷ-ṟaiyilḷi dēvadānamāga viṟṟukkuḍutta

13 pariālvadu (i*) ūṟṟkum śrī-vēṇḍuṁ ēḍḍāya-ppañchavāraṁ āḷvarigaḷu(m*) māṭṭum
eppōṟpatta iḷai kaḷippitru-ṭiruttōḷāvaramuḷḷaiy-ṟaiyilḷi dēvadāna-

14 māga aṅḁarikka-kkaḍavārgaḷāga viṟṟukkuḍutta mīlattiḷ uḷḍu kuḍigaḷai eppō-
patta. iṟaimōṭṭa. kāṭṭapperādōmāgavum-ippariṇṇu viṟṟu vilai-kāṇm Śa-

15 ṇḍēvaradēvar-pakkal vilai-pporuḷum-ṟai-pporuḷumāga-kkoṇḍu iṇṇ-ūṟṟu ōṇṇam-
ṟaiyilḷi dēvadānam-ākki [viḷḷu vilaiy-āvanam] ōydu kuḍuttōm

16 Tiruttōḷāvaratt-ēḷundaruḷuvitta Irājādih(i*)rājaviṇṇakadēvar Śaṇḍēvaradēvar(i*)ko
Kijaṅgil-āṇa Mummaḍiśōḷanallūr-ūrōm.

TRANSLATION.

In the 38th year of (the reign of) king Rājākṣaripaṇmar alias Uḍaiyār Rājādihirāḍēva, we, the village (assembly) of Kijaṅgil alias Mummaḍiśōḷanallūr in Kikkai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Oymā-nāḍu, (which was a district) of Jayaṅgōḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, made the following sale deed of land. (We) received from Rājādihirājavīṇkar-Śaṇḍēvaradēvar of the temple of Tiruttōḷāvaramuḷḷaiya-Mahādēva of our village 100 *kāṇ*. Having received (this amount of) one hundred *kāṇ*, we sold the (following) land, ourselves paying for it, as long as the moon and the sun last, all (the dues of) *śihari* and *peruvai* including *ēḍḍāyam*, *pañchavāraṁ*, etc., and the god enjoying it free of taxes.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 64, unpublished portion.

² S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 342.

In this wise, we sold (the land) as a tax-free *dēvadāna* to the god Rājadhīrājavīṇkar. Causing the deduction of all kinds of dues such as *siddhāyam*, *pañchavāra* and *śilvāri* required (to be paid) to the *ūr* and the tank, we sold and gave the land to (the god) Tiruttinḍiāvaramudaiyār to be enjoyed as a tax-free *dēvadāna*. We shall not (let) this land for cultivation or receive any kind of dues thereon. We, the village (assembly), of Kijāngil al-as Munniāḍiḍḍanallūr, having sold the land in this wise, and having received from *Ṣaṇḍōṣvaradēvar* the sale amount and tax amount, made this village and the tank a tax-free *dēvadāna*; drew up the sale deed and gave it to Rājadhīrājavīṇkar-*Ṣaṇḍōṣvaradēvar* set up in (the temple of) Tiruttinḍiāvaram.

NOTE.—The above extract is from an inscription of the time of the Chōla king Rājadhīrāja I., dated in the 28th year of his reign (-A.D. 1040), found at Kijāngil in the South Arcot District. The inscription registers a sale of land—together with the right to three-fourths of the tanks irrigating it (this is found in the unextracted portion of the inscription)—to the temple of Tiruttinḍiāvaramudaiyār at the place, by the *ūr* assembly. In this, the assembly, after acknowledging receipt of the price of the land sold and the amount for making it tax-free, states that it had caused the taxes due on the land to be deducted (from the accounts) and conveyed it to the temple to be enjoyed as a tax-free *dēvadāna*, the *ūr* assembly meeting the taxes due on the land and the tank. Here also, as in the second extract *pañchavāra* is mentioned among the taxes due from lands, e.g., *siddhāyam*, *śilvāri* and *perumari*.

EXTRACT IV.¹

L. 4 *iraṇḍu tirunandīvilak-erippadarkku pañchavāra-kkālōḍ-ekku(m*) nāḷiyāl tūga*

5 *paḍin-aru-nāḷi uri āḷakku neyyum kōyilukkā koṇḍu-ṣeṇu....*

TRANSLATION.

For burning the two perpetual lamps, sixteen *nāḷi*, (one) *uri*, and one *āḷakku* of ghee, as measured by the measure equal in capacity to the *pañchavārakkāl*, shall be taken monthly to the temple.

NOTE.—The above extract is dated in the 14th year (-A.D. 983-4) of the reign of the Chōla king Parakṛāmarivarman Uttama-Chōla and states that the quantity of ghee given to the temple must be measured by the *nāḷi* equal in capacity to the measure called *pañchavārakkāl*. Incidentally this inscription helps us to understand that *pañchavāra* is a payment in kind and that for measuring it a special measure was employed which derived its name *pañchavārakkāl* from the use which it was put to. From one of the Takkōlam inscriptions of Parāntaka I.,² we get the information that the capacity of a *pañchavāra* measure (*marakkāl*) was 7 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* as measured by the *Rūjakkāri-nāḷi*. Thus the *pañchavāra-marakkāl* was less than the ordinary *marakkāl* only by 1 *uri*.

EXTRACT V.³

L. 27 *Paḷan-dēvadānamāga Pūṇḍuṇi nilam paṇḍiru-vēliyiṇāl muṇ-dēvarakku nikki irukka-kkaḍava pañchavāram nel-*

28 *lu aṇunūṇṇ-kkaḷamum Muṇṇṇṇaḷṇṇi nilam nāl-vēliyiṇāl dēvarakku nikki irukka-kkaḍava pañchavāra-nāl-i-*

¹ S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 114.

² No. 261 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

³ S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 101.

29 runūru-khalamum i-dēvarkkēy-iruppadāga-kkuḍi nūkki iṟayiyāga yāḍḍ-āṟvadu-mudal variyil-iṟṟu-kkuḍutt-aruj-

30 iru [*]

TRANSLATION.

In order that the six hundred *kalam* of paddy of *pañchavāram* which previously had to be set apart and paid to the *dēva* (king) from the twelve *vēli* of land of the old *dēvadāsa* village of Pūṅguḍi and the two hundred *kalam* of paddy of *pañchavāram* which had to be set apart and paid to the *dēva* (king) from the four *vēli* of land of Muṭṭaiakkuḍi, shall (*hereafter*) be paid to this god (temple), the ryots removed and the lands made tax-free and entered as such in the accounts and given over with effect from the sixth year (*of the king's reign*).

NOTE.—This extract is from an inscription from Kōṅṇirājapuram in the Tanjore District, dated in the 7th year of the reign of Parakāśavarman and relates to grants of lands in the two villages Pūṅguḍi and Muṭṭaiakkuḍi to the temple at the village. From it, it is seen that this item of *pañchavāram* was paid in paddy and to the king before the assignment of the lands in the two villages was made to the temple. The phrase *dēvarkkē nūkki iṟṟu-kkuḍutt* qualifying *pañchavāram* occurring twice in the extract makes this sense clear, and precludes us from taking the word *dēva* in this phrase to mean the temple or god. The effect of the grant of the lands was that the stated incomes in paddy which till then used to be paid to the king were transferred to the temple. This extract further lets us know the rate at which this fee of *pañchavāram* was paid. Since 600 *kalam* was the *pañchavāra* for 12 *vēli* and 200 *kalam* for 4 *vēli*, it works out at 50 *kalam* per *vēli*. The extracts IV and V thus make it quite plain that *pañchavāra* was a tax or fee paid to the king, in kind, on the lands of a village, at 50 *kalam* per *vēli*.

To judge from the rate, it may be said that *pañchavāra* was not an insignificant item in the revenue of the king but was the chief one. The word *vāram* in the compound *pañchavāram* would even suggest that it may be the (king's) share, rent or assessment on land. And the particle *pañcha* can have nothing to do with *pañcā* or *pañcā* meaning 'cotton' or with *pañcam* meaning 'famine'.

We shall now give one more extract with translation to show what the ordinary rate of assessment on lands was and how and when it was realised. It will furnish the ratio of *pañchavāram* to the entire assessment.

EXTRACT VI.¹

L. 29 iṟvār iṟukku-iḍattu iṟubattu-

21 [n]ṁ[i-a]ḍiyāga Sōndara-Pāṇḍiyāg-kōḷi nilam-aḷandu payir pā[?]t[?]vā vāḷanda nilattukku [a]ntarāyannu[m] viṇṇ[?]gamum taruvadāga qechchum kārīyavarāchchiyum² vetti-pāṭṭamum pañchuppi sandavikkiragapp[?]um ma[?]ruṁ e[?]p[?]e[?]ya[?]p[?]e[?]t[?]ṭ[?]arum utpaḍa kārukku mātāi

22 kēu kēum mudal Vira-Pāṇḍiyāṇi nelli mukkalamum tūḷi viraichchu vāḷanda nilattukku iṟvarāyāyil [o]ṟu-pāḍiyum e[?] [vā]ragu [ti]ṭṭippuḷi-irūgu vāḷanda nilattukku mātāi tira[ma]m-irāḍum [pa]ḷānam-iṟva[ti]ḷa[?]y[?]māga iṟv-āḍu-mudal iṟuppa-

¹ S. J. I., Vol. V, No. 448, pp. 178-1.

² Read kārīyavarāchchiyum.

33-dāga iṣṭu variyilār eṣuttuṭṭa uṭṭariyūṁ nam ālaiyūṁ-tara-ehchonnōm (i*) kaikkorṇu
ippaḍi cha(nḍrā)ṭṭiyavat śelvaḍāga-kka(i*) jilum ōmḥilum veṭṭiṭṭaḥḥavēṇṇu tiruvāymo(i)ṭṭe-
daruṭṭiṭṭaḥ (ii*)].

TRANSLATION.

In respect of payment of taxes of this village, the lands shall be measured by the rod Sundara-Pāṇḍya-kōl of twenty-four feet length, the crops examined, and on lands on which crops had been realised, for *antariya* and *vinayāga*, for *achetu*, *kāriyavārūchchi*, *ceṭṭe-pūṭṭam*, *paṭṭachupṭi*, *sandu(sundhi)niṅraḥappēru* and for all other payable dues, there shall be paid from this year one-fourth *kāṣu* and three *kalam* of paddy as measured by Vira-Pāṇḍya (-kāl) during *Kār* on each *mā* of land; one-half of this rate shall be paid on lands sown in *Tulā* and crops raised, two *tirumam* shall be paid on each *mā* of land in which *eḷ*, *varagu*, *tiṇaippal* and *irūngu* had been harvested; and that this same rate shall be (levied) for *paḍānam* also: and that a copy of the tax register signed by the *variyilār* as well as a copy of our order shall be issued. Thus receiving (ū), let the same be engraved on stone and copper so that it may remain in force as long as the moon and the sun last.

NOTE.—This inscription is dated in the 8th year and 988th day of the reign of Māyavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and is of importance in several ways. In the first place it lets us know that arrangements existed for the periodical inspection of crops and land; that assessment was charged only on such of the lands as had been sown and crops realised; that this assessment was paid both in kind and in money, which included a number of fees, small and great. The following are stated to be the rates, viz., 3 *kalam* of paddy and $\frac{1}{4}$ *kāṣu* on each *mā* for *Kār*, half of this rate for *Tulā* cultivation, 2 *tirumam* (drammas) on each *mā* for the cultivation of *eḷ*, *varagu*, etc.; for *paḍānam* also, the above rates prevailed. The information would have been complete and left nothing to be desired, had the inscription specified the quantity to be paid for each item separately. Even as it is, it serves a very useful purpose as we shall see presently. From the rate given for *mā*, the assessment for a *vēḷi* works out to 60 *kalam* of paddy and 5 *kāṣu*. This covered all the taxes payable on land, *antariya* and others, mentioned and unmentioned as the inscription puts it, some of which were given in kind and others in money. We have already shown that one of the items included in the *antariya* was *paṭṭachārā* and it was 50 *kalam* for a *vēḷi*. Therefore, deducting this 50 *kalam*, the balance of 10 *kalam* and 5 *kāṣu* should have been the charge for all the other items put together. Thus, the single item of *paṭṭachārā*, amounting to as much as 50 *kalam* out of 60 paid in paddy, seems to be the prime source of the state income from lands. The proportion of this item of *paṭṭachārā* to the entire income in paddy being five-sixths, an explanation of the connotation of this term is furnished. The duty of the *Paṭṭachārā* committee may therefore be taken to be the realisation of this important revenue. Here we may note also that a few Sanskrit charters make mention of committee-assemblies and that one in particular has reference evidently to the *Paṭṭachārā* committee. Verse 8 of the Kolavennu plates¹ of Chālukya-Bhīm II, in describing the donees of the grant, has "yat-putra-putrāḥ pataṇḍa vataṇḍa vāṇḍaśāhīśu." The Masulipatam plates² of the same king, besides employing the term *vāṇḍaśāhī*, refer to *paṭṭachārā*. The verses in question run as follows:—

yat-putra-putrāḥ vataṇḍa vāṇḍaśāhīśu vāṇḍaśāhī :

paṭṭachārāṁ samāpāyā samāpāyāntā malājanaḥ ||

¹ S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 45.

² Above, Vol. V, p. 127, v. 8; see also p. 128, n. 7.

It is not unlikely that *vāragāhā* in these inscriptions is an equivalent of *vāriyā* and that *paṭhakasāri* has the same significance as *paṭhakavārasāriyā* of the Uttaramaṭṭūr records. The Sīyadōḷi inscription¹ uses the word *vāra-pramukha* in which one may easily recognise the Tamil *vāriya-pparamakkal*. From the reference in the Maanlipatan plates, it may be gathered that the choice of a person to serve on the *Paṭhakavāra* committee was done by the *Mahājana* by which term are perhaps meant the great men of the village assembly and that the selection was considered a great honour.

NO. 5.—KOLHAPUR COPPER-PLATES OF GANDARADITYADEVA. SAKA 1048.

By A. N. UPADHYE, M.A., KOLHAPUR.

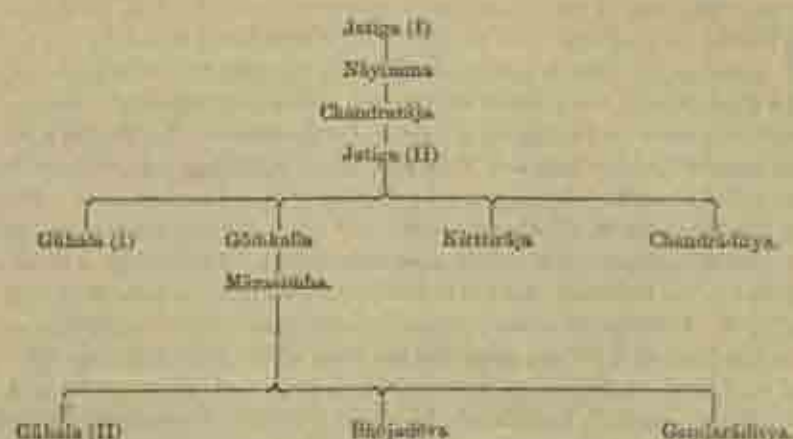
The present copper-plates were discovered in course of the operations of levelling the Khāsāg grounds, Kolhāpur. They were put in a nice stone-case with a slipping lid and buried some six to seven feet below the surface. The plates with the stone-case are now kept in the Rajaram College Museum, Kolhāpur. I am very thankful to the Principal, Rajaram College, for his kindness in placing these plates at my disposal for their study.

The plates consist of three copper sheets each measuring 11 inches in length and about 7½ inches in breadth. They are strung together with a ring of 3 inches in diameter to which is fixed a square seal (3½ by 2½ inches) bearing in relief a well and prominently carved figure of Gāruḍa holding a cobra in his left hand. On the prominent border line of the surface there are the marks of the moon and the sun. The plates are tolerably thick, at least 1/10 of an inch, and the inside edges are slightly raised to protect the writing. The first side of the first plate is blank. On the second side of the last plate there is a line-drawing of a cow with a flag and a sword in front, and the sun and the moon in the corners above.

The plates are preserved in a good condition, due to being enclosed in the heavy stone-case. The characters are Dēvanāgarī, and they are deeply incised. A few letters are worn out, but the reading can be easily guessed. The record is composed partly in prose and partly in verse, the language being Sanskrit. As to orthography almost all the conjuncts with *r* have their other consonant duplicated, e.g., *ṛṛṇi* (l. 7), *ṛṛṇama*, *vāraṇa* (l. 12), *vāraṇa* (l. 18), *vāraṇa* (l. 25), etc. Sometimes the consonants have been doubled wrongly, e.g., *vaṇṇi* (l. 9), *paṭhakāṇana* (l. 10), *abhiṇṇa* (l. 13), *śikṇa* (l. 13), *pratiṇṇa* (l. 21), *adhiṇṇa* (l. 27), etc. Almost uniformly *b* is represented by *v* in these plates. Though the language is Sanskrit, it shows a good deal of Kannaḍa influence. Perhaps the grant was drafted on a Kannaḍa model. The text contains a few Kannaḍa words too, viz., *maruṇṇa-vāraṇa*, *ayyana-śikṇa* (l. 18), *śikṇa-śikṇa* (l. 19), *śikṇa-śikṇa* (l. 22), *kāmpaṇa* (l. 30) and *śaṅṅa* (ll. 32, 38). *Vid-āṇṇa* is decidedly an imitation of Kannaḍa *vidṇa* which occurs in the same context in various Kannaḍa grants. The meaning of *śaṅṇa* or *śaṅṇa*, etc. (ll. 34, 38) is not clear; even the scribe, in fact, does not appear to be sure about its sound, as he is not uniform in its spelling.

¹ *Asiatica*, Vol. I, pp. 123ff.

The genealogy of the Śiṣhāra dynasty given in these plates is as shown below :—



It agrees with the usual genealogy of the Śiṣhāras of Kolhāpur¹ with the differences: (i) that here we have no mention of Ballāja, a brother between Bhōjadēva and Gaṇḍarāditya; and (ii) that Gūhala (I), in these plates, is shown as the elder brother of Gōmkalla which information we have got here for the first time. In other Śiṣhāra plates² we are only told that Gōmkalla and Gūhala were the sons of Jata, but in the present record Gūhala is definitely mentioned as an *agraja* which cannot mean anything but an elder brother.³ Gūhala is called *ra* here, and in the plates published by Bhagvanlal Indraji we also get: *śaś-bāhāl Gūhala rājā rājā-śi-agraja-bāhāt*. But it is very difficult to say in the light of the available materials whether Gūhala ruled the country any time, for it appears to have been usual to call all the royal brothers as *rājā*, etc. Possibly Gūhala died early and without any issue. That might explain why Gōmkalla is so prominently mentioned; and after him Gūhala is mentioned casually, though he was the elder brother.

As to the contents of the plates, the grant opens with a few verses giving the genealogy of Gaṇḍarādityadēva of the Kolhāpur branch of the Śiṣhāra dynasty. Then we have a long list of the titles of this ruler. Gaṇḍarāditya, in response to the request of his minister Maniapaṇḍya, is stated to have granted lands at Kōmniṣavāḍa which is in the *khampaga* (something like our modern Taluk of Kojavalli in the district of Mirānji, for the repair of the temple of Khōḍāditya at Brahmapur in Kolhāpur and for the maintenance of eight Brahmins whose names and *gṛhas* are given. The grant was made in the Saka year 1048 when Gaṇḍarādityadēva was in his camp at Vallavāḍa-grāma. The grant concludes with the usual verses of curse on those who may violate the conditions of the grant.

A few words may be added regarding the localities mentioned in these records. The Śiṣhāras are called *Tagarapuramādīśvara*, and about the identification of the city of Tagara

¹ See J. B. B. A. S., Vol. XIII, p. 8; Bhattacharya, *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 173.

² See Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 23.

³ [The word *agraja* here has probably to be taken in the sense of 'the first born son' (i.e., Gōmkalla was the eldest son of Jata). The Śiṣhāra grant of Mīrāmbha dated Saka 980 published in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India* (pp. 102 ff.) states clearly that Gūhala was the younger brother of Gōmkalla. The Kāthi plates of Bhōjadēva (A. Rep. of the Bharata Vikas Sanshodhan Mandal for Saka 1836, pp. 222 ff.) which also contain the verse under discussion give the reading *śāśis* in place of *agraja*. Thus we find in the plates under publication the same order of descent of the brothers, viz., Gūhala, Gūhala, Kittirāja and Chandraditya as in other Śiṣhāra charters.—N. L. B.]

much has been written. Fleet's identification of Tagara with Tār is now generally accepted. I might, however, refer here to two latest papers on the subject. Prof. K. G. Kundaikar proposes that Tagara should be identified with Tārka.¹ But it is difficult to derive the form Tārka from Tagara; and moreover, the place is nowhere called Tārka-yapura from which he has tried to derive it. Recently Prof. Hiralal has pointed out² that a Vidyādharma dynasty is associated with Tār, twelve miles to the north of Dhārāvā or modern Osmanabad in the Nizam's Dominions. He indicates the possibility that Nila and Mahānila, two Vidyādharma princes from Himālaya, were the ancestors of Śilāhāra, and they migrated to Tār for some political reasons. Thus Prof. Hiralal confirms, on the authority of *Karnāṭka-chūri* and other literary sources, the opinion of Fleet that Tagara should be identified with Tār near Osmanabad. Vallavāḍa is to be identified with Vajayavāḍa also called Vajavāḍa, the site of the present Rādhānagarī about 27 miles to the south-west of Kolhāpur. Kolhāpur is the present Kolhāpur; and Brahmapurī is, even to this day, a local name of a part of Kolhāpur adjoining the bank of the river Pañchagaṅgā. Mirājī is to be identified with Mirāj, and Kōḍavalli with Kōḍoli about seven miles to the east of Kolhāpur. Kōmṇjavāḍa is not identified, but it might have been a small village near about Kōḍavalli.

The date, Śaṇivāra, Āshāḍha Śukla Chaturthī, Śaka 1048 of the plates, as kindly worked out for me by Principal R. N. Apte, corresponds with Saturday, 26th June 1126 A.D., which was a day of Karka-saṁkrānti.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1-3, 5, 9, 10 *Anuṣṭup*; vv. 4, 6, 8 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 7 *Upajit*.]

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti śri ||* Jayaty-āvinikṛitān Viśvaśr-vāśāhān kṣhōbbhit-āṇḍayān ||* dakṣiṇ-śūna
(śūna)te-dāṭhātṛ-āṅga-vikrānta³-bhuvanaḥ
- 2 vapuḥ ||| ||* Āśid-vidyādharmaḥ pūrvān nānū⁴ Jīmūtavāhanaḥ ||* par-ārthān jīvitān
yān Garuḍāya
- 3 nivēditān || 2 ||* Śūlāhār-ākhyā-vaidya-yān Tagarāvara-bhūbhṛitān ||* tad-vadān
Jatigō nāma jā-
- 4 tō bhūbhṛich-chālikhāmaṇi || 3 ||* Svasti śri-Jatiga-kṣhitā-tanayō Nāyīmna-nāmā nṛi-
pān putras-tasya cha Charadrarāt-pritha-yaśā-tasy-āpī sūnuḥ kila ||* sām|tō Jatigō
- 6 jagaj-jana-nūtaḥ śrīmānā-cha tath(n)-nānādanō Gōmkallō bhuvī bhūmī-pāla-ti-
- 7 lakṣa-tasy-āpy-abbhūd-agrajaḥ⁵ || 4 ||* Gōhalēśō-cha tad-bhṛātā Kīrttirājō-nujō-
- 8 aya cha ||* Charadrāditya-tata-tasya chakrō rōjyam-akantakam || 5 ||* Śrīmād-Gōm-
kāl-bhū-
- 9 mi-pāla-tanayaḥ śri-Mārasinhō nṛipa-tat-sūnur-nṛipa-mauli(h)-lālita-pa-
- 10 da-śi-Gōhal-ākhyō nṛipaḥ ||* tad-bhṛātā bhuvī Bhōjadēva-nṛipatir-vair-ibha-paśochchā
(chā).

¹ See *Karnāṭka Sāhitya-parīkṣā-patricka*, October, 1934.

² See Introduction to his edition of *Karnāṭka-chūri*, pp. 41 ff. and his article in the *Annals of the B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 4 ff.

³ In these plates very often *anavāra* is used in place of *paranavāra*.

⁴ Read *anvāra*.

⁵ [See note 3 on p. 23 Ed.]

2 2
 निवदिता शितादाय खंशोस्तगापश्यत्तसंतत द्वे श्रुतिगोनामसा
 4 4
 पः पुत्रस्य संपदं प्रादुष्टमस्य सप्तमपि सनः किल संज्ञातो कतिमा
 6 6
 लकस्यमापातदयज्ञः गदत्तेशवतद्वा ताकोत्रिंशजानुव
 8 8
 मायत्ततनदः श्रीमायसिंदो नृषसक्तुर्नृषोत्तमसित्वा तितप
 10 10
 ननस्यवेयास्यस्यदितपष्टदशालंकशस्यैकित्तस्यानुजाव
 12 12
 संपदं प्रादुष्टमस्य सप्तमपि सनः किल संज्ञातो कतिमा

iii.

14 14
 श्रुतिगोनामसापश्यत्तसंतत द्वे श्रुतिगोनामसा
 16 16
 लकस्यमापातदयज्ञः गदत्तेशवतद्वा ताकोत्रिंशजानुव
 18 18
 मायत्ततनदः श्रीमायसिंदो नृषसक्तुर्नृषोत्तमसित्वा तितप
 20 20
 ननस्यवेयास्यस्यदितपष्टदशालंकशस्यैकित्तस्यानुजाव
 22 22
 संपदं प्रादुष्टमस्य सप्तमपि सनः किल संज्ञातो कतिमा
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11. nanai-chakrē rājyam-akhamditaṁ pritha-yasā laṅkata¹-tulliyati(ryam) kila [16][*]. Ta-ya-
ānujō dha-
12. rama-dharō dharitryāṁ dudhāra varagān-akhiḷā(lā)ra-eva-dharmō [1*] dhairy-āgra-dhuryō
Dhanadō dhanādōṣṭh

Second Plate : First Side.

13. śrī-Gaṇḍarāditya iti prasiddhaḥ [17][*] Dīn-ānātha-daridra-duḥkhi-vikalla(la)-vyākṛpa-
nānō-
14. vidha-pūṇi-triṣa-parīyaṇaḥ pratidinam guṇi-ākhyā-dāna yaḥ [1] yaḥ kṛiṣṭa-ājina-dhā-
15. na-bhūmy-ubhayatōmukhy-ādī-dāna-pradaḥ saśvad-V(B)rahma-mati-praviṇa-hṛdayō bhū-
dēva-ka-
16. Ipa-drumaḥ [18][*] Svasti [1*] Samadhi-gata-paṭichamaḥśav(b)da-Mahāmaṇḍalāśvama-
Tagara-pura-
17. var-ādhiavarah śrī-Śilāhāra-narēndrō Jīmūtavāhan-ānvaya-prasūta-śvavara-ḷa-
18. ruḍa-dhavyō masuraśika-sarppa² ayyana-siṣṇaḥ³ ripu-maṇḍalika-bhāravō vidvāt-
gaḥ-kadambirava-
19. iduvā-ādityō rūpa-Nārāyaṇaḥ Śaivāra-siddhā(dhā)ra-giri-durga-lamghanaḥ Kali-yuga-
Vikramā-
20. dityaḥ śrī-Mohālakṣmī-lav(b)da-vara-prasāda-ādī-samasta-sāśvāt-viśjita-
21. śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalāśv(ā)śvarō Gaṇḍarāditya-dēvō dāṣṭa-nigraha-siṣṭa-pratipāḷa(la)-
22. na-purassaram eva-dharmāp-sika-chakhatram-upabhūjānō Vallavāḍa-grāmē viś-
ānuvṛ-
23. tyā(ityā) sakha-samkathā-vinōdāna-vijaya-sājjyam(jyam) chīram kurvan virājatō [1*] Tat-pā-
24. da-padm-ōpajīvi-mahāpradhānēna Kaṭitāmātya-Maillapayyēna mahā-tīrtṭhō

Second Plate : Second Side.

25. śrī-Kōḷāpurō V(B)rahma-nirmīta-V(B)rahmapuryāṁ śrī-Khōḷāditya-dēvassya(aya) jīra-
prāṇ-
26. da-samudhā(dhā)raya-purassaram Trikuṭa-prāsadaṁ viānirmāya tatra V(B)rahma-
Vishṇu gra-
27. tishṭhāpya tatra dharmma-chakirahayā vijlāpita-śrī-Gaṇḍarādityadēvas-tad-sadhi-gammya
(mya)
28. Śaka-varahēshv sahaar-ōparyy-aṣṭāchatvāriṣṭati gatkyāṁ varitamāna-Paṇḍhava-
samvatsa-
29. r-āntargat-Āhāḍha-śukla-chaturthiyāṁ Śaivātē dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrāntau Mīrīmji-dā-
dā-
30. tatggata-Kōjavallī-khampan-ānuvartini Kōṭinijavāda-grāmē tatrya-Nārgā-
31. vuhḍa-Nāḷaya-Sēnayābhyām Nārgāvuhḍa-sāmyabhūtaṁ Kūṇḍi-dudhāna nivarita-
32. na-dvayaṁ mānyam chaturvīmāti-basta-vistarāṁ magilam-aṣṭa-bhāga-sāmyam
cha krayāḍ-ādāya

¹ Apparently there is a scribal error. I propose the reading *Laṅkāna*.

² Read *masuraśika-sarppa*.

- 33 grāma-bhūmī-madhye tēn-aiva daṁḍeṇa' chaturāri nivarṭtanāni nikhāpya śhaṇḍ-nivarṭtanāni mānyam kṛtvā ta-
- 34 t-pretivādhānā' mallavān kuruvaṁ cha kṛtvā chaturvīṁśati-hastam vistarān nivāṇanān atyāt-śaṭśāṭvārīṁśadh(d)-dhaṣṭa-vi-
- 35 saraṁ nivāṇanān ch-ēty-ēvaṁ dvāśaptatī-hasta-vistarān magilān ch-ēty-ētat-sarva-Nāgavundān sāmyam kṛtvā taṁ-ma-
- 36 dhye V(b)rahmapuryān āi-Khōjādīvadāya-sannidhau dvādaśānām v(b)rāhmaṇānām āvā-vāhy-ōdanāna ādhakya-ān-āpāna ghṛi-

Third Plate.

- 37 tēna tākrōga chaturbhūḥ śākaś-cha bhōjaniya tūshbūlāya cha tēn-aiva daṁḍeṇa mānyam nivarṭtana-ārayam
- 38 malavam cha kuruvam cha magila-madhye chaturvīṁśati-hasta-vistarān nivāṇanān cha aṣṭa-bhōga-tēja-
- 39 sāmyam ch-ēty-ētat | Tathā tat-sarva-dharmma-prachīntakāḥ Gaṇṭama-gōtrā Gaṇḍādhara-chaturvīḍi-bhāt-āpādhya-
- 40 yāḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtrā Gōvīṇḍa(n)-kramavidāḥ Atri-gōtrā Bhāskara-Chaturvīḍināḥ Jāmalagnya-
- 41 Vaisya-gōtrā Nārāyaṇa-bhātāḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtrā Mādhaveḥ Kāyapa-gōtrā Vāmanaḥ Dharmaja-
- 42 yā(ya)-gōtrā Viśṇu-bhātāḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtrā Vāmanaḥ Śvam-aṣṭau v(b)rāhmaṇāḥ tēbhyah pratyākāḥ
- 43 tēn-aiva daṁḍeṇa vappaka-śata-chaturthayam magila-madhye pratyākam aṣṭh(d)-dhaṣṭa-vistarān niv-
- 44 ānanān cha tathā tat-Trikūṭa-prāśādaya khamḍa-sphuṭa-jīrṇa-ōddhārāya tēn-aiva daṁḍeṇa vappaka-śata-chatu-
- 45 śhayam śvam-ētat-sarvvaṁ pāda-prakāḥlana-dhārā-pūrvvakam sarvva-namasyam sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-parihāram sarv-āya-viṣu-
- 46 dharā rājakīyānām-anāgub-prakāḥlāyān ā-chatvār-ārkkam dattavān | Ētat-sarvva-dharmma-gōptārō V(B)rahmapuri-
- 47 mahājānāḥ | Va(Ba)hubbir-vyasaulhā dattā rūjabhūḥ Sagar-ādibhūḥ [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam | [1 9 11*] Śva-da-
- 48 ttām para-dattādi vā yō karōta vasmādhārād | śhaṣṭir-vvaraḥ¹-sahasrāṇi viśthāyāt jāyatē krimiḥ || [10 11*] Maṅgalam mā(ma)hā-ārī [11*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Welfare ! Prosperity !

(Verses 1) Victorious is that Viśṇu's manifested form of a boar which has agitated the ocean and which has the earth resting on the tip of its uplifted right tusk.

(Verses 2-6) Formerly there was a Vidyādhara, Jīmūtavāhana by name, who, for the sake of others, offered his life to Garuḍa. This family, called Śilāhāra, (is) of kings (who were) the lords

¹ Read *pratyakāḥ*.

² Read *śhaṣṭir-vvaraḥ*.

of Tagara; in that family was born a crest-jewel of kings *Jatiga* by name. Welfare! The prosperous lord of earth *Jatiga* had a son, king *Nāyinnia* by name; his son was *Chandrārāt* of great fame; to him in turn was born a son, *Jatiga* by name, who was praised by the people of the world; and his prosperous son was *Gōṇikalla* who was a suzerain mark (or the forebear) of all the kings on the earth. His elder brother¹ was king (1 son) *Gūhala*; his younger brother was *Kirtirāja*, and next to him was *Chandrāditya* who made his kingdom free from all the troubles. That prosperous lord of the earth, *Gōṇikalla*, had a son, viz., king *Mārasinhā*; his son was king *Gūhala* by name whose feet were lauded by the crowns of kings; his brother was king *Bhōjadēva* who was a lion to the elephants in the form of enemies on the earth, and who is reported (*kāla*) to have consolidated his kingdom with wide fame like that of the king of *Lākṣa* (17). His younger brother is the famous *Gandarāditya* who is a protector of *Dharma* on the earth, who has maintained all the *Varnas* in their respective duties, who is a courageous and foremost leader, and who is a *Kubera* of treasures. Day to day he is engrossed in sheltering by anonymous gifts the various living beings that are distressed, helpless, poor, miserable, maimed and wandering; he bestows, in both the ways,² eminent gifts such as the skin of the black-antelope, cows and lands; his mind is skilled in reflecting on the eternal *Brahman*; and he is a wish-fulfilling tree to the *Brahmins*.

(Ll. 16-23). Welfare! The prosperous *Mahāmāyadevara* *Gandarādityadēva*—who is honoured by all the royal titles such as: one who has obtained *pañcamaṅgābha*, a *Mahāmāyadevara*, the overlord of Tagara, the best of towns, the prosperous *Śiṅhāra* *Mamarch*, one born in the lineage of *Jimūtavāhana*, one who has the hammer of golden *Garaḍa*, one whose shelter is sought by the serpent,³ a lion to his father,⁴ a *Bhairava* to the mimical *Maṇḍalikas*, a lion to the elephants (in the form) of antagonists, the sun of the archers,⁵ *Nārāyaṇa* in handsomeness, one who achieved success (even) on Saturdays, one who seized the mountain forts, a *Vikramāditya* of the *Kali* age, and one who received the favours of the boon from *Śrī-Mahālakṣmī*—is carrying on for a long time his victorious reign enjoying the sole mastery of the kingdom by carrying out his

¹ [See p. 29 n. 3, above.—Ed.]

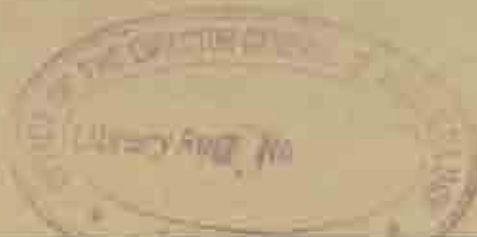
² The reading *pratyekam* instead is decidedly defective, and the metre too is spoiled. I have taken it as *lokāṇāṃ*.

³ *Chakrapāṇa* refers to gifts given in two ways, namely, openly and anonymously. [Dr. Chakrapāṇi correctly points out that *abhyakṣaṇa* has been used here in the sense of a particular row, a gift of which is highly subjoined in the *Smythia*. Cf. *Himāli, Chakrapāṇi, Dīpikāṇḍī, prakāśa* 7.—Ed.]

⁴ The correct reading should be *maṇḍalikā-śarpeṇ*. The nasal here is due to that deceptive *śarpe* (called *śarpe*) used in Old-Kannada script which has two values, when it is fat with space inside it means that the next consonant is duplicated, when small it is an *śarpe*. *Maṇḍalikā* is a Kannada word, a further corruption from *maṇḍa* or *maṇḍa* or *kaḍḍa* from the root *maṇḍ* or *maṇḍ* 'to seek shelter'. It is a title of the *Śiṅhāra*, because they are *Garaḍa-śarpeṇ*, the serpent being always at the mercy of *Garaḍa*. [Mr. N. Lalakṣmīnāyana has suggested that it would be better to interpret the expression as a 'serpent to the hostile army' taking *maṇḍalikā* to mean 'a hostile army'—in which sense it is widely used in Medieval Kannada literature—thus to consider both the component parts of the word as corruptions (i.e., of *maṇḍa* and *kaḍḍa*). *Maṇḍalikā-śarpeṇ* corresponds to *Śrī-paṇḍalikā-śarpeṇ* which is found among the *śiṅhāra* of the chief *Mārasinhā* of the *Śrī-vīra* family which, like the *Śiṅhāra*, claimed to belong to *Jimūtavāhan-śarpeṇ* and *Khaḍḍa* (i.e., *Vijayāditya-virya*) (see Ep. Can., Vol. VI, Cm. 94).—Ed.]

⁵ *Apāra* *śarpeṇ*: again a Kannada word 'a lion-like son' of his father, meaning a pet and favourite son of his father. This reminds us of the Kannada phrase 'śarpeṇ śarpeṇ', meaning, 'leave, my tiger', generally addressed by the father to his son.

⁶ *Maṇḍa* is a Kannada word meaning 'those that put (an arrow to the bow)', 'those that shoot arrows', that is, the archers.



duties (*svadharma*), by punishing the wicked and protecting the good, and spending his time merrily in happy talks in his standing camp¹ at Vallavāḍa-grāma.

(Ll. 23-39) Kaṭṭimātya Maillapayya, the² *Mahāpradhāna* dependent on his (i.e., of Gaṇḍarādityadēva) lotus-like feet, after repairing the dilapidated temple of Ari-Khādādityadēva, situated in Brahmapuri, created by Brahman in the great holy place of Ari-Kāllāpura, built a *Trikūṭa-prāsāda*, installed there (the images of) Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and with a desire to do some religious act requested Gaṇḍarādityadēva who understood it (i.e., his desire). And when the Śaka years one thousand and forty-eight had elapsed, in the Parābhava year, on the fourth day of the bright half of the month of Āṣāḍha, on Saturday, on the Dakṣiṇāyana-sukrānti, he bought, by paying the cost, from Rājaya and Sēnaya of the Nārgāvūḍa³ family in the village of Kāṇinjaraḍa in the *Maṇḍapa* of Kōḍavalli in the province of Mīrājī two *śivartanas* of non-taxable land (*mānya*) that had the rights of Nārgāvūḍas, measured by the Kāṇḍi pole, and a plot for a house twenty-four cubits in extent with the eight rights, etc.; then he added thereto from the land in the village, four *śivartanas* measured by the same pole, and thus made six *śivartanas* of land free from tax, etc.⁴⁵ [constructed] a house 24 cubits in extent and another 48 cubits in extent: thus in all 72 cubits in extent. All these had the rights of the Nārgāvūḍas. In Brahmapuri, in the presence of (the god) Ari-Khādādityadēva, he gave two *śivartanas* of land measured by the same pole with a house 24 cubits in extent along with eight rights, etc., to twelve Brahmins for their food with rice of white grains, with broth made of *āḍḍakī* and other pulses, with ghee, butter-milk and four vegetables and for *āmbāla*.

(Ll. 39-44) Then there are these eight Brahmins all of them intent on religious practices: Gaṅgādhara-Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭāpādhyāya of Gautama-gotra, Gōvinda-kramavid of Bhāradvāja-gotra, Bhāskara-Chaturvēdi of Atri-gotra, Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa of Jāmadagnya-Vatsa-gotra, Mādhyava of Bhāradvāja-gotra, Vāmana of Kāśyapa-gotra, Viṣṇu-bhaṭṭa of Dhanañjaya-gotra and Vāmana of Bhāradvāja-gotra.⁶ To each of them were granted 400 *vappakas*⁷ measured by the same pole and to each a house six cubits in extent. Similarly for the repairs of the broken parts, etc., of the *Trikūṭa-prāsāda* 400 *vappakas*⁸ were given by the same measure.

(Ll. 44-47) This *śivartana-namaṣya* (*grant*) which is free from all obstacles, which is faultless with regard to its income and which is not to be touched by finger (even) by the royal officers, is made to last as long as the sun and the moon after a libation of water and a washing of the feet. The *Mahājanas*⁹ of Brahmapuri shall protect all these religious gifts.

(Verses 9-10) [These are two of the well-known imprecatory verses.]

(L. 48) Auspicious glory.¹⁰

¹ *Vallavāḍa* is probably to be taken as meaning 'following the custom of a *śāḍa* (i.e., camp)'. It reminds us of a similar expression in Kannada grants *hāḍa* meaning 'in the camp'.

² *Nārgāvūḍas* are those who are now known as Nādegavūḍas, a Kannada word meaning 'headman of the country'.

³ *Maṇḍapa* means a site for a house.

⁴ The meaning of *śivartana*, etc., is not clear. The same phrase is spelt differently in Ll. 34 and 38.

⁵ It should be noted that some names are in singular and some in plural.

⁶ *Vappaka* is a measure.

⁷ *Mahājanas* were members of a particular assembly probably something like our Panchas.

⁸ My thanks are due to my colleague Prof. K. G. Kundanur who helped me in translating certain technical terms in the plates.

No. 6.—HIDDA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28.

By Dr. STEEN KONOW, OSLO.

The credit for bringing this record to light belongs to Professor F. W. Thomas. In a paper contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, pp. 91 ff., he draws attention to some remarks by Maasson about a Kharoshthi inscription he had found as 'Tape No. 13 of Hidda' on an earthen jar, and which he had copied. A lithographed reproduction is found opposite p. 262 of the *Ariana Antiqua*.

Professor Thomas further tells us that, in going through Maasson's papers in the India Office Library, he found 'a number of attempts at decipherment of one or two Kharoshthi inscriptions', and one of them proved to be the very record reproduced in the old publication. There were several attempts, and Professor Thomas reproduced the most careful one and published his reading of the inscription, which was subsequently, with some alterations, reproduced in my edition of the record in the *Corpus*, pp. 157 ff.

The copy published by Professor Thomas is far from being satisfactory, but the way in which he was able to rearrange the sequence of the letters and bring out the meaning is highly to be admired. But now new material has come to hand, which makes it possible to read the legend with greater certainty.

In a letter of the 13th December 1935, Dr. E. H. Johnston writes: 'In the course of cataloguing the Maasson papers in the India Office Library, I have come across a number of copies of the inscription on the Hiddah jar..... Most date from after Maasson's return to England early in 1842 and have no special value..... Three however are on blue paper; one seems to be a new working copy, written out for an attempted transliteration. The others are on two strips of paper, which Maasson pasted on to another sheet of paper after his return to England.'

Fuller particulars about these last-mentioned copies were given in another letter from Dr. Johnston of the 13th January 1936: 'The copies are on two strips of blue foolscap, measuring 55 by 315 millimetres and 98 by 313 millimetres, respectively. I regard them as Maasson's originals for various reasons. That he looked on them as particularly important is shown by the fact that he has cut them out of the particular sheet on which they were and pasted them on to another sheet; this must have been done after his return to England, as the kind of paper on to which they have been pasted shows. Maasson used this blue foolscap almost exclusively in 1834 and many of his original sketches of the Topes of Hiddah and Chahurbagh are on similar paper, having been done that year (1834) at the time of excavation. The writing is done with a broader pen than he was in the habit of using. There are at least a dozen copies of this inscription among his papers, most of them made after he had left Afghanistan, and in every case except this the copy was evidently made in order to put between the lines an attempt at transliteration. No room has been left for such writing on these strips, though you will notice some remains of such an attempt at the bottom. I imagine the first strip was left incomplete after writing the first line because of the disfigurement by blots.'

With the kind permission of Dr. Randle, the Librarian of the India Office, excellent photographs of these strips have been prepared, and I have been authorised to make use of them for an eventual new edition of the record.

There cannot be any doubt that Dr. Johnston is right in considering these strips as Maasson's original draft. And we can also see that the incomplete strip is the first one. It has partly been corrected in the second. And we shall find several certain indications which show that the copies reproduced in the *Ariana Antiqua* and in Professor Thomas' plate have been made from our strips.

The arrangement of the letters is the same as in the published plates, and it is clear that the two lines of the inscription run all round the jar, and that Masson failed to see where the record begins. Professor Thomas' ingenious restoration of the sequence is absolutely certain, and I shall follow it in my ensuing remarks, using the abbreviations **A** for the *Ariana Antiqua* plate, **B** for the copy published by Professor Thomas, **I** for the first strip and **II** for the second.

The first word is correctly given as *ambatāro* in I. In II the *ambāra* hook is more rounded, and Masson has added an *e-mātrā* above *ambā*, probably because the top of the *akāra* was blurred. This wrong *e*-stroke is then found both in A, which here faithfully reproduces II, and in B, which represents a combination of I and II.

The ensuing *amāriśiti* २० ४ ४ do not call for any remark. We can only see that Masson first misread the *vi*, but corrected it in II.

Then follows *mas* with a bottom stroke crossed by a horizontal, bent downwards at both ends and surmounted by a curved upright, below *se* in I, while these additions have been omitted in II, evidently as the result of closer inspection, so that we must certainly read *mas*. The bottom strokes return, however, in B, where they are the same as in I, and in A, where there is only a long horizontal.

Then comes *Apalae* in I. In II the *pe* and the final *e* have been slightly modified. In A *pe* has been misread as *pi*, and *la*, which is a little misshapen in I, has been miswritten. In B the two different forms of *e* have been entered, that of II in the line, that of I, slightly misshapen, above.

The ensuing *asthaki* is quite clear; but it is hardly probable that *sta* with the vertical to the right had a different sound from the ordinary *sta*. The word itself is, as we know, Iranian, cf. Av. *sand-* 'to appear', Khotani Saka *santa-* 'appeared'. Between the letters *sa* and *stha* there is in II a long vertical stroke. It is impossible to tell why Masson has inserted it.

The *hi* of the following *dashahi* is misdrawn in II, the bottom having been continued into the preceding *sa*, causing a break in the left bar of the latter. Both forms are reproduced in B.

The *i* of the ensuing *isa* (not *ise* as read by Professor Thomas) has an angular top in I, and this form recurs in A, and also in B, where, however, the rounded form of II is added above the line; *sa* is misshapen in A, and in B a second form has been added above the line, we cannot say from which source.

In the word *protisthapita* we can clearly follow the process of deterioration. It is quite clear, though the upright of *stha* is separated from the cross bar. In II the horizontal of *pa* protrudes slightly to the left of the vertical, and the bottom of the final *ta* has been lengthened, and a short vertical has been added, so that the *akāra* looks almost like *ra*. The results can be seen in the apparent *pāra*, the disjointed *stha* and the misshapen *ta* of A, and in the similar *pa* and the splitting up of *tistha* into three *akāras* in B.

In the word read as [va] *irostāsi* by Professor Thomas, we can now see that the apparent hook which he took to be a mutilated *ja* is a clear *ma*. The preceding *ra* shows a short horizontal stroke protruding to the left just above the bottom in I, so that we could think of reading *ra*. But it is absent in II, and as the same *rama* recurs in 1. 2, the reading seems to be certain. *Rama* can hardly be anything else than the name of a person, probably the Indian name, which already occurs in the *Rajavā*.

The *akāra* following after *rama* looks like *zā*, but can also be a shortened curvilinear *ra*. Then comes an evidently misdrawn letter in I, while II has an unmistakable *ra*. A and B give both forms, one above the other, and here again clearly show their dependence on I and II. With the ensuing *ma* we thus get *ramastamāsi* or *ramastamāsi*. If it were possible to assume a

doubtless *tanya* besides *taniya* 'own', which we read on a Tor Dherai potsherd¹, we might think of connecting *vanataniyā* with the following *thubani* 'in the Stūpa belonging to Rāma', but we have no reason for supposing the existence of such a variant, *taniya* itself being doubtful and probably only the final portion of *ataniya*. The word *taṣa*, Skr. *arāṇya* 'wood, grove', on the other hand, occurs in connection with *thuba* on the Kurman casket.

The Rāma wood' is then the name of the place where the stūpa was situated, and most probably the real name. Cf. passages such as *Takṣaśīla nagre—uttara—prache—de—Kahema namu—ara—* *karraṇā* [*yo**] *pāṇṇeti* 'in the town of Takṣaśīla,—to the north,—the eastern quarter,—Kṛema by name,—here he establishes a relic' (Taxila copper-plate, with the enumerating idiom which we know so well from Marāṭhī); *the prodigious dharmas dhammarāc Takṣaśīla* [*a**] *yaṇṇa* *baṇḍhā* *paṇṇagahamā* 'these relics of the Lord were established in the Buddha relic-stūpa of Takṣaśīla, in his own Bodhi-tree-chapel' (Taxila silver scroll); *Chakṣaśīla sarira prastarati gahakṣamā* 'in Chakṣaśīla he establishes a relic in the house-stūpa'; *Vagaramariya vihāra* in a stūpa; he (sc. Vagaramariya) establishes a relic of the Lord Śākyamuni' (Warlak vase), etc. The last-mentioned passage shows that such a name can be derived from the name of a living person.

In my edition of the Kalawān record I have shown that the list of Yakṣas in the *Mahāmāyūrī*² contains details which may be of interest in connection with Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, but that the forms of the names used in the *Māyūrī* must sometimes be checked by the help of the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the work. I believe that such is also the case with reference to our record.

In the *Mahāmāyūrī* l. 83 we read '*Laṅkādevaś ca Kapilāyām Mārīcī Rāmakakṣayām*' 'the lord of Laṅkā (i.e., Rāvaṇa, is the Yakṣa) in Kapilā, Mārīcī in Rāmakakṣayām.'

Now the arrangement of the various localities in the *Mahāmāyūrī* is roughly geographical, and we are probably justified in assuming that Rāmakakṣayām should be looked for in Afghanistan. Professor Helmer Smith has drawn my attention to the fact that the irregular form *kakṣayām* for *lakṣayām* may point to some corruption. Of the Chinese versions one has *lo-mo-K'i-lo*, i.e., *Rāmākṣhā*, which is just as unaccountable in the rhythm as *Rāmakakṣayām*. Yi-tsing gives *o-lo-mo-lin* 'the forest of Rāma', and the Tibetan translation *ḍga-baḍi takā takā* 'the wood of the pleasant one'. From these renderings we learn that the literal meaning of the name was 'Rāma wood', and from the fact that Mārīcī and not Rāma is mentioned as the Yakṣa of the place, we must necessarily draw the inference that the Rāma wood was not considered to be a grove dedicated to a Yakṣa or other supernatural being called Rāma, but as a place founded or owned by a person of the name Rāma.

As indicated above, the Rāma-grove was most probably situated in Afghanistan, and I think that we are justified in assuming that it was the very same 'Rāma-grove' which is mentioned in our record. Since the inscription in l. 2 contains wishes for the welfare of Rāma, he was probably at that time the owner of the wood, and we may draw the inference from the *Mahāmāyūrī* that his name stuck to the place also in later times, after his death.

The Hidda inscription would then be the oldest record in which this 'Rāma-grove' is mentioned. It is, besides, written in prose, and we have every reason for assuming that it contains the genuine form of the name. The author of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, who, according to Professor

¹ *O. I. J.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 176.

² *Kalawān inscription*, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 231 ff.

³ Cf. the late Sylvain Lévi's important paper, *J. A.*, XI, 2, 1915, pp. 19 ff.

Piṭaka IV, 34, ll. 2 ff. we read about the Āśvaka monks that they were engaged in *naṇakamma* (*naṇakammaṃ kuroṇā*), and that they cut down trees or had trees cut down. But one of the monks, who was felling a tree, was warned by its *dēvatā* not to destroy her dwelling in order to make one for himself, and the Buddha speaks about the offence in connection with the destruction of life which was inevitable when a tree was cut.

A *naṇakammika* may reside for a prolonged period at one place. In *Vinaya Piṭaka* II, 15, ll. 29 ff. we read about the venerable Sudhamma, who stayed with the householder Chitta as his *naṇakammika*, and in *Jātaka* IV, 310, ll. 15 f. about residence as *naṇakammika* in a great Vihāra in Kajaṅgalā (*ācāriko hotu mahāśālā, naṇakammiko hotu Kajaṅgalāyāsi*), and the commentary here speaks of a dilapidated Vihāra (*jyāparivāra*), i.e., one in need of repairs.

It is evident from the above quotations that the *naṇakamma* was of different kinds, from the building of a Vihāra down to various sorts of repairs. *Manorathapūraṇi* I, 31, l. 15 speaks of a *naṇakammika* in connection with Uposatha halls, almshouses, etc. (*uposathāgāra-bhōjanasālādikā*), and such work was formerly considered as a good means of banishing distracting thoughts (*pariyākapapaṇṇā pāna naṇakammāni karotvā pi vitakkāni parikkhīdāsi*, *Papañcha-sūdanī* II, 91, l. 18). And in *Vinaya Piṭaka* II, 172 we hear of several minor kind of *naṇakamma* such as heaping up clay or earth, replastering a wall, making a door or a socket for a bolt, white-washing, etc.

A *naṇakammika* is consequently in most cases a monk, acting on behalf of the Saṅgha in supervising new buildings, repairs, etc., and such was evidently the case with Saṅghamitra. What he had to superintend may have been the erection of the Stūpa, or some repairs, or even only the putting down of the relic.

For the second line the new material consists of one copy only, viz. II. As seen by Professor Thomas, we must evidently begin with the sixth *akṣara* from the end.

The first word is certainly *edou*, though the *e*-stroke of *de* is curved and joined to the upright in such a way that Masson in A and B has introduced a small loop.

The next word was correctly read as *kaṭalamulena* by Professor Thomas, who pointed out that the *u* of *ka* and the final *na* are missing. The new copy shows definitely that I was wrong in assuming that the ensuing *e* was misdevised for *na*. After *ka* follows in II what looks like a second *ka*, corrected to *na*, and then a cancelled letter which looks as an unsuccessful attempt at writing a *la*. In A both these letters are clumsily imitated, one above the other, while B seems to combine them into one misshapen *akṣara*. What looks like *ka* corrected to *na* might be the *na* we miss after *ka*, in which case we would have to infer that it had been misplaced in the original. It is, however, more probable that Masson has forgotten to cancel it properly. The dot before the ensuing *la* is, as Dr. Johnston informs me, not in ink, but the remains of a drop of moisture.

Then follows, as read by Professor Thomas, *tesha dharmāna*, where the final *na* is misshapen in A.

The next *akṣaras* were read *lokika rija* by Professor Thomas, while I suggested to read *abhiḥvati*. The new copy clearly shows that the first *akṣara* was *la*. A comparatively long sloping line descends towards the left from the underside of the hook of *la*, which itself is continued on to the vertical. It might be taken to be the *e*-stroke, which, however, protrudes from the vertical in other inscriptions. It is therefore possible that it is of the same kind as the superfluous and meaningless stroke between *sa* and *akṣa* in *saṅgha* II, l. 1. It is considerably shortened in B and it has led to a distorted sign in A. The next *akṣara* is certainly *hi*, as stated by Professor Thomas, and the new copy clearly shows that it is followed by *dharmāna*.

The curve of *ma* is here narrower than in *rama*, l. 1, and we understand how Maason has come to write the hook which has been misinterpreted as a mutilated *ya*. If we bear in mind that the nom. pl. of *sa-bhava* frequently ends in *i* in Pāli and Prakrit, it becomes evident that we must translate *labhi* (or, *lobhi*) *dharmas* 'may we become possessed (or, desirous) of,' and the usual wording of such wishes in other texts favours the reading *labhi*.

With regard to the ensuing *gasha*, which is perfectly clear in all copies, it is, of course, possible that it corresponds to Skt. *gat śat*. But, in the first place, we should expect *śo* for *śat*, and, in the second, the parallelism with the preceding *staiha dharmas* leads us to expect *gasha*, so that *ga* is probably a miswriting or misreading for *ya*. But then it seems almost certain that the *akshara* following after *dharmas* must be *gam* and not *kha*, so that we must read *dharmagam*. The use of *ga* instead of *na* does not make any difficulty, as we have already seen. As a matter of fact the *akshara* in question looks more like *gam* than *kha*. And there is also another difficulty in reading *kha*. Thus *kha* would have to be connected with the following *e* to *khae*, corresponding to Skt. *khaṇḍe*. But the regular development of old *kha* in our dialect is to become a sound written with a sign which has been variously transliterated *ksha* and *chha*, and which clearly denotes the cerebral affricative known from Dardic.¹

It cannot be objected that the *gassava* is suspicious. We have the same uncertainty in *śhuvamam*, *cañhām*, *thūvam*. I shall only mention in passing that in all other instances of the genitive plural in our record a consonant follows, while here the next sound is a vowel. But it may be worth while remembering that final *va* is written *a* in the Darcoul de Rhins manuscript, and still we can see that the final nasal made itself felt, so that, e.g., Pāli *siham* *va* is represented by *sika ba*² and not *sika va*.

It must then be taken to the following *akshara*, which we now see cannot be *ba* but must be *ta*, a reading which Professor Thomas mentions as possible.

Then follows what he read as *śho*, but which looks much more like *so* and may be the enclitic personal pronoun of the second plural, used in a weakened sense 'you see', much like the corresponding *o* in Khotanī Saka.

The next two *aksharas* seem to be *syata*; *ā* has *syata*. I do not any more think that we can adopt Professor Thomas' emendation of *taroyeta* to *bodhisatta*, because Maason's new copy seems to be so reliable throughout. The only way of explaining *syata* I can think of is that the *e* above *eya* has come in in the same way as the *e* of *śambattarav* in II l. 1, as also assumed by Professor Thomas, and that there has been an invisible *i*-mātrā in *ta*. I would therefore read *syati* and translate: may we become possessed of these *dharmas* of which *dharmas* this may be, i.e., of which *dharmas* the following may consist (or, be the cause).

The next passage can be read without any doubt, as done by Professor Thomas: *śarira sarvātmanā nirvāṇasambhava bhavatu*. The final *va* of *śarira* is provided with a small hook, which has become a regular *anusvara* in *A*, but there is no reason for reading *śarira*. The *i*-hook of *(sa)ira* runs into the vertical of the preceding *sa*; the top of the *sa* of *nirvāṇa* has been connected with the upright of the *va* of *sa*, and there is an apparent bar to the right of the vertical of *va* in *nirvāṇa*, which evidently is only the disjointed continuation of the *i*-stroke of the preceding *sa*. The result is that we find various distortions both in *A* and in *B* which here again clearly show their dependence on *II*. *Sarva* looks like *sava* and a mutilated *rea*; *nirvāṇa* has been split up and mutilated in different ways; the *va* of *nirvāṇa* looks

¹ Cf. Turner, *Opes Loci Society, Monographs* No. 4, p. 11.

² The form *śikha va* (*A* * 15) shows that we have to do with the acc. pl., and that *śikha* in the *Dharmapada* is due to a misunderstanding of the original.

almost like *rka*, and in B slightly differing forms have been added above the *na* of this word. In A, moreover, the *bha* of *sambharae*, has been slightly distorted.

The whole sentence is a blessing of the same kind as the final clause of the Taxila silver scroll. We may only be in doubt whether *śarīra* should be connected with the preceding *eto*, in which case we might think of construing *g(e*)jha dharmagāṃ* with *nirvāṇasambharae* and taking *bhāratu* as a further explanation of *syāṭa*, i.e., *syāṭi* 'to the nirvāṇa equipment of which *dharma*s for all beings this your *śarīra* might serve'. Such an explanation seems, however, to be rather hard, and it is more in accordance with the usual formula to translate: 'out of which *dharma*s this may result: let the *śarīra* be for the *nirvāṇa* equipment of all beings', or, more probably, 'of which *dharma*s this your *śarīra* may consist (or, be the cause). Let it be for the *nirvāṇa* equipment of all beings'.

As already indicated the next word is clearly *raṃasa*, and the suspicious form *rajaṣa* instead of *raṇo* 'of the king' disappears from the dialect. The form *rajaṣa* in the Niya inscriptions corresponds to Skt. *rājyaṣa*.

Then comes a difficult *akshara*, which Professor Thomas describes as an 'unintelligible form, which seems to contain a y.' He read the ensuing letters as *griprachaya* and added: 'We have a sufficiency of parallels to prove that the idea intended is that conveyed by the word *agraprachaya*, and we are free to choose between two suppositions: either there has been a misreading of *agraprachaya* (confusion of *ya* and *ia* being easy), or the inscription had employed a synonym, possibly *agraprachāya*=*agrapratyāya*, in which the second member had the (rare) sense of "tribute," "share"'.

As long as we did not know Masson's original copy, we were justified in assuming that his reproductions were not quite reliable. Now we cannot do so any more, and we must assume that the 'unintelligible' letter, which has become quite disfigured in A and B, is a fairly reliable copy of what Masson saw on the jar. So far as I can see, it is possible to read it as *no*, the *akshara* being turned backwards in a similar way as the *de* of *edena*, but it is more probable that we have to do with a misshapen *a*. Then follows *griprachaya*. The *p* of *pra* shows the same protrusion, only more pronounced, as in *pratiśhapita* l. 1. The same is the case in A, and also in B, where we find two slightly varying attempts at rendering the *akshara*. The bottom of *che* is curved like the bottom of *dāa*, but it does not seem possible to read *cham*. *Prachaya* may represent Skt. *pratyaya* as well as *pratyāya*. The latter word is, so far as I know, only found in lexicographical works as one of the meanings of *kara*, e.g., in Hémachandra's *Amṛtāntarāṅga* 405 *karaṇaḥ pratyāya-tuṣṭayāḥ rājanau varadhōpālē pāṇau* 'kara means toll, trunk, ray, bail, hand.' We have no right to assume that it could mean 'share'. Moreover, it is *a priori* unlikely that *prachaya* in a Buddhist inscription is anything else than the well-known *pratyaya*. Pāli *pacchaya*.

If the reading *a* is correct, we thus have *raṃasa agri prachaya*, where *agri*=*agrē*. It is hardly allowed to connect this *agri* with the ensuing *prachaya* into a compound. There cannot however, in my opinion, be much doubt that Professor Thomas was right in supposing that what is meant is to invoke a blessing on Rāma as the person who is to receive the principal share of the *pūya* connected with the establishment of the relic, just as we read in the Wardak vase inscription *mahiya eḍa Vag(r)amareg(r)as(r)a agrabhag(r)apad(r)iyushkae bhāma* 'may it be for the sharing in the principal lot for myself Vagramareja,' where the person there singled out is the owner of the Vihāra, which fact makes me inclined to think that Rāma in our inscription occupied a similar position, i.e., that he was the donor or owner of the Stūpa and not an eponymous Yaksha.

If I am right about the purport of the sentence, (*agri* means 'or it is' in future, the locative of *agra* 'first, principal,' and means about the same thing as *ayagrapatyahia*. With regard to *prachaya*, if it is not miswritten for *prachata*, i.e., *prachata-pratyahia*, we may doubt whether it is to be taken as a nominative or as an ablative, but the former seems to me to be the proper explanation.

I cannot finish these lines without paying my tribute to Professor Thomas for the sagacity and ingenuity with which he has succeeded in solving almost all the problems connected with the Hilda record at the hand of the inferior reproductions at his disposal. And I should also like to give expression to my admiration of Mason's achievement. Without apparently understanding a single word he has left us a reliable and extremely careful copy, which gives an almost perfect reproduction of the original.

With some confidence I then give the following text and translation.

TEXT.

U 1 *sambhathara aharavasthi 20 4 4 mass Apelae sathchi dasahi 10 isa kakenasthi prati-*
sthapita sarira Ramayasthami thubum Samghamitrena gavakarmiana(-ana).

U 2 *ndena k(e)kalamlejae* etadma dharmata labhi bhavima y(e*)jha dharmapam eta*
vo nyeta (xyat) sarira sarvasatvana nirvassasthithara bhavatu Ramasa agri prachaya.

TRANSLATION.

In the twenty-eighth—28—year, in the month Appellais, after ten—10—had appeared, in this instant was established a relic in the Rima grove, in the Sulpa by Samghamitra the superintendent of work. Through this root of bliss, might we become recipients of these *dharmas*, of which *dharmata* this year relic may be. Let it lead to nirvapa equipment for all beings and be the support in future (or, the cause for the foremost share) for Rima.

No. 7.—THREE MAUKHARI INSCRIPTIONS ON YUPAS: KRITA YEAR 295.

By PROF. A. S. ALTMAN, BRITISH HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The three Maukhari inscriptions, that are being published here for the first time, were discovered by me at Bajra in Kotah State in Rajputana on the 1st of March 1886 in the course of a tour of archaeological exploration organised by the State Historian, Dr. Mathuraj, at the instance of the Kotah government. Bajra is a large village, about 5 miles south-west of Antah, a railway station on the Kotah-Bina line of the D. I. P. Railway. The stone pillars, on which the inscriptions are engraved were at the time of their discovery situated outside the village, about half a mile to its east, at a locality known as Thumb-Toran¹ which is obviously a vernacular form of the Sanskrit expression *Samudra-Torana*. This name was probably given to the locality, about 1,700 years ago, when two stone structures, partially resembling an arch, were raised there by the erection of four sacrificial posts by the Maukhari rulers, then ruling over the territory. At the time of their discovery only three of these pillars were in situ, one inclined at an angle of about 80°, and the other two lying flat on the ground. One of the latter pillars had to be raised before impressions of its inscription could be taken, as it had fallen with the inscribed side downwards. The remains of the fourth pillar could be found at a distance of about two furlongs, where a

¹ The Kotah government is taking steps to remove these pillars to Kotah.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

ॐ

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

and began to encourage the construction of stone *yūpas* as a triumphant and enduring testimony to the revival of the old Vedic religion. *Yūpa* is a veritable thunderbolt, says the *Āturalya-Brahmana*.¹ Hindu champions of the revival of the Vedic religion were obviously as proud of their commemorative stone *yūpas* as Indra was of his thunderbolt.

Detailed instructions have been given in the Vedic literature about the shape and size of the sacrificial post. The height was rigidly fixed only in the case of the Vājapēya sacrifice, where the post had to be made 17 cubits high; in the case of other sacrifices it could vary from five to fifteen cubits.² After the leaves and branches of the stem were cut off, it was to be given an octagonal shape, for that was the shape of the thunderbolt of Indra, and *yūpa* is a thunderbolt.³ The stem was not to be straight, it was to be curved both at the top and the centre, the concavity in either case facing the same side.⁴ It was never to be made tapering at the top, for such a post was supposed to hasten the death of the sacrificer.⁵ At a distance of two to eight inches from the top of the post was to be slipped in a ring or *kaṭaka*, technically known as *chashāla*, which also had naturally to be octagonal in shape.⁶ *Yūpa* resembled in its external appearance a *Brahmachārin*; so it had a girdle at its centre and a triple *upavīta* across it. It was to be covered by a number of cloths.⁷

These detailed instructions about the nature of the *yūpas* do not seem to have been known to the sculptors responsible for the construction of the stone *yūpas* of King Mālavārman of Borneo; for they are roughly dressed stones of irregular shape.⁸ In India, however, the Hindu revivalist tried to conform to the requirements of the sacred texts as far as possible. Thus none of the complete and undamaged *yūpas* discovered so far is pointed at the end. They all bend at the top. The *yūpas* on the *Āśvamedha* coins of Samudragupta show a bend at the middle also; the omission of this feature in the case of stone *yūpas*—for we do not find it on a single *yūpa* so far discovered—is probably to be attributed to a greater regard being paid to artistic beauty than to the injunctions of the sacred texts. A stone pillar showing a bend in the middle and at the top would be hardly graceful. The portion above the ground of the three *yūpas* at Badvā is octagonal; the underground shaft of two of them is, however, square. The shafts of the *yūpas* discovered at Isapur and Bijayagadh⁹ are, however, square at the bottom and octagonal above. This departure from the requirements as laid down in the sacred texts also seems to be due to architectural considerations. A pillar square at the bottom and octagonal above was probably regarded as more graceful than one octagonal throughout. The

¹ II, 4.

² *Kātyāyana-Srautasūtra*, VI, 3. The cubit is to be the cubit of the Yajurveda. The *Satapatha-Brahmana*, however, allows any height for the *yūpa*; see III, 6, 4, 26.

³ *Āturalya-Brahmana*, II, 1. The *Satapatha-Brahmana* connects the eight sides of the shaft of the post to the eight syllables of each line of the *Gāyatri* metre (V, 2, 1, 6). This is a fanciful reason.

⁴ The *Satapatha-Brahmana* requires it to be *बाह्यं उपविष्टादुपरी मजे* and not *अपनती मजे*, XI, 7, 4, 3; the *Kātyāyana-Srautasūtra* lays down that it should be *सहस्रोपवितम्*; VI, 1.

⁵ Cf. *Satapatha-Brahmana*, XI, 7, 4, 3: *अथ यूपः, यत्न इति स ह उपवीती नाम । यथाहं दृष्टुं नृके नृगं प्रतुषीमि कीर्तयति*;

⁶ *Kātyāyana-Srautasūtra*, VI, 1, 25. Some authorities permitted a *chashāla* made of wheaten dough. See *Satapatha-Brahmana*, V, 2, 1, 6.

⁷ *Satapatha-Brahmana*, III, 7, 1, 23. For the resemblance between the sacrificial post and a *Brahmachārin*, see *Rigveda*, III, 4, 4 & 5.

⁸ Vogel. The *Yūpa* inscriptions of King Mālavārman from Kotei, p. 202. (As Dr. B. C. Chhabra has pointed out, they might not have been intended to represent sacrificial posts; see *J. A. S. B. Letters*, Vol. I (1935), p. 41—Ed.)

⁹ *General Report, A. S. I., 1910-11*, pp. 40ff. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 253.

architect responsible for the *yūpa* at Nāndāś seems to have paid scanty regard to the sacred texts; for he has fashioned a pillar entirely circular.¹ None of the pillars at Badvā has a girdle at the middle; we can, however, see it clearly on the *yūpas* of the *Aśvamedha* coins of Samudragupta² and on one of the two Isāpur pillars. Our *yūpas*, like all the rest discovered so far, do not show any upanīta.³ Nor do they allow any cloths carved round them. Probably it was felt that it would not be easy to show this detail in stone, and so the architects in all cases discovered so far, have omitted it. Cloths fluttering like banners at the ends of the *yūpas* on the coins of Samudragupta seem to be the ends of the cloths with which the *yūpa* was to be covered. The *yūpas* on these coins have pedestals; no traces of these were discovered near the *yūpas* at Badvā. Sacred texts do not recommend them.

The total height of two of our *yūpas* is 13' 3" and that of the third 15' 8"; the length of the shaft underground is about 4' in each case. Each of them has a square *chashāla* about eight inches from the top, as laid down in the sacred texts. The portion above the *chashāla* bends inwards, as is the case with all the other sacrificial pillars discovered so far.

The inscriptions on these *yūpas* have been written not in horizontal lines, as is the case with the Isāpur pillar, but in one long vertical line, reading from the top to the bottom, and about 8 feet in length.⁴ The inscription on the *yūpa* of Balasinhha, however, is written in two such vertical lines on two different facets of the octagonal pillar owing to some natural defect in the stone in the first facet. Each of these lines is 4 feet and 8 inches long. The height of the normal letters is about 1·8", of letters with verticals like *ka*, *ga*, etc., about 4", of conjunct letters like *līa*, *ya*, etc., 4½" and of conjuncts with medial vowels like *tes* about 6". The letters on the *yūpa* of Balasinhha are slightly bigger and broader, and seem to have been engraved by a different mason, copying a manuscript written in a different duct. The Characters bear a general resemblance to those of the third century A. D. in general, and to those on the Nāndāś *yūpa* in particular, engraved 13 years earlier.⁵ We do not see here any precursors of the Eastern variety forms of the Gupta alphabet. Medial *ā* and *ī* strokes are still indicated by horizontal lines (except in some rare cases like *dē* in *Sāmadēva* in inscription B) usually attached at the top. In *mō* of *Mākhariś* the vowel sign is attached in the middle. *Ya* has developed a loop in its left limb, and when the last member of a conjunct, it shows all possible varieties of form. Sometimes it is archaic, — tripartite and with a curved back (cf. *ya* in *śulāsa* in the first line of the record of Balasinhha; in this same inscription, however, is to be seen the relatively later bipartite form in *śaśāsa*). Normally, however, this letter shows a loop on the left. In inscription C, there is the stop *va* at the end; it is denoted by the normal form of the letter *va*, but smaller in size and written below the line as is usually found in the writing of this period.

Numerical Symbols for 200, 90 and 5 occur in each of the three records. The signs for 90 and 5 are the usual ones for the period, but the additional stroke attached to the symbol for hundred in order to convert it into 200 is rather unusual. Instead of a short horizontal stroke being attached to the vertical, in each of the three inscriptions we find the horizontal stroke first taken upwards and then led right across the top of the symbol to more than half its breadth. That this modified symbol stands for two hundred is rendered absolutely certain by its being identical in form with the symbol used in the Nāndāś *yūpa* inscription. In the latter record the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 33.

² Allan, *The Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Pl. V, Nos. 9-14.

³ Possibly the garlands round the top of the *Yūpas* discovered at Isāpur may have been intended as substitutes for the upanīta.

⁴ The inscription on the Bijayagadh pillar is also vertical and written in the same manner.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 33.

date is also expressed in words and the import of the numerical symbol engraved there is thus absolutely certain. As will be presently shown, the year 295 of the record has to be referred to the Vikrama era. The earliest known inscription of this era is that on the Nāndal gūpa, which is dated in the year 282.¹ This record, however, has not yet been properly edited.

The Language of the record may be described as incorrect Sanskrit. *Kṛtsā* at the beginning of the inscription seems to be a mistake for *ḥṛtsā*. Among other mistakes may be pointed out *Paṇḍya* for *Phalḍya*, *paśke* for *paśahmi* and *iri* for *iri*. The reading *śakāyagā* is absolutely certain on the gūpa of Balasimha; it seems to be a mistake for *śakāyā*. In the inscriptions on the gūpas of Sōmadēva and Balavardhana *śakāyā* has been spelt as *śakāyā*. Usually no *śandhi* rules have been observed, the solitary exception being *Mākhari-Bala-paṇḍya* in the inscription on the pillar of Balasimha.

Each record commemorates the performance of a *Trivṛta* sacrifice. The *Paṇḍya-Samhitā* gives a detailed description of the origin and nature of this sacrifice.² We are told that Prajāpati invented it for Vānu, Indras and Adityas and won thereby the three worlds. The *Śatśāyano-Srautasūtra* declares that by the merit of this sacrifice, the sacrificer can win for himself whatever is threefold (*trivṛta*) in affairs both mundane and spiritual.³ This sacrifice is an amalgam of Agnistoma, Ukthya and Atirātra sacrifices, performed on the first, second and third days respectively.⁴ Its full name is *Garga-Trivṛta*; it was called *Ati-Trivṛta* if a horse was immolated on the second day.⁵ The wording of the concluding portion of each record, *Trivṛta-samhitāyā śakāyagā* (ed.) *gāyā śakāyā* appears to be suggested by that of the concluding sentence of the description of this sacrifice in the *Paṇḍya-Samhitā* (VII, 15) where we read,

तदेतत्सहस्रवर्गं सहस्रं स्तोत्रियः सहस्रं दक्षिणा सहस्रसंनिताः स्रग्धो वीकः।

The *Mākhari* sacrifice gave precisely the same amount of *śakāyā* as prescribed by the sacred texts. As a matter of fact, *Trivṛta* sacrifice has been described in one place as *Śakāyā-śakāyagā-Trivṛta*.⁶ Out of these 1,000 cows, 333 were to be given every day in groups of ten; the three that remained every day, along with the thousandth one, which was required to be variegated in colour, were to be given to the *Hṛis* on the last day of the sacrifice.

The fragmentary gūpa, discovered at Nagari, records the performance of a *Vājapēya* sacrifice by at least three brothers.⁷ The three sacrifices at Badvā, though brothers, chose to set different commemorative gūpas. Their number was four, but the name of the fourth sacrificer has perished along with his commemorative gūpa, of which only a fragment could be discovered and recovered.

The names of the brothers, whose memory has been preserved by their commemorative pillars, are Balavardhana, Sōmadēva and Balasimha. They are described as the sons of Mākhari Mahāsenāpati Bala.⁸ The term *Mākhari* is a more variant for *Mākhari* and thus our record, which is dated in the year 295 of the Vikrama era, is the earliest dated *Mākhari* record to be so far published. The *Mākhari* family of Bala is undoubtedly earlier than the house of Yaśovarman ruling in Bihār, as the latter was ruling in Rājputana in the first half of the 3rd century A. D., and Yaśovarman cannot be placed earlier than the fourth

¹ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 1, No. 1.

² VII, 15.

³ XVI, 21.

⁴ *Paṇḍya-Samhitā*, VII, 15.

⁵ *Śatśāyano-Srautasūtra*, XVI, 21.

⁶ *Saṃpāda*, p. XIII, 4, 2, 1.

⁷ *Memoria*, A. S. I., Vol. IV, p. 120.

⁸ [See p. 52 n. 3 below, — Ed.]

century A. D. The seal discovered by General Cunningham in Gayā district bearing the legend *Mukhaliyam* in Aśoka Brāhmī is still the earliest Maukhari document, but it bears no personal name.¹

The term Maukhari connotes that the family was founded by a progenitor named Maukhara;² if he was a real historical personage, we have now to place him earlier than the third century A. D. Whether the Maukhari families of Bihār, Kumañ and Baḍwā were all descended from him, we do not know. No evidence is available at present to establish any family connection between these three houses. The various-ending names of the members of the Bihār and Kumañ Maukhari families, along with the epithet *śakamukhikāśritāś* given to one of the members of the former family,³ make it clear that they were Kshatriyas by caste. Three of the four names of the members of the new Maukhari family, Bala, Balavarddhana and Balasita, confirm the same conclusion. It is also interesting to note that all these Maukhari rulers are seen to be zealous patrons of the Vedic sacrifices.⁴

None of the Maukhari chiefs mentioned in these records were known to us so far.⁵ Bala, the head of the family, is designated as *Mahīśaṣṭapati*. It is, however, not easy to determine the precise political status denoted by this title. *Saṣṭapati*, the title by which Pushyasmitta, the founder of the Śuāga dynasty, was known even to posterity, is a humbler title than the one given to Bala in our records. Bala, therefore, may well have been more than a mere general. In contemporary Āndhra⁶ and Ikshvāku records,⁷ however, this title seems to denote a feudal chief of considerable importance, ruling over a fairly big district.⁸ It would appear that the Maukhari Commander-in-chief Bala was very probably enjoying a similar status. He does not seem to have been an independent ruler.

If he was not independent, whose feudatory was he? This question cannot be confidently answered at present. At the time of our record, i.e., in A. D. 239, the Kūshānas were too weak to exercise any paramount control over southern Bāratkhā, even if we suppose that the accession of Kanishka took place in c. 120 A. D. From the very brief and imperfect summary of the Nāndā yūpa inscription published so far,⁹ it would appear that in A. D. 226, i.e., 13 years earlier than the time of our record, the rule of the Western Kshatrapas extended up to Nāndā, which is about 70 miles nearly due west of Baḍwā.¹⁰ It is therefore not improbable that the imperial overlord of

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 14. It may be pointed out that the facsimile of this important seal has never been published and that its present whereabouts are unknown.

² See Kalyāṇ on the *Pāṇinīya Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini IV, 1, 79. Our record does not connect the Maukhari with Aśvapati, the Mādra king, as does the Harāḥa record. The Mādras were originally in the Punjab, and if the statement of the Harāḥa inscription is true, it is likely, as my colleague Dr. R. S. Tripathi has suggested, that like the Malīyas and Yaudhīyas the Maukhari also may have had their home in the Punjab, from where they may have gradually migrated south-eastwards. If so, this movement must have begun very early; for we find the Maukhari in Bihār in the 3rd century B. C. It is, however, possible that the connection with Aśvapati may be more Pāṇinīya than historical.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Inscription No. 40.

⁴ For the Bihār family's patronage of the Vedic religion, see *ibid.*, Inscription No. 49, v. 1. For the Kumañ family's patronage see v. 7 of the Harāḥa inscription, *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 116. These references are not merely conventional.

⁵ A Maukhari inscription dated in the year 80 mentions Bala as a son of a certain lady (note, Vol. I, p. 275, No. 28). If we place Kaustubha in c. 100 A. D., then the date of this Bala would be c. 200 and it would be possible to identify him with Bala of our inscriptions. But from the fragmentary Mathurā record it does not appear that Bala, mentioned therein, was a Maukhari.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 94.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 32.

¹⁰ Nāndā is 36 miles from the railway station Bilwara on the Chitor-Ajmer line.

the Maukhari Commander-in-chief Bala was the Kshatrapa ruler Vijayadāman, who was ruling from A. D. 238 to 250.¹ If agreeing with Prof. Rapson² and disagreeing with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,³ we place Iśvaradatta Ābhira's intervention in A. D. 236, it is probable that Bala may have been compelled to transfer his allegiance to the interloper, provided he had made his power felt up to Kotah.

From the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūrasārman, the famous founder of the Kadamba house, it appears that he had defeated the Pallavas, Punodas, Traikūṭakas, Ābhīras, Pānyātrikas, Śakas and Maukharis.⁴ Since the record mentions specific kings and dynasties defeated, we cannot suppose that it contains mere empty boasts. All except the first two powers in the above list, belong to Central or Western India. The date of Mayūrasārman is, however, not definitely fixed, but I think the view of Dr. Krishna that he flourished about the middle of the 3rd century A. D.,⁵ is to be preferred to that of Mr. Moras who places him a century later.⁶ If such be the case, then our new Maukhari inscriptions will throw considerable light upon the political situation of the time. It has been suggested that the Maukharis defeated by Mayūrasārman were the Maukharis of Bihār; but it does not appear from the list of Mayūrasārman's victories that he had extended his sphere of activity much beyond Western India. If, as suggested above, the Maukharis of Bajra were the feudatories of the Śakas (and of the Ābhīras also during their temporary ascendancy), then it is very probable that the Maukharis whom Mayūrasārman defeated were some of the descendants of Bala. After defeating (or encountering) the Traikūṭakas and Ābhīras, Mayūrasārman attacked Central Gujārat. He was there opposed by the Śakas, a portion of whose forces were under the command of their Maukhari feudatories of Central India. This circumstance is very probably responsible for the victory over the Maukharis claimed by Mayūrasārman. It does not seem that he had ever invaded Bihār.

It would appear that at the time of the performance of the sacrifice in A. D. 239, Mahāśāpī Bala was still alive. His sons were probably occupying subordinate positions in his principality. None of them seems to have made much progress in his official career, as no title like *Sāmānta* or *Śāhāpātī* or *Duṣṭanāyaka* is associated with any one of them.⁷

The date of the records is given at the beginning of each of them in identical phrases. The expression used is:—*Kṛitā 200, 20, 5, Phalguna-śuklasya pañcā di*.

In order to get at the real meaning of the first word used here, it is necessary to compare the expression with similar ones occurring in early Indian inscriptions. Relevant passages to be considered are the following:—

- (1) *Kṛitayōr=dayōr=varaha-katayōr=dayāstāyāś 200 80 2 (Chaitra-pūrṇamāśi) m.*—Nāndā pillar inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53).
- (2) *Kṛitāśu chaturāśu varaha-tuttān=asthāśā(m)śaku 400 20 8 Phalguna(m) śuklasya pañcāśāstiyām=itayām=pūrveṣyām.*—Bijayagadh pillar inscription (*Fleet, C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 253).
- (3) *Śrī(r-m) Mūlasy-gay-āmanāt prastāt Kṛit=asthāśāś Ekashashy=asthāś praptā amā-kata-chaturāśāyā. . . . diśā Ārōja=śuklasya pañcāmyām.*—Mandāor inscription of Naravarman (*ante*, Vol. XII, p. 320).

¹ Rapson, *Catalogue*, etc., p. 129.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12217.

³ *Annual Report, A. S. I., 1913-14*, pp. 227-43.

⁴ *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report, 1929*, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶ *The Kadamba-kala*, p. 71.

⁷ [See p. 52 n. 8 below.—Ed.]

- (4) *Yātishu chatu[r]shu Kṛi(Kṛi)śishu śatishu saneyanishā (ś śhā)āta-sattara-paṭishu-
sha sata[r]śishu*] śuklā trayōdāśa-dinē dhruvī Kārttikasya mātasya.—Gaṅgadhār ins-
cription (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 74).
- (5) *Kṛiśishu chaturshu varsha-śatishu-śibhitya-uttarishu-asyām Mālava-pūrvāyām 400
80 I Kārttika-sukla-pāñchamām*.—Nagari inscription (*P R A S W C.*, 1915-16,
p. 56; *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 120).

Besides the present three records, we have thus five other instances where the word *Kṛita* is used in connection with the reckoning of an era. Out of these, in three passages, viz., Nos. 1, 2, and 4, the term *Kṛita* alone has been used and in the remaining two, viz., Nos. 3 and 5, it is used along with a reference to the Mālavas. In the two other Mandasor inscriptions, one of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvārman¹ and the other of Yaśodharman² the term *Kṛita* has been omitted altogether and the era is indicated as *Mālavānām gaṇa-shibhityā* and *Mālava-gaṇa-shūti-satā*.

The controversy connected with the interpretation of the term *Kṛita* used in the above passages has not yet closed. That all the above passages refer to the years of the Vikrama era is now admitted, but why the terms *Kṛitishu*, *Kṛitayōb*, etc. have been used in connection with the era is not yet definitely known. On the analogy of the passages Nos. 1 and 2 above, it is clear that *Kṛitā* of our inscriptions is to be corrected into *Kṛitāḥ* and is to be taken as governing a term like *varshaḥ* which is understood. The usual locative is here supplanted by the instrumental. But the meaning is the same, viz., 'when *Kṛita* years 295 had passed away.'

Dr. Fleet, while discussing the passage No. 4 above, was inclined to hold that *yātishu Kṛitishu satarishu* should be interpreted as 'when fully completed (480) years had passed.' He held that *kṛitishu* is more or less synonymous with *yātishu*. The passage No. 3 above, however, makes it clear that *kṛita* cannot be taken in that sense, but is clearly the proper name of the year or the era referred to in that document. While discussing the passage No. 3 above, the late MM. Haraprasad Sastri suggested that *Kṛita* was the proper name of the first year of a cycle of four years current in ancient India. He could substantiate his theory only by supposing that Bijayagadh and Gaṅgadhār inscriptions, which are dated in the years 428 and 480 respectively, expressed expired years. This theory is now no longer tenable, for in our present records and in the passage No. 1 above, the years mentioned are 295 and 283 respectively, and still they are described as *Kṛita*. In a cycle of four years, those years would be 3rd and 2nd respectively or 4th and 3rd, if we take them to be expired years. MM. Sastri's theory has therefore to be abandoned in the light of the new data.

While commenting upon the passage No. 3 above, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has observed that time has not yet come for suggesting a definite interpretation for the word *Kṛita*.³ He was inclined to hold that *Kṛita* was not the name of a king or royal dynasty associated with this era. To him it appeared that what is now known as Vikrama era was invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of counting years and was consequently originally known as *kṛita* or 'made'. We do not so far know of any great astronomer having flourished in c. 57 B. C. None of the famous Hindu astronomers like Āryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira or Brahmagupta is known to have attempted the founding of an era. Astronomers in ancient India have invented eras like the Saptarshi and the Kaliyuga ones going back to pre-historic times; they are not known to have founded eras commencing at any specific historic date.

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 163.

What then is the meaning of the term *Krita* in the above passages? I see no reason why it should not be taken as the proper name of the era. From the passage No. 3 above it is clear that though the era was traditionally handed down in the Mālava-tribe, it was known as *Krita*. The term *Krita* there does not designate any particular year of the era, but the whole collection of years, cf. *Krita-samajāt chakṣaṣṭy-adhikā prapti sand-tata-chaturdayā*. The era may have been originally known by that term because of the name of its founder. *Krita* as a personal proper name is not familiar in later Indian history and literature, but the case seems to have been different in earlier times. *Krita* was the name of one of the Vīṣṭilīvas; Vasudēva had given it to one of his sons from Rōhini; a pupil of Hiraṇyasthūla was known by that name; and fathers of Upa-nishara and Haryavara were christened by it.¹ What inherent improbability is there in postulating that the so-called Vikrama era may have been originally started by a king named *Krita*? According to the *Vikramāṅga*, *kṛita* has also the sense of fruit or reward. This meaning seems to be connected with one of the Vedic meanings of the word,—'booty'. At the time of the founding of the era, a king named *Krita* may probably have scored a memorable victory and won great booty (*loka*). To commemorate the victory an era was started called *Krita* named after its founder and his great achievement.

This theory is only a tentative one. I admit that so far we have no evidence whatsoever of a king named *Krita* having flourished by the middle of the 1st century B. C. But it is not improbable that in course of time we may discover a king of that name ruling at that time. It is also true that an era named after king *Krita* should be known by a *śuddhā* expression like *Kṛita-mukha* or *samvatsara*, on the analogy of the expression *Gaṇpā-ādī caraka-samvatsara* occurring in the Gaṇjān plates of the time of Śaśāṅkacāya.² The authors of early inscriptions were not particularly strong in Sanskrit (as is, for instance, evidenced by the present inscription) and the expression *Kṛita* (*samvatsara*) for *Kṛita* (*samvatsara*) is quite possible in their compositions. It may be further pointed out that in several cases *śuddhā* expressions have not been used in such cases. Thus in the Sūnak plates of Kartasīva³ dated in the year 1148 and in the Bhaderwar inscription of the time of Chaulukya king Jayasinhadēva⁴ dated in the year 1195, we have the expressions *Vikrama samvat* 1148 and 1195 and not *Vikrama samvat* 1148 and 1195. Similarly we come across the expression *Valabhi Samvat* and not *Vālabhīya samvat*.⁵ There is therefore nothing unusual in the years of the era of king *Krita* being known as *Kṛitāḥ caraka* or *Kṛitika samvatsara* or *Kṛitayika-samvatsara-kāryāḥ*.

The foundation of the Vikrama era is still shrouded in impenetrable mystery. Dr. Sten Konow has suggested on the authority of the *Kālabhūjāya-lakṣaṇa* that the era was founded by king Vikramāditya of Mālava in commemoration of his ousting the Sakas from Ujjāyini, where they had obtained a temporary footing.⁶ What is stated by the Jaina tradition is not, however, confirmed by the epigraphical data. If we analyse the inscriptions where the Vikrama era has been used, we find that the earliest instance, so far known, of the term Vikrama being associated with the era occurs full 594 years after its foundation.⁷ This Vikrama is for the first time called a king only in the 11th century of the era.⁸ It is therefore clear that in the

¹ See Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary under *Kṛita*.

² *Asiatic*, Vol. VI, p. 144.

³ *Asiatic*, Vol. I, p. 317.

⁴ *Archaeological Survey Report for Western India*, No. 2, Appendix, p. xiii, No. 56.

⁵ *Ind. Inscriptions*, vol. IX, p. 4.

⁶ *Asiatic*, Vol. XIV, pp. 295-3.

⁷ Dhundī inscription of Jīvalādēva, *Ind. Asiatic*, Vol. XII, p. 155.

⁸ Rāṅgī inscription of Narasīhena, dated V. 1028; *J. B. E. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

first seven centuries of this era, its connection with a king named Vikrama was altogether unknown. If, as the Jaina tradition asserts, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, the expeller of the Śakas, was the founder of the era, it has to be admitted that people had completely forgotten his memory within 250 years after his death. We shall have to suppose that it was somehow revived in the 11th century, probably due to the historic researches of the time; and that the era came to be renamed after him. This seems to be altogether improbable.

The precise interpretation of the term *krīta* being for a long time doubtful, the earliest proper name associated with the era was for a long time considered to be that of the Mālavas. Kielhorn had observed that from about the 5th to the 9th century of this era it was believed by poets to be specially used by the princes and people of Mālava.¹ The Mālavas, however, do not seem to be connected with the foundation of the era. It is interesting to note that in the three earliest instances of the use of this era, viz., the present records and the passages Nos. 1 and 2 above, the Mālavas have not been associated with the era at all. The term *Kṛita* alone is used to denote it. The same is the case with the Gaṅgadhār inscription of the year 489 (passage No. 4 above). The passage No. 3 above is the earliest instance, known so far, of the association of the Mālavas with the era; but there it is expressly stated that *Kṛita* was its proper name, though it was traditionally handed down among the Mālavas.² The evidence available so far shows that the association of the Mālavas with the era commenced sometime towards the middle of the 5th century A. D., as evidenced by the passage No. 3 above. Towards the end of that century its original name *Kṛita* was dropped, as would appear from the name of the era in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhavarnan.³ People of the 8th century believed that the era was founded by a Mālava ruler.⁴ Down to the 4th century, however, the Vikrama era was known as *Kṛita* and was not known to be connected with the tribe or king of the Mālavas. The supersession of the name *Kṛita* by Mālava is paralleled by the supersession of the name of Gupta era by the term *Valabhi* era in western India.

The geographical position of the places, where *Yūpa* inscriptions and inscriptions with the term *Kṛita* occur, is worth noting. *Yūpa* inscriptions have been found at Iṣṭpur, Bijayagadh, Badvā, Nagari and Nāndsā. Bijayagadh is about 50 miles south-east of Iṣṭpur; Badvā is about 140 miles south-south-east of Bijayagadh; Nagari is about 90 miles east of Badvā; and Nāndsā is about 40 miles north-east of Nagari. It would appear from this that eastern Rājputāna played an important part in the revival of Vedic religion. *Kṛita* era inscriptions have been discovered at Nāndsā, Badvā, Mandasor, Bijayagadh, Gaṅgadhār and Nagari. Mandasor is about 100 miles south-west of Badvā and Gaṅgadhār is about 35 miles east of Mandasor. South-eastern Rājputāna was thus the country where the designation *Kṛita* was current. It is worth noting that it is precisely in this area that the term Mālava came to be later associated with the era; for Mandasor, Nagari, Kanuwa and Gyarāpur are situated in the same sector of the country. It is therefore clear that in this province the term Mālava superseded the earlier name *Kṛita* after the 4th century.

The inscriptions mention no places. The village where they were discovered, is known as Badvā; it is not improbable that Badvā may be a contraction of Balavāṣi and that the modern humble village may have been once a flourishing capital,—founded by the *Mahāśaṣi* Bala,

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 403-4.

² This is no place to discuss the precise interpretation of the terms *Mālavā-pra-chāṣi*, *Mālavā-pra-chāṣi*, *chāṣi* and *Mālavā-pra-chāṣi*. All these refer to the established usage in the Mālava tribe. I do not think that the era has anything to do with any tribal organisation of the Mālavas.

³ *Proc. C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 81.

⁴ See *Rajawade inscription*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57.

who may have been the founder of the Maukhari branch in Kotah state. Its present population is only about 1,600, but half a century ago, it is said to have been four times more populous.

Before concluding, I would like to express my deep indebtedness to Major-General Ap-Onkar Singh, C.I.E., Dewan of Kotah, and to Dr. Mathuralal, State Historian, Kotah, for procuring the photographs of the Yūpas and supplying valuable information for the preparation of this article.

TEXT.¹

A. The Yūpa of Balavarddhana.

L. 1. Siddham [*] Kritāhi(Kritāhi) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phālguna)-śuklasya pañcā di śri(śrī)-mahā-sēnāpatēh * Mōkharēh * Bala-putrasya Balavarddhanasya yūpah[*] Tri-rātra-samītasya dakṣiṇyam(pā) gavāh sahasram(sahasram)[*].

B. The Yūpa of Sōmadēva.

L. 1. Siddham[*] Kritāhi(Kritāhi) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phālguna)-śuklasya pañcā di śri(śrī)-mahā-sēnāpatēh * Mōkharēh * Bala-putrasya Sōmadēvasya yūpah[*] Tri-rātra-samītasya dakṣiṇyam(pā) gavāh sahasram(sahasram)[*].

C. The Yūpa of Balasimha.

L. 1.* Kritāhi(Kritāhi) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phālguna)-śuklasya pañcā da(di) śri(śrī)-mahā-sēnāpatēh[*] Mōkharēh.

L. 2. r-Bala-putrasya Balasimhā(ha)sya yūpah[*] Tri-rātra-samītasya dakṣiṇyam(pā) gavāh sahasram [*].

TRANSLATION.

Well accomplished! On the fifth day of the bright half of Phālguna (of the year) 295 by Kṛita(years, this) sacrificial pillar (was erected) by Balavardhana (Sōmadēva in inscription B and Balasimha in inscription C), son of Bala, the glorious Mōkhari commander-in-chief.* The fee of a thousand cows as laid down for the Trirātra sacrifice (was duly given to Brahmanas).

No. 8.—NANDAPUR COPPER-PLATE OF THE GUPTA YEAR 169.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate, which is edited here for the first time, has been in the possession of Mr. Ganapati Sarkar, Zemindar of Bellāghātā, Calcutta, since 1929. I first saw it at the Annual

¹ From ink-impressions.

² Read - *paire*.

³ Read *Mōkhari*.

⁴ There is a triangular symbol at the end.

⁵ There are two symbols at the end of this record, one triangular and the other circular.

⁶ The word *siddham* has been omitted in this record.

⁷ The letter *sa* is a result of the engraver's omission.

⁸ [According to the text *Mōkharēh* and *śri-senā-sēnāpatēh* would refer to each of the three brothers and not to their father Bala. Since all the three bear the title of *senā-sēnāpatē* it is to be presumed that it was meant to be only a title of nobility as in the inscriptions of the southern Ikshvāku rulers.—Ed.]

THREE MAUKHARI INSCRIPTIONS ON YUPAS: KRITA YEAR 205.

A. The Yupa of Balavarddhana.



Left half.



Right half.

B. The Yupa of Sonnadeva.



Left half.



Right half.

C. The Yupa of Balasimha.



First line



Second line

A photograph of the Yupas.



Exhibition of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held on the 3rd February, 1936. Subsequently, at my request Mr. Sarkar very kindly handed it over to me for decipherment and publication. So far as available information goes, the copper-plate comes from a village called **Nandapur**¹ which lies on the southern bank of the Ganges, at a distance of about two miles to the north-east of Surajgarh in the District of Monghyr. The plate is said to have been fixed to the wall of a niche in a dilapidated temple close to the site of a *Siva-linga* locally known as 'Bāhānūth Mahādēva'. According to reports collected by Mr. Sarkar, Nandapur and its neighbourhood are full of ruins representing an ancient site, a part of which has perished due to the erosion of the river bank.

This is a **single sheet** of copper, measuring about $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. It bears inscription on both sides, there being in all nineteen lines of writing of which fifteen are on the obverse and only four on the reverse. A **seal** is attached to the plate, which originally must have borne an inscription. But it has since suffered much from corrosion with the result that none of the letters is at present preserved. Probably two letters are also missing in line 4, just where the donee's name was mentioned, and a few are damaged, or partly obliterated, in lines 17 and 18. The rest of the document is in a fair state of preservation, and the engraving is, on the whole, well executed.

The **characters** belong to 'the eastern variety' of the Gupta Alphabet (cf. *ka, sha, so* and *ha*) as found in the Dhānāidaha, Dāmōdarpur, Baigrām and Pāhārpur copper-plates, being typical of the writing prevalent in Bengal during the fifth century A.D. Attention may be drawn to the hook-like sign for medial *ā* attached to the bottom of some letters in making up the sign for the medial *ā*, e.g., in *Gōrākṣita* (l. 12), which occurs also in other records of the period. Another form of the medial *ā* sign is also used, in the shape of an upright stroke hanging from the right side of the *mūlā*. When applied to *ga* and *ma* this stroke is lengthened, reaching the bottom of the letter where it is slightly bent to the left, e.g., in *Brāhmaṇa* (l. 3) and *śaśmānāśa* (l. 15), in which we must recognize an advanced form of the sign.² The forms of the final *t* and *m* are noteworthy, e.g., in *vasat* (l. 19) and *dattam* (l. 13). The numerical signs for 4, 100, 60, 2 and 8 occur in the inscription (ll. 13, 10).

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit prose, excepting that there are two imprecatory verses in lines 17-18. The phraseology will be found to tally in many respects with that of the Baigrām copper-plate.³ As regards **orthography**, we should note the use of both *ka* and *sa*. But the writer of the document has failed to distinguish between the two letters in the words *hāhya* (ll. 5, 9), *stamba* (ll. 5, 9), *kaṭumbā* (ll. 2, 13) and *Baṇḍubhūta* (l. 8), in all these instances the sign for *sa* being used instead of that for *ka*.⁴ The consonants *ka* and *sa* are often doubled before a subscript *r*, e.g., in *vīkīrṇaś* (ll. 6, 9), *gōṭra* (l. 3) and *śakṣtra* (l. 13), although the word *cīkṛva* is spelt with a single *ka* in line 10. Some of the consonants following a superscript *r* are occasionally doubled, e.g., in *pramarttanāya* (l. 4) and *dharmma* (l. 11).

The charter was issued from a village called **Ambūla**. It records the purchase of 4 *kuṭyavāpas* of fallow land within the village of **Jaṅgōyikā**, at the rate of two *drandras* per *kuṭyavāpa*, by the **Viśāyapati Chhatramaha**, and the transfer of the same property as gift to a **Brāhmaṇa**, to enable him to perform 'the Five Great Sacrifices'. The name of the donee ending in *śūma* cannot be made out with certainty. He was an inhabitant of **Nanda-vīthi** and **Khaṭṭa-pāraṇa-agrahāra**, and belonged to the *Kāśyapa-gṛha* and the *Chhandōga* (*chraṇa* of the *Sāma-vēda*). The land was bounded on the south by the plot given away to *Gōrākṣita* and on the

¹ It is marked as 'Nandpur' in the 1" scale map of the Survey of India (Sheet No. 72 K. 2 and 7) published in 1925.

² Cf. e.g., Faridpur grant of Gopachandra, *Jal. Asl.*, Vol. XXXIX, Pl. III (facing p. 204), l. 24.

³ *Jal.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 81-82.

⁴ Similarly in the Baigrām copper-plate the letter *sa* instead of *ka* occurs in *stamba* in line 5, while *ka* is correctly employed in *stamba* in line 11, in *śakṣa* in lines 3 and 11, and in *śakṣtra* in line 2.

west by the land known as *Śiōpālībhōga*. In the present transaction, the *Paśānapati* *Chhattra-maha* himself was the applicant and appeared before the *Adhikaraya* to secure the plot of land by means of a *śāśva-patta*. The matter was enquired into and reported on by the *Resamī-keppata* (*Pradyōtmaśrīha* and *Bandhudāsa*). The land was measured by the standard unit of 8x9 *śulās*, following the recognised cubit length of *Darvīkarmma*, as in the *Baigrahā* charter. The copper-plate is dated the 8th day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha*, the year 169, which is referable to the Gupta era of 319 A.D. The date would thus correspond to the year 488 A.D.

I am unable to identify *Ambhā* whence the charter was issued, or *Jaṅgōyikā*, the village in which the plot of land was situated. But the name "*Nanda-śikhi*" has perhaps survived in "*Nandapura*" where the plate is said to have been discovered. That the document was drafted, engraved and issued from Bengal, or more precisely from North Bengal, follows not only from the nature of the script but also from the close agreement of its phraseology with that of *Baigrahā* and other plates of this century discovered in North Bengal. Moreover, from the mention of 8x9 *śulās* and the standard cubit length of *Darvīkarmma*, the conclusion becomes irresistible that the land that was so measured and given away must have also belonged to the same region, although the donor himself resided at *Nandapura* in the Monghyr District of Bihar.

TEXT.*

Obverse.

- 1 Svasti-**Amvi(mbi)la**-grām-āgrahārīka-*sa*-vīśvāśva-sādīkaraçām(ṇam) **Jaṅgōyikā**-grāmē
Brāhmaṇa-*śāśvatā*-śāśva-patān.
- 2 *cy-ādi-koṭṭamvi(mbi)naḥ* kṣatrasa-*anurāṭṭhaya* bōdhayanti(t) līkhaṭi(ṭṣ) cha [†] *Vijālayati*
naḥ viśaya-pati-**Chhattra-maha**.
- 3 *chehāmy-ahat* *sva-puṇy-ābhivṛddhaye* **Nanda**-valībōya-**Khaṭapūras**-āgrahārīka-
Chehāndōga-Kāṭyapa-*sa* gōtra-Brāhmaṇa.
- 4 ... **svāminō** pañcha-mahā-yaḥ-*sa*-pura-attanaṭya khila-khōṭṭra-kulyavāpa-*cha*-mahā-jayaḥ
kritv-ātamaṣṭam [†].
- 5 *Yashmad*-viśayaḥ *cha* samudaya-vā(bā)hy-ādy-astamva(mba)-khila-khōṭṭra-pām *śāśva*-ā-
chandr-ārka-tāraka-bhōjya(śā)*.
- 6 *ma-akshaya-niryāḥ* *dvi-dhātīka-kulyavāpa-vikrayō-nuvritta*-*rad*-*arha*tha *marō*-*śṣṭau*
dinārān-upa.
- 7 *sāmgriya* **Jaṅgōyikā**-grāmē khila-khōṭṭra-kulyavāpa-*cha*-mahā-jaya-ma-akshaya-niryā-
tāmrapaṭṭina dātum-iti [†].
- 8 *Yataḥ* *Paṭapāla*-*Pradyōtmaśrīha*(*śrīha*)-*Va*(ḥ) *palīśvāśva*-*śr*-*svadhāronay**-*śvadhātum*-*śa*-
ṭha viśayaḥ samudaya.
- 9 *vā(bā)hy-ādy-astamva(mba)* khila-khōṭṭra-pām-*ah* *chehā*-*paṭikarāḥ* *dvi-dhātīka-kulya*-
vāpa-vikrayō-nuvritta [†].
- 10 *Evam*-*vā*-*śr*-*paṭikara*-khila-khōṭṭra-vikrayḥ *cha* *na* *śāś*-*chidorā*-*śrī*ka-*vīrō*dhāḥ *diya*-
mānō *tu* *Paramahat*-āraka.
- 11 *pādānām* *dharma*-*śod*-*bhūg*-*śvāpta*-*tail*-*diyatām*-*ity*-*śāśma*l-*viśaya*-*pati*-**Chhattra**-
mahād-*śṣṭau*-*dinārān-upa*.

* From the original.

† [As in the *Pāliśpur* Plate one would expect here the mention of some officers like *Arantakas* who conveyed the necessary information to the Court. See p. 55 n. 1.—Ed.]

* The letter *sa* in *svadhāronay* was at first omitted through inadvertence and later inserted below.

Obverse.

2 1. ... 2
4 ... 4
6 ... 6
8 ... 8
10 ... 10
12 ... 12
14 ... 14

Reverse.

16 ... 16
18 ... 18

- 12 satyagūhya Jangōyikā-grāmē Gārahita-tāmapatta-dakṣiṇeṇa Gopālibhōgāyā paśchi-
mēna khila-
13 kshētra-kulyavāpa-chaturāśrayam dattam ka 4 [1*] Tē yāyam-ēvam viditvā kutumvi-
(nhi)nāti karāṇa-ōvirōdhi-sthānē
14 Darvīkartuma-hastēn-śiṣṭaka-navaka-nalābhyām-āpariñchaya chira-kāla-sthāyī-nish-
kṣāṇi-ādi-chūlmāni-chaturddi-
15 ā-niyamita-samānāni kṛtvā dāyatha datvā(ritvā) ch-ākakaya-nīti-dharminōpa kṣvāt-
kā-lam-anupālayishyatha

Reverse.

- 16 varṣamāna-bhaviṣyati-cha samvavaharibhur-ēvad-dharm-āpōkṣhay-anupālayitavyam
[1*] Uktā-cha bhagi-
17 [vaiā Vyā] [1*] Svā-dattāni paratattāni vā yō harēta vasumharām [1*] sa vākthā-
yām kṛmir-bhūtvā pōtibhūḥ sāha
18 pachyatē [1*] [Bhāṣitā] vācha-sahasrāni svargē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [1*] ākshēptā ch-ānu-
mantā cha tāny-ēva nā-
19 rakṣ vasēt [1*] Sam 100 80 9 Vai ēudi 8

TRANSLATION.

(ll. 1-2) Hail! From the (*regal*) grant (*agrakāra*) of **Ambila** village, our Head of the Dis-
trict (*Vishayapati*) **Chhatramaha**, with confidence¹ intimates, addresses in writing and informs
the Court (*Adālikaraga*), as well as the Brāhmanas, the chief officers and others, and also the house-
holders, at the village of **Jangōyikā**, after having enquired about their well-being:

(ll. 3-7) "I wish to make over, for the sake of the increase of my religious merit, 4 *kulva-*
rūpas of fallow land, after (*a*) has been purchased, to the Brāhmanas, . . . , **svāmīn**, an inha-
bitant of the *agrakāra* of **Khatāpārānā** in **Nunda-sūti**,² belonging to the *Kāyapa-gotra* and
the *Chāndōga* (*charaṇa* of the *Sīmāśāla*), to enable him to perform the Five Great Sacrifices.³
Now, in your District (*vyāpaka*) there is established the system of sale at the rate of two *dhānas*
per each *kulvarūpa* of fallow land, originally devoid of vegetation, which does not yield any
revenue (*to the State*) and being under perpetual endowment (*adāyaga-nīti*)⁴ can be enjoyed
eternally, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure. So you should accept from me eight
dhānas and grant (*me*) by means of a copper-plate, for the sake of perpetual endowment, four
kulvarūpas of fallow land in the village of **Jangōyikā**."

(ll. 8-11) Whereas it has been ascertained on enquiry by the Record-keepers, **Pradyōtanīha**
and **Bandhudāsa**, that there is established in this District the system of sale at the rate of two
dhānas per each *kulvarūpa* of fallow land, originally devoid of vegetation, which does not yield
any revenue (*to the State*), and whereas there can be no loss of income to the Crown in such sale of
revenue-free fallow land—rather in case of gift a sixth part of the religious merit would accrue
to the King (*Paramābhūtarāja-pāda*)⁵—now therefore let (*the land*) be granted.

¹ [See p. 54 n. 2. I should translate: "From . . . Ambila . . . (the *Āyukāra*) . . . intimate
and write to (*ādālikarāga*) (*ādāli*) the Court that *Vishayapati* *Chhatramaha* informs us . . ."—Ed.]

² Cf. as instance, in a *Dānādargar* copper-plate: *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 126, l. 2.

³ The term *sūti* is used in the sense of a part of a district or sub-division. Cf. Majumdar, *Descriptions of*
Bengal, Vol. III, p. 71.

⁴ The five sacrificial rites are bull, horse, religious, equitation and *stūti*.

⁵ The expression *adāyagavēti* is used in l. 6 as well as in l. 7 in the fifth case, evidently as *āṭṭa*. In the Ben-
gali copper-plate, l. 17 it has the same con-ending in this sense.

⁶ The reigning king is thus referred to also in other grants, e.g., in *Balgram* (l. 15), *Dānādargar*, No. 3 (ll. 12-
13, where the correct reading should be *dāyama-chāḍādy-āpōti*), and in *Taridpur* grant of *Dharmāditya* (*Jal.*
As., Vol. XXXIX, p. 195, l. 15).

(Ll. 11-13) So having realized eight *śiṅḍus* from the Head of the District, **Cbhattarama**, four *śiṅḍas* of fallow land, *śu* 4, is being granted in the village of **Jaṅḍyikā**, (the land being bounded) on the south by (the plot granted by) a copper-plate charter to Gōṛakṣita and on the west by Gōṛābhāga.

(Ll. 13-16) Therefore having known this, you should give away (the plot) in a land that may not cause hindrance to cultivation of householders, after measuring (it) by (the standard unit of) 8×9 reeds, according to the cubit length of Darvvikarma, and also after demarcating the area in four directions by permanent marks of chaff, charcoal, etc.

(Ll. 15-16) And having made over you should still maintain (it) for ever, under the operation of the principle of perpetual endowment (*akṣaya-nīti*). Likewise, it should be maintained, out of regard for piety, by the present and future administrative officers as well. And so says Lord Vyāsa. (Here follow two imprecatory verses.)

(L. 19) The year 169, the 8th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

No. 2.—SRUNGAVARAPUKOTA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA.

By PROF. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., DACCA.

This is a set of three copper-plates, measuring 8½ inches in length and 2 inches in breadth. The right half of the third plate is broken and missing. The outer faces of the first and third plates are blank, while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to a circular *śaśi* bearing in relief the figure of a couch with some indistinct emblem inside it.

The plates were discovered at the village of **Srungavarapukōṭa**, in the district of Vizagapatam (Madras). The cultivator who found them was under the impression that the metal was gold. So he broke the third plate, and had one piece melted by a goldsmith who, of course, declared it to be made of copper. Thus the remaining plates were left intact and secured by Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., Ph.D. He gave them to Mr. M. Narasimham, who sold them to the **Madras Museum** where the plates are now preserved.

Mr. M. Narasimham edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* (Vol. VIII, pp. 153-160), with Photo-prints of the plates. Unfortunately, his reading contains several errors, and many of his introductory remarks are either palpably wrong or open to serious objections.

I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India.

The alphabet is of an early southern type. It is undoubtedly earlier than the early Gāḍga records, e.g., those of Hastivarman¹ and Indravarman,² dated respectively in the years 80 and 87 of the era used by the family. It shows great resemblance to the alphabet of the Kōmarī plates of Chandavarman.³ Dr. Hultsch, who edited this inscription, observed that its alphabet resembled that of the Kollēru plates of the Śaśāṅkīyana King Vijayanandavarman. Since then the Pedavegi grant⁴ of this King has given us an approximate idea of his date. He was the great-

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 128 ff.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

⁴ J. A. B. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

grandson of Hastivarman, who must almost certainly be identified with the king of Vāṅgi defeated by Samudragupta. The reign of Vijayanandivarman thus falls in the fifth century A. D.

The present record is dated only in the regnal year, but so far as we can judge from palaeography alone, it would, I think, be safe to presume that the present plates belong to the century 450-550 A.D.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the three well-known imprecatory verses (ll. 16-19) the inscription is written in prose.

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted. Separate signs are used for *ṭ* and *ṣ*. Consonants are doubled after *r* with a few exceptions, viz., *chandrārka* (l. 10), *śjāur-bhava*¹ (l. 11), *bhīr-ṣṛitam* (l. 14) and *rājaraśi* (l. 13). Consonants *ḥ*, *m* and *t*, followed by *r*, are also doubled, and *dh* is doubled before *y*. *Anusvara* is used for palatal *ṣ* in *prabhaṣṇana* (l. 4), the *anusvara* sign being wrongly placed above *y*. Both *jīvaṁśīya* and *upadhāṁśīya* are used. The finals *s* and *m* are indicated by small-sized letters (*m* in l. 12, *t* in l. 19).

The inscription records the grant of the village of **Kindāppa** in **Tēllavalli** *cishoya* as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmaṇa **Mātrīśarman**, by the king of **Kalinga**, **Mahārāja Anantavarman**, son of **Mahārāja Prabhaṣṇanavarman**, and the grandson of **Mahārāja Guṇavarman**, lord of **Dēvarāṣṭra**. The grant was issued from the victorious city of **Piṣṭapura**.

King Anantavarman is also known to us from the Siripuram copper-plate grant.² It was issued by Anantavarman, lord of **Kalinga**, from the victorious city of **Dēvapara**. It gives the name of the king's father as **Prabhaṣṇanavarman**, evidently a mistake for **Prabhaṣṇanavatman**, and that of his grandfather as **Guṇavarman**. There is no mention, however, of the last named king being lord of **Dēvarāṣṭra**.

There can, of course, be no doubt about the identity of the donors of the two grants. Still, it may be remarked in passing that the phraseology of the two grants shows no close resemblance, and that they were issued from different places. This point is noteworthy as, very often, arguments for and against the identity or close association of two kings are based on such considerations.

Dēvarāṣṭra, over which king Guṇavarman ruled, must be the kingdom of the same name which was conquered by Samudragupta. Formerly this was identified with **Mahārāṣṭra**. But G. Jouveau-Dubreuil proved, with the help of the Kāśimkōṭa plates, that **Elamañchi-Kallāgadēśa** formed part of **Dēvarāṣṭra**.³ **Elamañchi-Kallāgadēśa** was taken to mean "the Kallāga country of which **Elamañchi** (the modern **Yellamanchili**) was the chief town"; and hence **Dēvarāṣṭra** was located in the Vizagapatam District. This view is supported by the present grant, inasmuch as it seems to show that **Piṣṭapura** was included within the kingdom of **Dēvarāṣṭra**. It is, no doubt, possible to take the view that **Dēvarāṣṭra**, over which Guṇavarman ruled, did not originally include **Piṣṭapura** which was subsequently acquired by Anantavarman; but, even then, we must regard the two as neighbouring localities.

In any case, it appears to be reasonably certain, that Anantavarman ruled over both **Piṣṭapura** and **Dēvarāṣṭra** which were two separate kingdoms in the time of Samudragupta. Of the two "Victorious Cities" from which he issued the grants, **Piṣṭapura** is, no doubt, the same as

¹ It was edited by Mr. M. Narasimham in the *Telugu Journal Bhīratī* (September, 1931) which is not accessible to me. A short account of its contents is given in his article on the present grant (*J. A. S. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 153). The Government Epigraphist has, at my request, very kindly placed at my disposal an excellent ink-impression of the Siripuram plates. My remarks are based on the original reading of these plates.

² *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 60.

period. It may be further pointed out that *ashṭāśaka* is not a correct grammatical form for denoting 'the eighth Śaka year', and that no king of Kalinga was likely to use the era, under that express name, in the eighth year of its foundation.

As to the localities mentioned in the inscription, *Piṣṭapūra* and *Dēvarāṣṭra* have already been dealt with. The village *Kiṇḍēppa*, the object of the grant, was situated in the *Tellavalli-vishaya*. Neither of these can be identified with certainty. Mr M. Narasimham says that the river called 'Tel' in the *Zamindari* of Jeypore used to be called the 'Telivāhi' in early times. He then argues that "the modern Jeypore (sic) must have been called *Tellavalli* (sic) *vishaya* on account of the river *Telivāhi* which flows across it."¹ This cannot, however, be regarded as a satisfactory argument.

About fourteen or fifteen miles to the south-west of *Srunavarapukōṭa*, where the plates were found, there is a village called *Tella-gamudy* ($82^{\circ} 58' \times 17^{\circ} 58'$) and near it, another village, called *Koṇḍapālem*. The former is situated at the crossing of two roads, and on the bank of a rivulet, thus indicating an important site. I venture to suggest that *Tella-gamudy* may be identified with the *Tellavalli-vishaya* of the grant. But as there are several villages of the name of *Koṇḍapālem* in the neighbourhood of *Srunavarapukōṭa* it is not certain which of these is referred to in the inscription as the *Kiṇḍēppa-grāma*. Probably the latter has to be identified with *Koṇḍapālem* near *Tella-gamudy*.

The donee is styled *Achanta-pura-bhōgika*. I have translated it as 'resident of *Achanta-pura*', taking the term '*bhōga*' as a territorial division. I am unable to identify this place.

In the inscriptions of the *Śailōdhhava*, the *Parivrājaka* and the *Uchchakalpa* kings, the term '*bhōgika*' is used as a technical official title, possibly connected, according to Fleet,² with the territorial division called *bhōga*. But the term is used only with reference to the fathers and grandfathers of persons who wrote the charters.³ In the case of the records of the *Gāṅga* dynasty we have, as the engravers of their charters, (1) *Āditya-Maṇchin*, also called *Āditya-Bhōgika*, and his son (2) *Khaṇḍichandra*, also called *Khaṇḍichandra-Bhōgika*.⁴ In all these cases, the term *bhōgika* must be taken as an official title, probably the chief of a *bhōga*, and whatever may be the particular duties of this official, the writing and engraving of charters were most probably included in them. But there is no doubt that the office carried dignity and prestige with it; for, in the records of the *Parivrājaka* and *Uchchakalpa* kings, even high officials like *Mahāmāndhī-vigrahika* performed the same office, and described their fathers and grandfathers as *bhōgika*. In *Sanskrit Dictionaries*, the term *bhōgika* is explained as 'groom, horse-keeper'. The term has also been regarded as equivalent to Telugu *Bhōi*, a palankeen-bearer.⁵

None of the above meanings of *bhōgika* is suitable in the present case. We cannot think of the donee *Māṭṛisārman* who was a *Brāhmana*, possibly following scholarly pursuits, either as a regular official, or following such menial occupations as those of a groom or a palankeen-bearer. We have, therefore, to take *Achanta-pura-bhōga* as the name of a territorial unit, and regard *Māṭṛisārman* as a resident of the same.

¹ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VIII, p. 157.

² Fleet, C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 100, f. n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 103, 109, 120, 124, 129, 134; *above*, Vol. III, p. 46; J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVI, p. 132.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. XVIII, p. 303.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. n. 8.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹ Svasti² ||* Vijaya-**Piṣṭapāṇa**-śāhishṭhānān-mahī-maṇḍala-vyāpi-śārad-śūdu-kara-nirmma-
la-guṇārya
2 Dēvarāshṭr-ādhipatēr-aṇka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-vijay-ādhiḡata-yaśasō Mahārāja-āri-Gu-
3 pavarmmaṇaḥ parama-pautraḥ śakti-tīray-ōpanata-rājya-sampadō Vāishṭha-kula-cha nd-
rama-
4 aḥ āri-Mahārāja-**Prabhajamna**³-varmmanāḥ priya-puttraś-eva-bala-vikkrām⁴-ōpārjita-
bhūm-
5 ya-vinaya-sattva-sampam-ādhiḡata-yaśō dēva-dvijāti-guru-jaṇ-ānuddhyāna-sam-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 6 varddhita-mahimā parama-mahāśvarō mātā-pitri-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ **Kaliḡg-ādhipatiś-**
āri-
7 Mahārāj-**Ānantavarman**⁵ Tēlavallī-vishayō **Kiṇḍēppa**⁶-grāmō sarva-samavōtān-kuṭa-
8 mbinaḥ samāḡṣāpayaty-asti ścha grāmō-smābhīr-Uttārāyāṇō⁷-smat-puṇy-ābhividdha-
9 yō śāmasa Kausika-sa-gōttrāya Taittirīya⁸-sa-bramhachāriḡō⁹ **Achaptapura**¹⁰-bhōḡi-
10 ka-Mātyāśarmmaṇō ś-chaṇḍ-śika-tāraka-pratiśṭham-agrahāraḥ kṛtvā sarva-kara-
bharaḥ

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 11 pariḡṭṭiya sampradattas-tad-ēvam-avadhṛit-ājānir-bhavadbhis-tad-ājā-ānuvidhāyibhi-
h pratyaha-
12 m-upasthātavyam¹¹ || Brāhmsṇa śh-ātmanō-grahāraḥ puttra-pautrikam-upahhojyamā-
13 nō ma kūt-śhid-vallabha-durilabhair-upahantavyaḥ¹² ||* Āḡmibhir-āpi rājaraḥi-
14 bhīr-vṛttam-anupālayadbhir-yyath-ēya dharmma-prasavay-āvicchēdhōdēna pravṛi-
15 tīr-bhībhavati¹³ tath-ānushṭhēyam ēvañ ścha asti tatva tēhām-āpi dharmmō-ābhīsambo-

Third Plate : First Side.

- 16 nḡhas-śmaryyatō || Bahubhir-ēvauddhā dattā bahubhi¹⁴ (ś-ē-ānupālītā | yasya yasya yadā
bhūmis-ta-*)
17 sya tasya tadā phalam¹⁵ ||* Sva-dattām-pura-dattām vā yatnū(d-raksha Yudhiśṭhira |
mahid mahimnatām śśēḡṭha dānō-*)

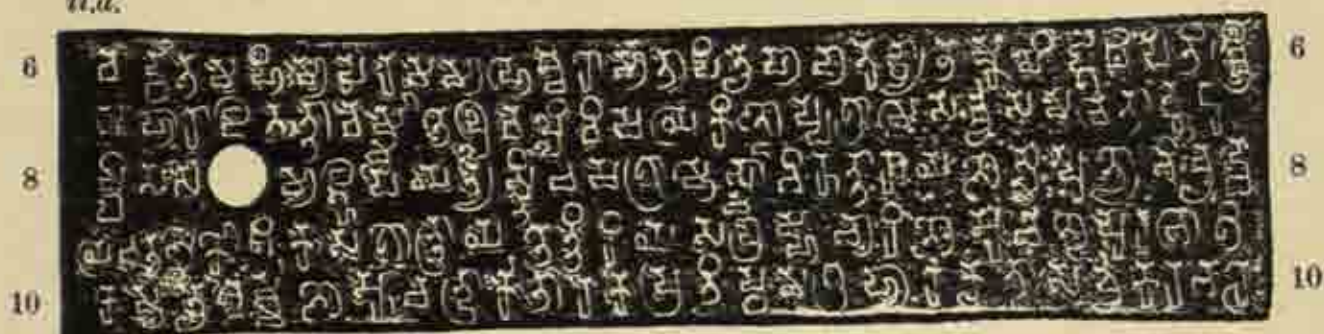
* Expressed by a symbol.

* Read *Prabhajana*.* Read *śikṣa*.* Read *śikṣa*.* N. reads *Kiṇḍēppa*,—but the right vertical stroke is a regular part of the letter s (N. denotes Mr. Narasimham).* Read *Uttārāyāṇa*.* Read *Taittirīya*.* Read *ś-śikṣa*.* N. reads *Achaptapura*.* Read *śśēḡṭha*.

i.



ii.a.



ii.b.



iii.



Seal.



From a photograph.

18 *ch=chhr̥yō=nupālanach(m)* [||*] *Shashtin varsha-sahasrāpi svarggē* [mōdati bhūmidah / ākshēptā *ch=ānumantā* *cha tā **]-

19 *ny=eva narakē yasēt* [||*] *Pravaraddhamānayā rājya-śriyā rājaya* {*tra**}

20 *yōdāyām-Uttarāyagē dharmma-pradānam kṛtām-iti bhū*

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail! From his residence in the victorious city of **Pishtapura**, the glorious **Mahārāja Anantavarman**,—who is the lord of **Kalinga**; who adores the feet of (*his*) mother and father; who is the devout worshipper of **Mahādeva**; whose greatness has been enhanced by affectionate solicitude for the gods, the twice-born, and the elders; who has acquired fame by reason of his being endowed with wisdom, modesty, and virtue; who has acquired the earth by his own strength and valour;

who is the dear son of the glorious **Mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman**, the moon of the **Vāsishtha** family, who (**Prabhañjanavarman**) brought about the prosperity of the kingdom by the three elements¹ of royal power;

who is the most excellent grandson of the glorious **Mahārāja Guṇavarman**, who² acquired fame by victories in many stubbornly fought battles, who³ was the lord of **Dēvarāshṭra**, and whose⁴ spotless virtues, like the rays of autumn moon, pervaded the whole world:—

commands⁵ (as follows) all the ryots present at the village of **Kindōppa** in the district (*vishaya*) of **Tēlavallī**: this village has been granted by us, during summer solstice, for the sake of increasing our religious merit, to this **Mātrīśarman**,—a member of the **Kaṇṇika** *gētra*, a student of the **Taittirīya** (*śākhā*), and a resident of **Achaptapura-bāḍga**—after having made (*it*), an *agrahāra*, which is to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the stars, and exempting (*it*) from all burdens of taxation.

Having understood this command you should, every day, act in accordance with it. The **Brāhmaṇa**, enjoying his own *agrahāra* in hereditary succession (*it* through sons and grandsons) should not be hindered in any way, by any officer (*however*) eminent.⁶

The future royal ascetics, following the traditional usage, should pursue that (course) which would lead to continuous progress (or practice) of this act of virtue. This being so, the association of these (*succeeding kings*) also with religious merit in this matter is mentioned in the *Smṛiti*.

[Three customary verses follow.]

By the increasing majesty

On the thirteenth (*tithi*), during the summer solstice, this religious gift is made.

¹ *N.*, reads 'the'. The 4-āra-like sign may really be part of the next letter.

² There are three elements of royal power (*śakti*), viz., (1) *prabhāśakti*, i.e., the majesty or pre-eminent position of the king himself; (2) *mantrāśakti*, i.e., the power of good counsel, and (3) *utsāhāśakti*, i.e., the power of energy.

³ Refers to **Guṇavarman**.

⁴ Refers to **Anantavarman**.

⁵ The original expression is 'Vallabha-darśikā'. The first word means 'Overseer, Superintendent, or headman', and probably stands for royal officials in general. I am unable to suggest any definite meaning for *darśikā*. One of its meanings given in the lexicon, is 'eminent or extraordinary', and it may be regarded as an adjective of *Vallabha* (*Mano-eyamāhānta*). Or possibly, from its association with *Vallabha*, it may also have to be taken in the sense of an Official, though the term in this sense is not known from any other source.

No. 10.—NARASINGAPALLI PLATES OF HASTIVARMAN, THE YEAR 79.

By Prof. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., DACCA.

This is a set of three copper-plates, measuring 6½ inches in length and 2½ inches in breadth. The outer face of the first plate has been left blank while the two other plates bear writing on both the sides. The writing is distinct and in good preservation. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal showing indistinctly a couchant bull, facing right.

The plates were discovered in a field in the village of **Narasingapalli**, Chinnole taluk, Ganjam District, by one Suran Nayudu, while digging earth. He gave it to Mr. Byri Appalaasami Nayudu, from whom it was obtained by Mr. M. S. Sarma and sold to the Madras Museum. The inscription has been published in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati*, Vol. XI (September, 1934), pp. 461 ff., which is not accessible to me. I edit the inscription from an excellent ink-impression supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The alphabet is of an early southern type and closely resembles that of the Utlām plates of the same king and the copper-plate grants of Indravarman II. This is only what could be expected, for Vinayachandira, who wrote the present plates, is also the writer of all the plates of the Kalinga kings **Hastivarman** and **Indravarman II**, viz.:—(1) Utlām plates of Hastivarman; (2) Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman II; (3) Santahommali plates of Indravarman II; and (4) Parā-kimēdi plates of Indravarman II.¹

If we compare the alphabet of our grant with that of the Jirjingi grant of Indravarman I,² dated in the year 39, we find that the latter belongs to a distinctly earlier class, and indeed the difference appears to be far greater than would be warranted by the interval of 40 years between the two. Attention may be specially drawn to the forms of *ā*, *y*, *ṣ*, *ṇ*, *dh*, *m*, *ṣ* and *ṣ*.³

The final form of *ṣ* occurs at the end of the inscription, while it is replaced by *anuvāra* in *phalana* (l. 23), *anuvāra* (l. 24), and *devatāyān* (l. 27). The two numerical symbols 70 and 9 are used in the date (l. 27).

The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five verses, the inscription is written in prose. The influence of Prakrit may be traced in the form *ākāṣṭhi* (l. 27). As regards orthography, *anuvāra* is represented by guttural *ṣ* in *Rājasinhava* (l. 28) and *saṅghatā* (for *saṅghatā*, l. 29), while dental *ṣ* is represented by *anuvāra* in *gītā* (l. 24). Consonants are doubled after *ṣ*, with the exception of *dh* in *varā* (l. 25), and *dh* is doubled before *y* in *anuvāra* (l. 8). Separate signs are used for *ḍ* and *ṣ*.

The inscription records the grant of a piece of land for defraying the expenses of the worship of god Nārāyaṇa and repairing his temples. The land included four *śrēṇas* (which means houses or probably sites for the same) and was situated in the village **Rōhapaki** in the district of **Varāhavarāni**. **Mahārāja Hastivarman** of Kalinga, who makes the grant, belongs to the **Gāṅga** family. As noted above, this king is already known to us from the Utlām plates, dated in the year 80.⁴ The present grant is dated in the year 79, and is thus earlier of the two. Except

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 330.² Above, Vol. III, p. 128.³ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 21.⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 134.⁵ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, p. 49.

⁶ The difference is, no doubt, partly the result of difference in the style of writing, but as the two records belong to the same locality, we may assume, with a tolerable degree of certainty, on the basis of the palaeographic examination alone, that the Jirjingi grant is earlier than the present one.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 330.

the Tirjingi grant of Indravarman I, dated in the year 39, this is the earliest copper-plate grant of the Gāṅga family so far discovered.¹

The introductory portion of this grant agrees word for word with that of the Uṛlām plates, save that in the latter the word *sukha* is added after the word *sarvārtha* in line 1. As is well known, this long phraseology became stereotyped in the grants of the family, and, with some additions and alterations, continued for nearly five hundred years. The corresponding phraseology of the Tirjingi grant is, however, quite different. The present grant is, therefore, the earliest document where we can trace the stereotyped phraseology of the Gāṅga records. The five verses of the Uṛlām plates also occur in this grant.

The inscription is dated in the year 79. The exact equivalence of this date depends upon the determination of the epoch of the Gāṅga era to which it is presumably to be referred. As is well known, scholars differ widely on this point. This subject is too vast and complicated to be dealt with here. I may note, however, that whereas some earlier writers like Sewell² and R. D. Banerji³ placed the initial date of the era, respectively in the ninth and eighth century A.D., Mr. G. Ramdas⁴ pushes it back to the fourth century A.D. Dr. Fleet,⁵ who first dealt with the subject, was of opinion that the two extreme dates for the epoch of the Gāṅga era were A.D. 481 and 634. He based his views partly on paleographic and partly on historical grounds. The latter have now lost much of their force, but I believe his view still holds good on paleographic grounds. The present grant may be regarded on paleographic grounds as somewhat later than that of Anantavarman which I have edited above. I have there shown my grounds for referring the latter to the century 450-550 A.D. The present grant may, therefore, be referred to the period 550-650 A.D. The epoch of the Gāṅga era would accordingly fall between 470-570 A.D.

This is in accord with the latest theory on the subject, viz., that of Prof. R. Subba Rao,⁶ who is the first to work on the subject with the help of some positive data. He fixes the epoch of the era at A.D. 494.⁷ Although one may differ from him in some of his arguments and conclusions, and may not be inclined to be dogmatic about the particular year A.D. 494, I think, the data presented by him would reasonably lead to the hypothesis that the epoch of the Gāṅga era lies between 494 and 560 A.D., i.e., roughly speaking, about the first half of the sixth century A.D.⁸ Hastivarman may thus be regarded as flourishing towards the end of the sixth or the first half of the seventh century A.D.

No new information of Hastivarman's reign is furnished by this record. As in the Uṛlām plates, two of his *hīrudas* or epithets, viz., *Rājāsīrha* and *Rajabhīta* are mentioned in the present grant. As regards the last, Dr. Hultsch has already drawn attention to its peculiar

¹ I leave out of account the Tirjingi grant, dated 38 (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 54), for the reading of the date appears to me to be very doubtful. The writer of this grant is also Vinayachandra, son of Bhānu-chandra. So if the year of the Tirjingi plate belongs to the same era to which those of Hastivarman and Indravarman II are to be referred, we have to presume that Vinayachandra was in active service from the year 28, or some time previous to it, to the year 91 (date of Parāṅkimidi plates of Indravarman II), or some time posterior to it. In other words, he held the office for nearly sixty-five to seventy years. This appears to be highly improbable.

² *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, p. 357.

³ *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 239.

⁴ *J. E. O. E. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 304 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 123.

⁶ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 272-4.

⁷ Mr. J. C. Ghosh suggested that it should more properly be A.D. 490; *Ind. Ant.*, 1932, p. 227. See also Bhattacharya's *List*, p. 204, note 1.

⁸ I shall discuss the question more fully in a separate article.

character and the fact that it occurs as a name of a member of the Śailōdbhava family.¹ I may add that several other members of the same family bear similar names, viz., Yaśōbhita (or A-yasobhita) and Saṃyabhita.²

So far as is at present known, such names do not occur elsewhere. Hastivarman's rule in Kāśī falls during the period when the Śailōdbhava family was ruling in Kōśāṇḍa immediately to its north. The assumption of such a peculiar title by Hastivarman may not be totally unrelated to the rule of Śailōdbhava family, though we have no definite information as to any relation between the two.

The present grant of Hastivarman is a *dev-āgrahāra*, i.e., a free-hold created, not for the benefit of an individual person, but for the regular worship of god Nārāyaṇa and the repairs of his temples.³ We have a similar example in the Santabommali plates of Indravarman II⁴ which repeat the exact phraseology of this inscription denoting the object of the grant.

As noted below, the three epithets of god Nārāyaṇa (ll. 12-13) occur in a single verse of Kāśī-dāsa's *Rāghavarāṇa* (canto X, verse 21), and it is not unreasonable to presume that the compiler of the record was acquainted with that work. Of far greater interest, from the historical point of view, is the designation of the god, viz., *Raṇabhītōdaya* (l. 13). There can be hardly any doubt, that this was derived from the king's own *bindu*, *Raṇabhita*. It thus furnishes an example, well known in India and Indian Colonies in the Far East, of designating (the image of) a god after the king who set it up.⁵

The king made this grant presumably at the request, or on the recommendation, of *Buddha-maṇchi-Bhōḡika* (l. 16). The word *pratiśōdhita* (l. 17), used in this connection, literally means 'to awaken, to inform, to entrust, etc.', but, considering the context, it is clear that 'to request' or 'to recommend' would convey the real sense.⁶

As to *Buddha-maṇchi-Bhōḡika*, there is no doubt that *Buddha-maṇchin* was the name of a person who held the office of a 'Bhōḡika'. The different meanings of the term '*Bhōḡika*' have been discussed by me while editing the Śrīngavarapukōṭa grant of Anantavarman (above, p. 59). For an example of personal name of this type I may refer to Āditya-maṇchin, the writer of the Chacacole plates⁷, and the son of Vinayachandra who wrote the present grant. It is interesting to note that this Āditya-maṇchin is referred to as Āditya-Bhōḡika in the Paris plates.⁸ This alteration of titles led Dr. Hultzsch to remark that like '*Bhōḡika*', *Maṇchin* is perhaps an equivalent of the Telugu *Bhāṇ*, 'a palankeen-bearer'. The presence of both the words in the name of *Buddha-maṇchi-Bhōḡika* disproves this assertion. Besides, the same 'palankeen-bearer' can hardly be applied to either Āditya, or *Buddha-maṇchin*. I have shown that the duties of the official called *Bhōḡika* included writing or engraving of royal charters. In the present instance the term might mean the chief of the territorial unit called *śāḡa*.⁹ In that case it would be the duty of this officer to suggest to the king the grant of land for the maintenance of a temple of

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 331.

² For the Śailōdbhava inscriptions, cf. Bandarkar's *Loc. Nos.* 1672-6.

³ The phrase *śāḡa-śrīṅga-śāḡa-śrīṅga-śāḡa-śrīṅga* occurs in the Madras Museum plates of Vajrasenā; above, Vol. IX, p. 96.

⁴ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 21.

⁵ Cf. my book *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. 1. Champ. pp. 184-6.

⁶ Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 132, l. n. 2.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 121.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 262.

⁹ It is a sub-division of a district. Cf. e.g., '*Vīśākṣa-śāḡa-śrīṅga*' in Khallimur Copper plate of Dharmapala; above, Vol. IV, p. 243; also *Śailōdbhava-śāḡa-śrīṅga-grāma* in l. 11 of the *Śrīṅga* grant of king Indravarman (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 52). The editor reads *Śrīṅga*.

Nārāyaṇa in his jurisdiction. The first part of the name Buddha-maśchin may be a reminiscence of the stronghold which Buddhism once had in this region.

Of the localities mentioned, **Kaliṅganagara** is now usually identified with Mukhalīgam¹. The district **Varāhavartanī** (l. 9) is mentioned in several Gāṅga records. Dr. Sten Konow suggested that it was probably near Chicacole². This view is supported by the present grant. For the village **Rōhapaki**, mentioned in the present grant as situated in the district of **Varāhavartanī**, may be identified with modern **Rōṇaṅki** (Roumky of the Indian Atlas, Degree Sheet, 84° × 18°-20'), a hamlet of Singupura of the Chicacole taluk. Further, an unpublished grant of Vajrahasta III³ refers to the village of Navagrāma in Varāhavartanī-*śāhaya*, and this village can be easily identified with the present Naogam in Tekkali taluk of the Ganjāra District. Mr. G. B. Pantulu has identified the village Siddhārthaka in the Varāhavartanī-*śāhaya* with Siddhāntam near Chicacole⁴. The Varāhavartanī district would thus roughly correspond to the coastal region between Chicacole and Tekkali. It was presumably bounded on the west by Kurakavāṣṭra, corresponding to modern Palakonda taluk⁵. According to Mr. G. Ramdas, the village Sellāda in the Rūpāvartanī-*śāhaya*⁶ belongs to Tekkali taluk. If this identification be accepted, Rūpāvartanī-*śāhaya* may be located to the north of Varāhavartanī. As already suggested by Hultzsch, this Rūpāvartanī-*śāhaya* is probably the same as Rūpyavartī-*śāhaya* mentioned in the Tekkali plates of Indravarman⁷.

About two miles to the south-east of Rōṇaṅki, there is a village called Byrey in the Atlas. It is at the junction of two roads, and on the bank of the Varāśadharā river. Is the name a reminiscence of the old Varāha-vartanī? Local investigations alone can solve this problem.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Om^a Svasti [||^a] Sarve-arttu-ramaṇīyād-vijaya-Kaliṅga-nagarāt-sakala-bhuvana-
- 2 nirmāṇa-śaka-śūtradhāraṇya bhagavatō Gōkarṇa^a-evāmināś-charaṇa-kamala-
- 3 yugala-praṇāmād-apagata-kali-kalaṅkō vinaya-naya-sampadā-
- 4 m-ādharāḥ sv-śai-dhātā-parispand-ādhiṣṭa-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājya-
- 5 ś-chatur-udadhī-taraṅga-mēkhal-āvanī-tala-pravīrat-āmala-yasāḥ anka-
- 6 samara-saṅkshobha-janita-jaya-śabdō Gāṅg-āmala-kula-pratishṭhāḥ pratā-
- 7 p-ātīlay-ānāmīta-samasta-sāmanta-chūdā-maṇi-prabhā-maṇjari-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 8 puṣṭa-rañjita-charaṇō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ parama-māhōśvaraḥ

¹ Kaliṅganagara was identified by Fleet with Kaluṅgapatam (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI, p. 132). Mr. G. V. Ramamurti proposed the identification with Mukhalīgam (above, Vol. IV, pp. 187-8). This view is now generally accepted, but it is not free from doubts (*cf. Ann. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.* 1924-25, p. 79). Fleet's view is still upheld by some (*cf., e.g., Prof. B. C. Bhattacharya's* article in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, pp. 623 ff.). For a detailed discussion of the subject, *cf. J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 57 ff.

^a Above, Vol. IX, p. 83.

^b Edited below, pp. 67 ff.

^c Above, Vol. XIII, p. 213.

^d See above, Vol. XIV, p. 281.

^e *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 271.

^f Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff.

^g Expressed by a symbol.

^h This letter has been read by Dr. Hultzsch (above, Vol. XVII, p. 332, l. 2) as *raśa*. But undoubtedly we have to take it as the normal symbol for *reṣa*, in which the curves of *ṣ* are not repeated twice.

- 9 śrī-Mahārājō Hastivarmanā Varāhavarttani-vishayē Rōhanakyañi
 10 sarva-samvātān-kutumbinā-samājōśpavati [*] Viditam-estu vō ya-
 11 the-śamu-grāntō chappān balānām bhāsa-chhōdikṛitya chatur-anivē-
 12 āna-sahitā bhagavatō sapta-ārupava-āyiniō sapta-sām-ōpa-
 13 gṛhāya sapta-lōk-alka-nāthāya **Rapabhītōday-ābhidhānāya**
 14 **Nārāyaṇāya** bal-charu-satra-pravaritanāya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 15 sarakārōya cha sarva-karṇi parihṛity-ā-chandr-ārka-pratishṭham dēy-āgrahāram
 16 kṛtvā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanō-cha poṇy-ābhivṛiddhaya¹ **Buddha-maṇchi-bhōgikōna** prati-
 17 bōdhitair-amābhūr-dattā [*] tad-viditvā na kōmachit-parivādhā² kāryyā [*]
 18 śimānta-lingānī ch-ātra pūrvvāp-āya grāma-garītā dakṣhiṇāna
 19 varanḍakalā³ pāchīmēna viśaya-garītā kuravaka-mūla-sahitā uita-
 20 rāga saha tāla-vṛtikay-ōti | Bhaviṣyad-rājabhū-cha-āyan-dāna-
 21 dharmnō-nupālaniyas-tathā cha Vyāsa-gītām⁴ ślōkān-adāharanti [*]

Third Plate; First Side.

- 22 Bahubbir-vrasodhā dattā bahubbis-cha-ānujālītā [*] yasya yasya
 23 yadā bhūmī-tasya tasya tadā phalan(lam) [1*] Sva-dattām-para-dattām vā
 24 kṣha Yādubhīra [*] mahīm-mahimatām śrōṣṭha dānōch-chhrōyō-nupālanañi
 (nam) [2*]
 25 Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi mōdatē divi bhūmidah [*] ākṣēptā ch-ā-
 26 nūmantā cha tāny-eva narakā vāśō-diti⁵ | pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-sariva-
 27 tmarāḥ śkōśānti (śkōśānti) 70 2 Jāhṭha⁶ sukla-dvādaśyām(āyām) || Idam Vinaya-
 chandrōga
 28 Bhāmachaoudrasya sōnunā [*] śāsanam Rāja-sāhasya⁷ likhitan svamukh-ājāyā
 [4*]

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 29 Maṇḍalōgr-āgra-nishpēsha-nishpēsh-ārāti-māghatē⁸ [*]
 30 Śimātō-pratigh-ājāyā **Rapabhitasya** śāsanam [5*]

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail! From the victorious (city of) Kaliāgunagara, which is pleasant in all seasons, the glorious *Mahārāja Hastivarman*¹ . . . commands (as follows) all the ryots assembled at Rōhanaki, in the district of Varāhavarttani :

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

² Read *parivādhā*.

Read *varanḍakalā*.

⁴ Read *gītā*.

⁵ Read *mad* [3*] or.

⁶ Read *Jyāgha*.

⁷ Read *śāhasya*.

⁸ Read *maghatē*.

⁹ The long epithets of the king are omitted in the translation, as they have been translated many times (*cf.* above, Vol. III, p. 128).

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥
 श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनि-
 शिष्यं त्वत्पुत्रं त्वया मे वक्ष्यसे ॥ कुरुक्षेत्रे
 युद्धे मया दृष्टं त्वत्पुत्रं धर्मधरात्मकम् ॥
 स ह्यर्जुनस्य पुत्रस्तथा विप्रसूतवान् ॥
 सुविद्यमानं बभूवुः प्रह्लादं च तथा ॥
 सुहृन्महाबलं भीमार्जुनसमाक्रम ॥
 सौमेयं च पांडुराजं धर्मरथारूढकम् ॥
 द्रुपदं च गच्छामहे वीर्यवान् वीरताम् ॥
 त्वत्पुत्रं महाबलं प्राप्नुयान्नमस्कृत्य ॥
 यत्किंचित्संपन्नं तप्तधनं वस्त्रधनम् ॥
 भोजनं च वस्त्रं च धनं चैव हि महत् ॥
 त्वत्पुत्रं त्वया मे वक्ष्यसे ॥

ii, a.

8
 10
 12
 14

8
 10
 12
 14

iii. b.

110.
 16
 18
 20

16
 18
 20

22 22
 24 24
 26 26
 28 28



30

30

Seal: From a photograph.



Be it known to you, that having constituted six *halas* of land, with four cottages, in this village, as (a separate) section, and making it an *agrahāra* for god, which is to last as long as the moon and the sun, and having exempted it from all taxation, we have, at the request of (the being informed by) **Buddha-maśīhi**, the Bhāgika, and for increasing the religious merit of (our) parents and ourselves, granted it to god **Nārāyaṇa**,—who lies on the seven seas, who is sung in seven hymns (*Rathantara*, etc.), who is the sole lord of seven worlds; and who has the designation **Raṇabhitōdaya**,¹—for the sake of performing (oblations known as) *bali*, *chāra* and *satra*, and for the repairs of dilapidations (of the temple).

Having known this, nobody should cause any hindrance.

The boundary marks are as follows:—On the east, the trenches of the village; on the south, the mound of earth; on the west, the trenches of the district with the Kuravaka-thicket; on the north, along with the palm-grove.

The future kings should maintain this religious gift. And likewise the verses sung by Vyāsa are quoted.

(Here follow three of the customary verses).

In the year **Seventy-nine 70, 9** of the prosperous victorious reign, on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of *Jyēṣṭhā*.

(Verse 4) At the command of his (the king's) own mouth, this charter of **Rājāsiriṃha** has been written by **Vinayachandra**, son of **Bhāmanchandra**.

(Verse 5) (This is) a charter of the glorious **Raṇabhitā**, whose commands are irresistible, and who has totally crushed the hostile confederacy by the strokes of the point of (his) scimitar.

No. 11.—GANJAM COPPER-PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III; SAKA-SAMVAT 991.

By PROF. B. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., DACCA.

This is a set of five copper-plates measuring 8½ inches in length and about 4 inches in breadth. The outer face of the first plate has been left blank, while there is no writing on the last plate, which was evidently put in to protect the writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal bearing a couchant Nandi, a drum, a conch, two fly-whisks (*chāmara*), two darts or lances, an umbrella, a *makara-tōraṇa* and the sun and the moon.

The inscription consists of fifty-three lines. It is, generally speaking, in a good state of preservation. The second side of the third plate and the first side of the fourth plate, are, however, partly corroded, and a few letters are either wholly or partly effaced.

The plates were found somewhere in the **Ganjam District** and are now deposited in the **Madras Museum**. The text was published in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati*, which is not accessible to me. I edit them from excellent ink-impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The alphabet is northern Nāgarī of the same kind as is used in four other plates² of Vajra-hasta. The final form of *ra* occurs in *maśīhi* (l. 36) where, in addition to the sign of the *virāma*, the top-stroke of the letter is omitted. The sign of the *virāma* is also found in *maśāṭa* (l. 17) and

¹ All the three epithets of Nārāyaṇa occur in the *Harivamśa*, X, 21.

Ṛṇaḥ śm-śpṛṇṇāḥ śm-śpṛṇṇāḥ śpṛṇṇāḥ śpṛṇṇāḥ

śpṛṇṇāḥ śpṛṇṇāḥ śpṛṇṇāḥ śpṛṇṇāḥ śpṛṇṇāḥ śpṛṇṇāḥ

² See introductory remarks.

³ (a) The Nudagiri plates, year 979 Saka (above, Vol. IV, p. 183); (b) The Madras Museum plates, year 984 Saka (above, Vol. IX, p. 94); (c) The Chinsale plates, year 971 Saka (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 171) and (d) Nampattam plates, year 967 Saka (above, Vol. XI, p. 147).

vāraṇā (l. 41). The letter *ā* in conjuncts *śāā* and *śāā* is placed after *śā* and *āā* and is not connected with it (cf., e.g., *lāākhana* in l. 8, and *paākhādhā* in l. 13). The anusvara is denoted by a circle after the consonant, and very often a *virāma* is added underneath.

There are several superfluous signs of interpunctuation in the grant (cf. ll. 47, 51, 52), the most glaring instance being that in line 2, where the sign is used between two words of the same compound, *dāśakīyga* and *satya*.

As regards **orthography**, the class nasal is used before surds, the only exception being *saṁkhyān* (l. 33). The letter *s* is used throughout for *ś*. Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in *varaṇa* (l. 16), and *paraṇa* (l. 53), but cf. *varaśākā* in ll. 25-27. In doubling *ā*, the form *āāā* is used instead of *āā*. In one case alone, *t* seems to be doubled before *r* (*puttara*, l. 51), though it is doubtful whether the letter really denotes *tira*. There are several cases of interchange of sibilants. Thus *s* is used for *ś* in *saṁt-āri* (l. 24), *maśānā* (l. 26), and for *śh* in *śāādhā* (l. 50); *ś* is used for *s* in *śulū* (l. 3), *śāinā* (l. 42), and *śā* for *s* in *śhuta* (l. 12). As in the other plates¹ of Vajrahasta, we have *prākāṣāṇa* (l. 3) instead of *prākāṣāṇa*, and *saṁuṣṭa* (ll. 8, 25) instead of *saṁuṣṭa*. It is difficult to distinguish between medial *s* and *ś*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains twelve verses, the remainder being in *pram*.

The inscription is one of king **Vajrahasta** (III, or, according to another reckoning, V) of the Gāṅga dynasty, the son of **Kāmārgava** and **Vinayamahādēvi**. Six other copper-plate grants of this king are known, of which four have been edited and published in well-known journals. Of the remaining two, the Triplicane Grant, dated in the Śaka year 982, is noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-25 (p. 7, No. 5) with a summary of its contents. The remaining one, the Bodilapāla Grant, is described by Prof. Subba Rao², but no reference is given. It was published in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati* (Vol. II, No. 57). In the following remarks I shall confine myself to the four published copper-plate grants of the king known to me.

The introductory portion of the present grant, which covers the first forty-two lines and six letters of the forty-third line, is an exact repetition of what we find in the other four plates³. It contains, in addition to the opening stereotyped panegyrical passage, the genealogical account of the family, to which we shall refer later.

The next portion beginning with *Kāliṅga-nagarāt* in l. 43, and ending with *viditavastu bhāṣṇā* in l. 46, also occurs in the first three grants mentioned in footnote 1, with this difference, that whereas in the present grant, and the Madras Museum plates, the name of the king is written as *Śrīmad-Anantavarman Vajrahasta-dēva*, it is simply "*Śrīmad-Vajrahasta-dēva*" in the other two.

The remaining portion, which actually records the grant, is, of course, different, though the usual legal phrases, which occur in ll. 47-49, are common to all. Thus, with the exception of the name of the village in l. 47, the first forty-nine lines of the present inscription contain nothing new⁴. It must be noted, however, that the present grant contains, comparatively speaking, fewer mistakes than the others.

¹ (a) The Nagasari plates, year 979 Śaka (above, Vol. IV, p. 183); (b) The Madras Museum plates, year 984 Śaka (above, Vol. IX, p. 94); (c) The Chinnole plates, year 971 Śaka (*J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 171) and (d) Narasipatnam plates, year 967 Śaka (above, Vol. XI, p. 147).

² *J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 203-205.

³ This has been noticed also in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1925-26 (No. 1 of Appendix A). But by mistake the name of the dynasty is given as Eastern Chālukya instead of Eastern Gāṅga.

⁴ A few minor changes are introduced in Narasipatnam plates.

⁵ Hence I do not give any translation of the text, for which cf. above, Vol. IV, pp. 182-93 and Vol. XI, pp. 153.

From the concluding four lines of the inscription we learn that the village mentioned in l. 47, viz., **Navagrāma** (in the district of) **Varābhavartan** was granted by the king, in the **Saka year 591**, on Monday, the seventh day of the first fortnight of the month of **Āshāḍha**, to **Gōkananāyaka**, son of **Bhīmanāyaka** and his wife **Prōlakavā**, and the grandson of **Mallaganāyaka**. The *danavā* is said to be *Vaiyāḍitya-vanśādībhava*, i.e., descended from a courtesan. The word *chayā* is possibly a mistake for *Vaiyā*, but I may point out that grants to courtesans, who were royal favourites, were not unknown in those days*. The word *pausha* in the last line I am unable to explain, but it is possibly a mistake for *paurusha*. In that case, the royal grant was a recognition of the donee's devotion and valour extending over a long period.

✓ The date of the grant has been calculated to correspond to 9th June, 1063 A.D., taking the Saka year as current.

Of the localities mentioned, the village **Navagrāma** is to be identified with the present **Naogām** in **Teikali taluk** of the **Ganjam District**. As to **Varābhavartan**, which must have been in the neighbourhood of **Chicasole**, and **Kaliṅganagara**, usually identified with **Mukhalingam**, I have already discussed their identification while editing the **Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman**, on p. 65 above.

Lastly, there is the title, 'Lord of **Tri-Kaliṅga**', applied to **Vajrahaṣṭa**. **Tri-Kaliṅga** is usually interpreted as the whole of **Kaliṅga** in its widest extent†. Thus Prof. R. Subba Rao, on the strength of the above title of **Vajrahaṣṭa**, infers that "he was also the paramount sovereign of **Tri-Kaliṅga** country which extended from the river **Ganges** in the North to the river **Godāvari** in the South"‡. Apart from well-known historical facts which militate against this view, I may point out that it is impossible to accept this meaning of the term **Tri-Kaliṅga**, at least for the period to which the present grant belongs. A perusal of the records of the Eastern **Chālukyas** throws very interesting light on this point. We learn from the **Masulipatam plates of Chālukya-Bhīma I** (888-918 A.D.), and the **Pithāpuram Pillar Inscription of Mallapadēva***, dated **Saka-samvat 1124**, that the Eastern **Chālukya** king **Vijayāditya III** (844-888 A.D.) took 'by force the gold of the **GIṅga** kings of **Kaliṅga**', and 'received elephants as tribute from the **Kaliṅga** king'. The **Masulipatam plates of Amma I** (918-925 A.D.) tell us that king **Vijayāditya IV** (918 A.D.) ruled the '**Vēṅgiṃṣṭala**, joined with **Tri-Kaliṅga** forest' (*Trikalīṅga-ṣṭavi-yuktam*). According to the **Kolavennu grant**† of **Chālukya-Bhīma II**, king **Vikramāditya II** (who ruled some time after 925 A.D.) ruled over **Vēṅgi** and **Tri-Kaliṅga**. **Annamarāja II** (945-970 A.D.) is also stated to have at first ruled over the **Vēṅgi** country with **Tri-Kaliṅga**‡, but later left the parental throne and ruled in **Kaliṅga** for fourteen years (956-970 A.D.). **Dānāpava**, too, ruled in **Kaliṅga** for three years, after the loss of **Vēṅgi**§.

These extracts show that in the Eastern **Chālukya** records of the tenth and subsequent centuries, **Tri-Kaliṅga** is distinguished from **Kaliṅga** and is obviously regarded as a place of less

* [Apparently read in the present record is an error in writing for *Vaiyā* to which rests the *Nāyaka* in this part are known to have belonged. Cf. *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy*, 1918-19, C. P. No. 5—24.]

† Cunningham—*Ann. Geogr.*, p. 594. Fleet, above, Vol. III, p. 227. Recently Mr. B. C. Majumdar and Mr. D. Mitra have interpreted **Tri-Kaliṅga** as denoting the three countries **Kaliṅga**, **Kōṅḡḍa**, and **Utkala** (*Orissa in the Making*, p. 187; *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 145).

‡ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 203.

§ *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy*, 1914, p. 84.

¶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 240.

‡ Above, Vol. V, p. 131.

† *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 43 ff.

‡ *Arumāka* pl. of *Bādaga*, above, Vol. XIX, p. 137.

§ *Mangala Grant*, *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy*, 1917, p. 132; also cf. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XI, p. 43.

importance than Kalinga. In any case, it is impossible to take Tri-Kalinga in these records in anything like the sense in which Prof. Sabha Rao has taken it. The same conclusion follows from the fact that the Haihayas, the Chandellas, and the Sōmavarman kings of Kōśala also assumed the title *Tri-Kalinga-dhīpati*.

Mr. G. Ramadas has suggested that Tri-Kalinga denotes the highland to the west of the Mahēndra hills of Ganjām, from the upper course of the Mahānadi to about the source of the Lāṅguliā river.¹ He was apparently unaware of the references to Tri-Kalinga and Kalinga in the Chālukya records cited above. But there is no doubt that they generally support his view, though we may have to extend the boundaries of the region further south. Without entering into further discussion on this point, I think we have to admit, that we cannot take Tri-Kalinga in the present record to denote the whole of Kalinga, and that it was the designation of a separate region, most probably the hilly tract to the west of Kalinga.

The genealogr of the Gāṅga family, as given in this and the four other inscriptions² referred to above, was shown in a tabular form by Mr. G. V. Ramamurti, while editing the Nagas plates. The same scholar also drew attention to the fact that it differs substantially from the genealogical account given in the Vinagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated Śaka 1040³. The latter is also repeated in the Korni copper-plate grant⁴ of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated Śaka 1034. Curiously enough, the other copper-plate grants⁵ of the same king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga corroborate the genealogical account given in the plates of Vajrahasta, including the present grant.

This is not the proper place for entering into a detailed discussion on these discrepancies. It is only necessary to point out that the genealogy given in the present grant and the other plates of Vajrahasta III appears to have far more historical value than the more elaborate genealogical account in the Korni and Vinagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, dated respectively in 1034 and 1040 Śaka. The former looks like one based on family records, while the latter is undoubtedly an artificially concocted pedigree, reaching back to the creator of the universe.

The grant, like the other plates of Vajrahasta III, gives the exact time of the coronation of the king (ll. 33-35). This has been calculated to correspond to 3rd May, 1035 A.D., 8 h. 27 m. P. M.*

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōh* evasti [ll*] Śrīmatām-akhila-bhuvana-viṃśa-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākuhi-
- 2 tya * -satya-kāṇḍha-kāryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-matna-pavitrakāṇḍam-Ātrā-
- 3 ya-gōtrāṇām vimala-vichār-śchāta-puṇya-kalila*prakāśyāṇita**ka-

¹ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 547 ff.; Vol. XV, pp. 635 ff.

² See *K. u. I* on p. 68. The Triphoua Grant also gives the same genealogy (*Ann. Ep.* = *S. Ind. Ep.*, 1924-25, p. 78).

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 163 ff.

⁴ *J. A. H. E. S.*, Vol. I, p. 106.

⁵ (a) Vinagapatam Grant, dated 1003 S. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 161); (b) Vinagapatam Grant, dated 1057 S. (*Ibid.*, p. 172) and (c) Korni Grant, dated 1003 S. (*J. A. H. E. S.*, Vol. I, p. 39).

* Above, Vol. IV, p. 183. Prof. S. Rao gives the date of Vajrahasta, once as 1037-1070 A.D. (*J. A. H. E. S.*, Vol. V, p. 276; Vol. VI, p. 208), and again as 1028-1060 A.D. (*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 212).

* Expressed by a symbol.

* Read *akila*.

* This sign of interpolation is unnecessary.

** Read *prākāśita*.

Third Plate : First Side.

- 26 nidhir-anavadyō Guṇḍam-ākhyō mahāsaḥ¹ [*] sakalam-ida[m]-amāśat-[-trīṇi va-
 27 rahāṇa] dhātri-valayam-alagho-tējō-nirjū-śrīti-chakraḥ || [5*]² Tatō dvai-
 28 mātarae-tasya Madhukāmārpavō nripaḥ | avati am-āvanim-śtām-avdā-
 29 m³-śkārṇya⁴-vināsatim || [6*]⁵ Atha Vajrahasta-nripatēr-agra-antēd-akṣiḥ-gu-
 30 ti-jan-āgṛāyāḥ [*] Kāmārpavāt-kavindra-pragīyamān-āvadāta-
 31 śubha-kīrtiḥ || [7*]⁶ Śiṣya⁷ iva Vaidumv⁸-ānvaya-payāḥ-payōnidhi-samu-
 32 bhāḥ(dhba)vāyās-cha[*] yāḥ samajāni Vinayamahādēvyāḥ Śrī-Vajrahasta iti
 33 tana-
 34 yāḥ || [8*]⁹ Viyad-ṛitu-nidhi-saṅkhyāḥ yāti Śāk-āvda¹⁰-saṅghō Dinakṛiti Vṛishabha-
 35 sthō Rāhipi-bhō sulagnō [*] Dhannḍhi¹¹ cha sūta-pakṣhō Sūryya-vāṛē tṛītiyām¹².

Third Plate : Second Side.

- 35 yuji sakala-dharitrah¹³ rakshitum yō-bhikṣikṣaḥ || [9*]¹⁴ Nyāyyēna yatra samam-ā-
 36 charitum trī-vargē¹⁵ mārggōṇa rakṣati mahām mahita-pratāpō [*] nirvvyā-
 37 dhayaḥ-cha niraghāḥ-cha nirāpadaḥ-cha śāśvat-prajā bhuvī bhavanti vibhū-
 38 timarttyaḥ¹⁶ || [10*]¹⁷ Vyāptō Gaṅga¹⁸-kul-ōttamasya yāśasā dik-ohakravālō
 39 śaśi-padyōt¹⁹-āmalinēna yasya bhuvanaḥ²⁰-prahlāda-sa-
 40 mpādunā [*] saindūrai-ati-sāndra-panka-patalaḥ || [*] kumbha-ethali-pattakōśhrv-āḥ.
 41 mpanti punaḥ pūnaḥ-cha haritām-ādihōraṇā vāraṇāḥ || [11*]²¹ Anurīgēṇa
 42 goṇinō²² yasya vakṣhō-mukh-āvjayōḥ²³ || [*] āśinō²⁴ Śrī-Sarasvatyāv-amb.

Fourth Plate : First Side.

- 43 kālō virājataḥ || [12*]²⁵ Kaliṅganagarāt-parama-māhēvara-parama-
 44 bhāṣṭāraka-mahārāj-ādhirāja-Tri-Kaliṅg-ādhipati-śrīmad-Anantava-
 45 rmmā Vajrahasta-(dē)vaḥ kuśali samast-āmātya-pramukha-jauṣpadin-sa-
 46 māhūya samājāṣpayati viditam-astu bhavatām || [Viditam-a-

¹ Read mahāsaḥ.² Read śāśva.³ Metre : Śloka.⁴ Read Śiṣya.⁵ Metre : Gṛh.⁶ Read Dhānḍhi.⁷ Read Śāśvat.⁸ Read vargē.⁹ Metre : Fusedśloka.¹⁰ Read prakṣh.¹¹ Metre : Śāśvat.¹² There is a redundant medial r sign before g.¹³ Read śāśva.¹⁴ Metre : Māhāt.¹⁵ Read śāśva.¹⁶ Metre : Gṛh.¹⁷ Read Vaidumv.¹⁸ Read Śāk-āvda.¹⁹ Read tṛītiyā.²⁰ Metre : Māhāt.²¹ Read mahāsaḥ.²² Read Gaṅga.²³ Read bhuvana.²⁴ Read āvjayōḥ.²⁵ Metre : Śloka.

i.

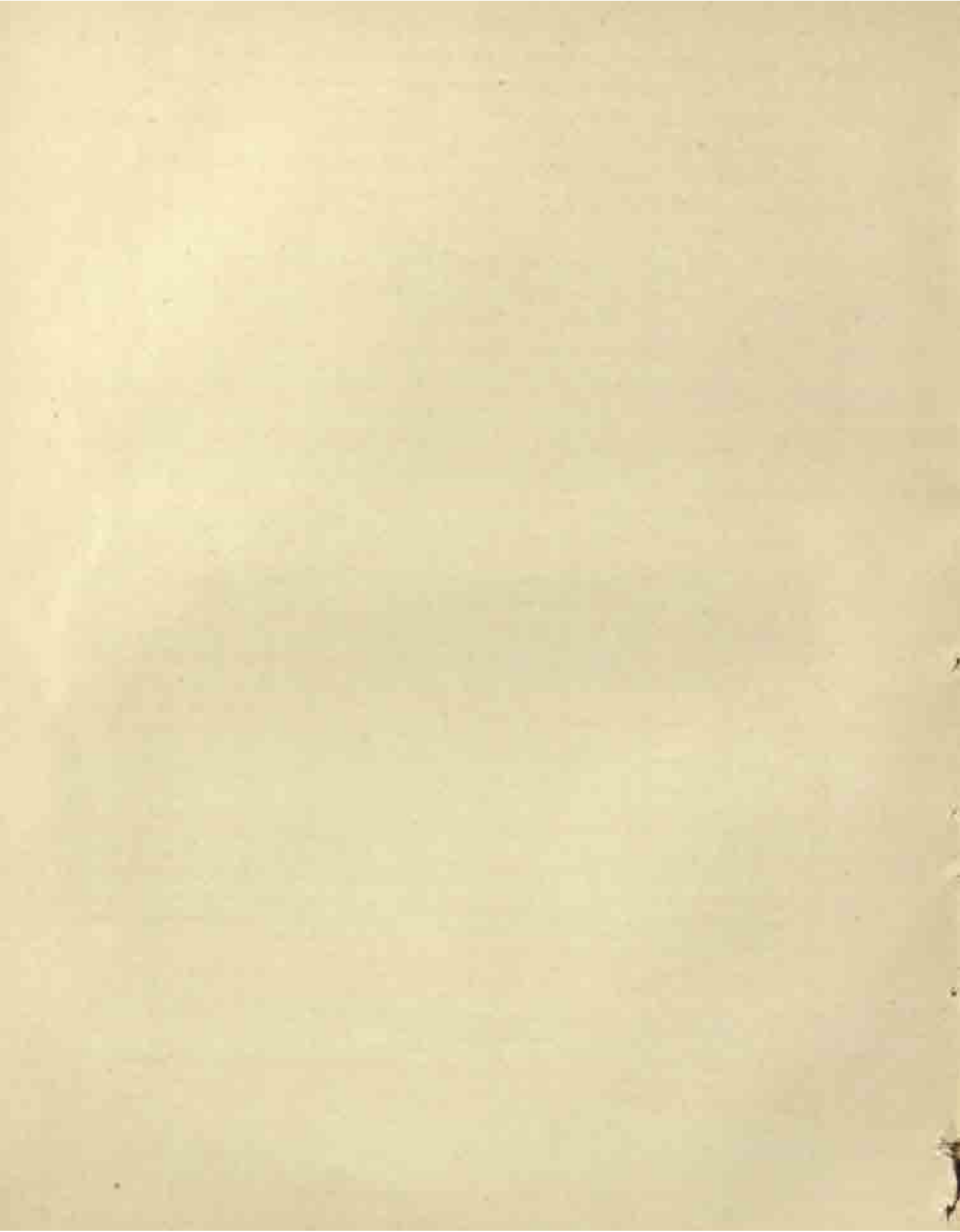
१ इति श्रीमन्महाभारतस्य अष्टाध्याय्ये द्रुपदोऽप्युवाच ॥
 २ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ३ यत्किञ्चिदपि काले काले काले काले काले काले काले काले ॥
 ४ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ५ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ६ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ७ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ८ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥

ii.a.

४४ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ४५ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ४६ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ४७ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ४८ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ४९ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ५० त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥

ii.b.

५२ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ५३ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥
 ५४ त्रिपुरारिः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः कालः ॥



47 stu bhava] 'Varāhavarttanyām | Navagrāmaś-chatas-sim-āva-
 48 cchhinnaś-sa-jala-ethalaś-sarvva-pīḍā-vivarjitaś-ā-chandra-ārka-
 49 kahiti-sama-kāśaś [yāvan]*-mātā-pitrō-ātmanāś-cha puṣya-yatō-bhitriddha-
 50 yāś | śaśi-nanda-nidhi-śāśk-āvdā† | Āśāḍha‡-māsa-prathama-pakṣa-sa-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

51 ptamyām Sōma-vārā vāsyā§-vartā-ōdbhavaś | Mallapa-nāyakaś-tasya puttraś
 52 Bhīmāna-nāyakaś-tasya bhāryā¶ Prōlakavā | tayōḥ putrāya | Gōkana‡.
 53 nāyakāya chira-kālam-ārādhya ava-paurnṣa-paritōṣitāya datta iti ||

NO. 12.—INDIAN MUSEUM PLATES OF GANGA DEVENDRAVARMAN:
THE YEAR 308.

By B. C. CHANRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Lond.), OOTACANUND.

The charter under examination is one of the nine sets of copper-plates that were acquired, in the year 1935, by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, through Mr. Satyanarayan Rajgura of Parlakimedi, District Ganjam. Regarding its find-spot no definite information is available. Mr. Rajgura, however, informs me that a cultivator, while digging a field in a village of the Badakhimedi Estate of Ganjam, came upon an earthen pot containing some ten sets of copper-plates of which the present record is one. Ink-impressions of these plates were kindly supplied to me by Mr. Majumdar with whose permission I edit them here.

These are **three copper-plates**, each measuring $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$. They were strung on a ring, about 3 inches in diameter, fixed to a circular seal. The seal, $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter, is intact and bears the figures in high relief of a seated bull, facing the proper left, a crescent and a star above it and a blown lotus below. The plates weigh 112 *talas*, while the ring and the seal together weigh 14 *talas*. The plates have flat rims. The writing on them has undergone a slight damage, especially on the obverse of the second plate. There are 38 lines of writing in all, the first and the last faces bearing 7 each and the remaining three 8 each. All the three plates are inscribed on both the sides, the charter ending on the obverse of the third plate. On the reverse of this last appear two different writings, one upon the other, but neither seems to be relevant to the present grant. The three lines of writing on the lower portion, the first consisting of four *akṣaras* only and the

* The syllables within the brackets are indistinct. Probably the engraver, through mistake, repeated the phrase *Vidhānāya bhāratāya*, and then tried to cancel it by rubbing off the letters.

† The portion of the plate before this letter is very damaged, and there might have been two or three letters. The last one, immediately preceding Pa, seems to be *tra*. These might be the word *ataḥ*.

‡ These three letters are very indistinct, as this portion of the plate is very damaged.

§ The letter *śā* is very indistinct. Read -*śāś-Mat*.

¶ Read *śakṣha*.

‡ Read *uṣṇā* or *Vaiṣṇa*.

§ There is a dot over *ka*, but I doubt whether it was intended for *anuvāsa*, as this is usually represented in this plate by a circle to the right of the consonant.

other two of nine each, in clearer and bigger letters, were evidently engraved later without first completely smoothing the surface, for it shows traces of a previous engraving a considerable part of which can still be read. It presents the same text as found in ll. 27-32 of our inscription. It also betrays the same hand to which the incision of the present charter is due. Probably, the engraver, while incising the record on the plates, omitted the text contained in the ll. 24-26. But later, when he had engraved the subsequent six lines, he discovered his mistake. Thereupon he rejected that plate and carved afresh on the other one, beginning with what he had omitted. The rejected engraving was left as it was. The later addition of the three lines of writing in bigger characters, though quite clear, does not yield any coherent sense to me.

The alphabet belongs to a Northern variety and resembles closely that of the other known records of the king, *Dēvēndravarmān*. The writing is cursive and is rather carelessly done. It does not look uniform. There are even instances where two independent syllables have been written with one flowing stroke, cf. "śali of *kukali*, l. 14, and "śali of *śamodāni*, l. 16. In these as well as in certain other cases, the letter *ś* does not show the central bar which is shown clearly elsewhere, e.g., in *śālāka*, l. 5. Several letters exhibit each more than one form, cf. *g* in *-dagarān-*, l. 3, *-garā*, l. 4, *dhagunā*, l. 6, and *Gāg-*, l. 8; *j* in *-vijaya*", l. 2, *-janita*, ll. 9-10, *-jag-*, l. 10, *i* in "ritu", l. 1, *-pratiśhī*", l. 4, "gala", l. 8, *-alakā*, l. 9, *-janita*, ll. 9-10, and *śamodān*, l. 15; *d* in *śamodāni*, *śiddham*, l. 16, and *-ādābhī*, l. 26; *n* in *-śau*", l. 1, and *-janita*, ll. 9-10; *r* in *śa-char-āchara*, l. 4; *l* in *Kaladga*, l. 2, and "mala kala-ślakā", l. 9; *ś* in *śālāka*, l. 5, *śanda*, l. 10, and *-dvyāpāka*, l. 26; *s* in *śa-char-āchara*, l. 4, *śa[ka]*, ll. 4-5, and *-yagha*, l. 9, etc. Moreover, only in one instance, *m* has its Nāgarī form, whereas in all the other cases it has been represented by its ancient form. Both of them may be compared in *Sriśaṃkha* and *pravariddhamāna* in the last line, e.g., l. 38. It may further be noticed that, except in one or two cases, the medial long *i* has throughout been represented by the sign of the medial short *i*, the exceptions being "īś", l. 17, and *śī*, l. 38. In like manner the signs of medial *u* and *ū* are not distinguished, that of the former representing the both.

The record is composed in Sanskrit prose, except that three verses occur in ll. 28-30. It offers only a few noteworthy points of orthography. The consonant after *r* is very rarely doubled; see for example *śarman*, l. 1, *śimam*, l. 5, *Rājēndravarmā*, l. 13, *Yajurveda*, l. 18, *Gōvinda-dharmaj*, l. 19, and *-kṛitā* (3), l. 35. In most cases *r* is used for *ṛ*, like in *-ārda*, l. 10. *Arue-vā* is used instead of the class name, in *śālāka*, l. 5, *śālāka*, l. 8, *śādu*, l. 23, etc., as well as for the final *u*, cf. *śamodān*, l. 15, and *śāmodān*, l. 16. In certain instances an *ā* character or *vinarga* has been wrongly left out, e.g., in ll. 2, 6 and 8. A few more mistakes of spelling, possibly attributable to the engraver, will be noticed in the footnotes to the text.

The charter records the gift of a village called *Puruṣvān* (?) in *Bakndravaka* or *Bakndravakā*, in *Lohadhataga*, by the Ganga king *Dēvēndravarmān*, son of the *Maṭarāja* *Rājēndravarmān*, to one *Gōvindaśarmān*, son of *Śhaṭṭa Nārāya*. The donee is described to be a resident of a place in *Uttara-Radhā*, a member of the *Vatma-gotra* and a follower of the *Yajurveda* and the *Kaśha-dharma*. The name of the donee's native place could not be clearly made out. The name of the donated village which may be read as *Puruṣvān* or *Puruṣvān* occurs in l. 21, but the subsequent details are not clear, as that part of the inscription is badly disfigured.

What is of chief importance in this record is its date which is the year 308. Although it is indicated only by decimal figures, yet there can be no uncertainty or ambiguity about its reading. This mention of date throws, as we shall presently see, a decisive light on the date, which up till now rests on a mere surmise, of another grant of the same ruler.

Besides the present one, three more records are known of the same Dēvendravarma, namely (1) Bangalore Plates,¹ (2) Chicacole Plates² and (3) Tekkali Plates.³ The first of them, like the present one, has been issued from Kalinganagara, but it contains no date beyond mentioning an *ayana-samkrānti* on which occasion the village Sidhatā of the Varāhavartanī-*śiṣṭhā* is stated to have been granted to an individual "in order to provide for the worship and offerings to (the god) Paramāvara." The Chicacole grant, it is reported, "records the gift of the village Vīṇyāṭika in the Puṣkaraṇī-*vishaya* to four brothers."⁴ It is undated, and it has been issued from Kalinganagara. The Tekkali Plates have been edited by Dr. Hultzsch. This record has likewise been issued from Kalinganagara and it is dated. The wording of the date is, however, doubtful.⁵ The editor has supposed it to be the year 310. This supposition now becomes most acceptable in the light of the present record, as has been pointed out above. The year refers itself to the Ganga era the initial date of which has been much discussed, but not yet been quite settled. Recently Mr. R. Subba Rao has outlined a history of the Gangas of Kalinga. According to his calculation, the Ganga years 308 and 310 would correspond respectively to A. D. 802 and A. D. 804,⁶ which may not be far wrong, if not exact. This date may, moreover, be borne out by the palaeographical evidence.

The name Dēvendravarma has been borne by several Ganga kings. That of our record stands, in the genealogical order, as Dēvendravarma IV.⁷ That the self-same person figures as the grantor in all the four, dated and undated, records described above, is evident from two main considerations: firstly in all the instances he is mentioned as the son of Rājendravarma, and secondly all the four charters have evidently been engraved by one and the same person. Moreover, except for the Bangalore grant which does not mention the composer's name, the re-

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IX, pp. 140, and Plates; see also the Introduction, p. 9 (text on p. 22 of the section called *Text of the Inscriptions in Roman characters, and translation on pp. 26 f.* of the section called *Translations of the Inscriptions*). It is stated that there is the figure of an 'elephant on the seal'. Possibly the figure of a bull has been mistaken here for that of an elephant. Moreover, the editor assigns the plates roughly to A.D. 700, of course without the knowledge of the dated records of this Dēvendravarma.

² *As. Exp. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1918-19, Appendix A, No. 7. These plates have been published first in Telugu by R. Subba Rao in the *Rao Subbā G. V. Samamurti Pustaka Gana Commemorative Volume*, pp. 224 f. and later in English by G. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao jointly in the *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 180 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 311-313, and Plates.

⁴ According to the editors, while the name of the village is *Fayade*, it was granted "to *Himālika*, son of *Vīṇāṭa*" (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 193). It may be pointed out that the text given by the editors is obviously inaccurate in several places. Their account, therefore, may not entirely be depended upon. At the same time, it may be admitted that the writing on the plates is not very clear.

⁵ The reading is *śaka-samv. 512-513*. The first compound is suggested to be a clerical error for *śaka-samv.*; cf. above, Vol. XVIII, p. 312, and *A. H. on S. I. E.*, 1923-24, pp. 97-98.

⁶ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 186-87. See also *A. H. on S. I. E.*, 1931-32, p. 45, where the origin of the Eastern Ganga era has been discussed, and almost the same conclusion has been reached.

⁷ This is according to R. Subba Rao, whereas according to some other views, he is Dēvendravarma III, see e.g., R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 224.

remaining three have likewise been composed by an identical individual. Both the composer and the engraver bear titles, as is shown below :—

Plates.	Composer.	Engraver.
Bangalore	<i>Nil.</i>	Sri-Khandivill.
Chicacole	Sarvachandra-Srisāmanta	Srisāmanta-Khandimala.
Taklāh	Bahasya ¹ -Srisāmanta Sarvachandra.	Akashādīn-Srisāmanta-Khandimala.
Indian Museum	Bahasya Sarvachandra . . .	Akashādīn-Khandimala-Srisāmanta.

Notwithstanding the variant readings presented and in spite of the omission of titles in certain cases, we may safely assume that the **composer** and the **engraver**, in each case, were respectively *Rahasya Srisāmanta Sarvachandra* and *Akashādīn Srisāmanta Khandimala*.

The official titles *Rahasya* and *Akashādīn* are met with also in several other Gāṅgā records.² They have been rendered by Dr. Hultzsch respectively as 'private secretary' and 'keeper of records'.³ The latter term perhaps simply denotes 'an engraver'.

Among the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Kalinganagara** has been identified with Mukhallāgam, a place of pilgrimage, 20 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam District, while **Uttara-Rāḍhā** is that part of Bengal which includes a portion of the district of Murshidābād. I am unable to identify the other places occurring in the record.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate; First Side.

- 1 Ōm⁵ Svasty⁶ Amrapur-ānukāriṇaḥ sarv-arta-
- 2 sukha-ramaṇi(cūya[d*]-v)jayavatā(taḥ) **Kala(l)ṅga-**
- 3 **ḍa(na)garān**-Mahāṇḍa(nir-ā)chala (l-ā)-mala-sikṭhara-
- 4 prati⁷chūḍa(ta)ya sa-chat-āchata-gurū(ō)(b*) sa-
- 5 [ka*]la-[bh]uvana-nirṇa(rnā)ṇa-sikha⁸-xu(sū)tradhārasya āśāṅka-
- 6 chū(chū)ḍamaṇi⁹(*)-[bha]gava(tō*) Gō¹⁰karṇa¹¹-avāminā-cha-
- 7 raga-[ka]mala-

First Plate; Second Side.

- 8 yugala-pa(pra)ṇa(nā)ma(mā)(d*)-v(i)gata-kali-kala(h)kū(kō) **Gāṅg-ā-**
- 9 mala-kula-tilakā-nika-samāra-sa(n*)ghaṭṭa-juni-
- 10 ta-ya-savda(bāb) pratāp-ā(va)ṇata-samasta-pāma-
- 11 [u*]ta-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā¹²-mañjari(rī)-puñja-raḍji-

¹ This reading is due to restoration.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 21.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ This letter has a peculiar form. It no doubt stands for ka. In *Spandanā*, l. 10, sa has an almost like shape, but in that case only the ventral dash is superfluous.

⁵ The right-hand curve attached to the ka is superfluous here. Usually it represents medial v in this inscription; see, for example, in *kuśā*, l. 14.

⁶ The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable.

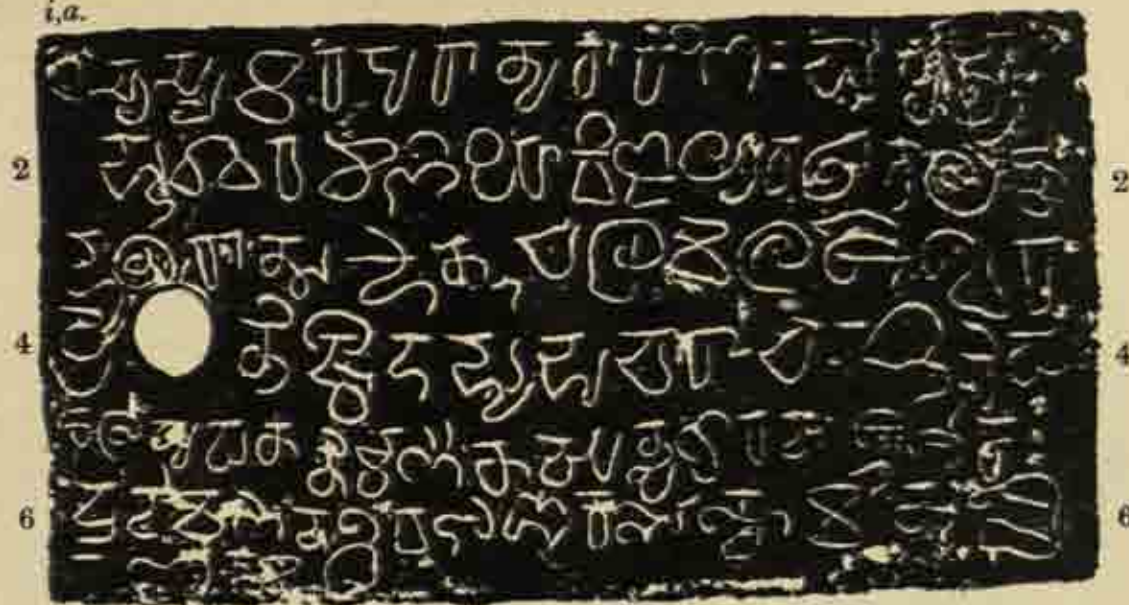
⁷ The doubling of the consonant is doubtful here.

⁸ See, for instance, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 145.

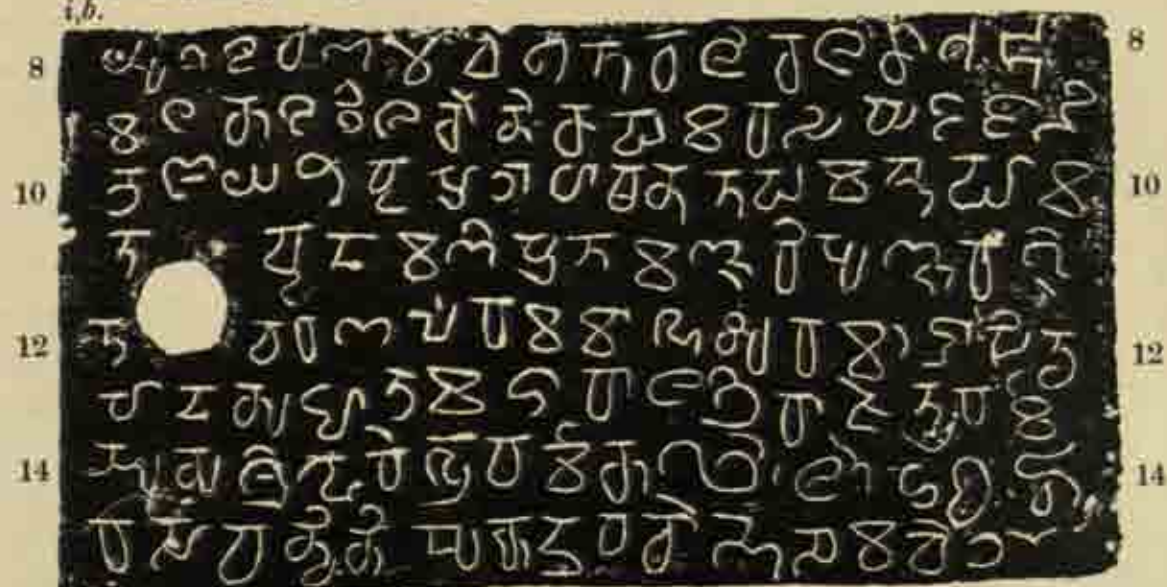
⁹ From the impressions.

¹⁰ This *u* looks more like *u*.

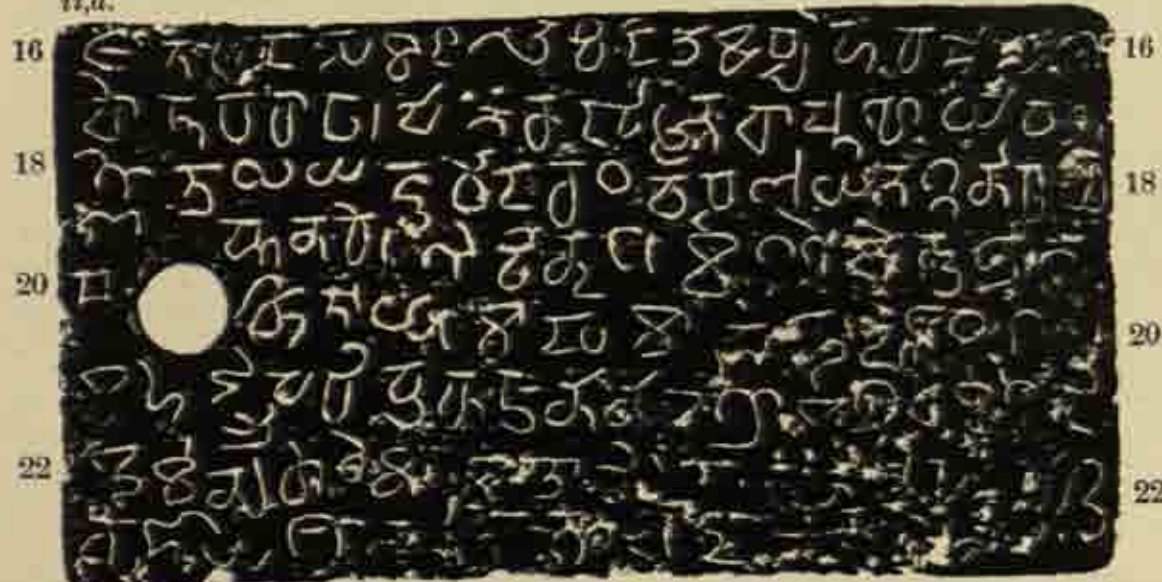
i.a.



i.b.



ii.a.



- 12 ta-charaṇa(h*)² parama-māhādeva(rō) mātā-pitṛi-
 13 pād-ānuśhyāta(tō) Mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-Rājendravarma-
 14 su(sū)nu(h*)³ śrī(śrī)-Dēvēndravarma(rnā) kusa(h) 4 Lōhadhaṅga-
 15 ra-saṁva(ha)ndhim Bukudravakē 30⁴ samavē⁵ 6 āh(h)u(n)

Second Plate; First Side.

- 16 jānapadān(n) sama(mā)disati viditam-asu bhavātā(n) yatā¹ 1
 17 ch-Ōttara-Raḍhā 2 Pā³ta⁴ka⁵bōjya⁶ 7 vāstavyāya Vatsa-
 18 gōtrāya Yajur-vēda-katha-charaṇāya bhāṭṭa-Nāra(rā)ya-
 19 ṇa-su(eñ)navō 2 Gōvindaśarmaṇē
 20 ha(pa)ṇḍitāya Māgha-māṣē
 21 mā pari Puruṣaṭha(or)va(nā-nāma-grāma)a-tri-dharmas . . .
 22 mam-ānuvō(hō)(dhāna)l(mā)tā-pi(tr)ō(r-ātma)na-cha puṇy⁸-ābhū-
 23 vṛid(dh)jayō āśa⁹ chandr-ā¹⁰

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 24 grā(grā)no(mō)-yam-samābhīr-datto(h) 1 yatō¹¹-aya bha-
 25 viśv¹²ad-rāja-pu(pū)ra-rājā(ja)-va(l*)¹³-labha 2 chāṭa-bhata-
 26 dāḍapāśāk-ādibhiḥ kō(kai)(s)-chid-vā(bā)dhā na kartavy¹⁴(ā) 3 4
 27 pūrva¹⁵-athityā ai(s)imā sētu-parichē¹⁶(chehō)dhē-na pra-
 28 bhaayatō¹⁷ aktañ-cha 1 Va(ha)hubhīr-vasu(dh)ā
 29 da(t*)tā rājabhiḥ Sagar¹⁸-ādibhiḥ 3 4 yasya yasya
 30 yadā¹⁹ bhu(bhū)mi-saaya tasya tadā phalañ(lam)²⁰ 5 6 Sva-dātām(trām)
 31 para-dātām(trām)vā 7 yō harēta vaśantidharām(rām) 8 9

¹ A dash and a dot above are superfluously added to the left-hand vertical stroke of the pa. That they may have stood for an upodhātavya is highly improbable. Besides, the right-hand vertical stroke of the pa is abnormally long.

² The dāḍa is unnecessary.

³ This syllable seems to be redundant. Mr. N. L. Rao reads *Bukudravakē* in which case there will be no superfluous syllable.

⁴ The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable.

⁵ The reading *ta* is tenable, only if the dash and the two dots above it are regarded superfluous.

⁶ The reading is very uncertain. Moreover, in case of the suggested reading, the form of *j* would be Nāgarī.

⁷ Read probably *Maṣṣa*.

⁸ The corresponding phrase in the Tekkali Plates is *chandr-dāya-paryantān*.

⁹ Perhaps we have to read this syllable as *pa* and correct it into *pā*, but the vowel sign here is quite different from that in the *pa* of the *gurm*, l. 25.

¹⁰ There is a curve below the *ch*, but it can hardly represent the required *chā* after the *ch*.

¹¹ Read perhaps *grāhāḍgātā*. The sign after this word must originally have been intended to be a *ḍaḍa*.

¹² The syllable *vā* here resembles the *va* as seen in *-sila*, l. 5.

¹³ The right-hand portion of the *pa* looks separated from it and affixed to the next initial.

¹⁴ There is a sign after *phalam*, perhaps meant to be the required double *ḍaḍā*.

¹⁵ Meter *Anuṣṭubh*.

the Parlakimedi plates on palaeographical grounds. The former appears to be the son of Prithivivarman who issued a Ganjam grant¹ which like the present record was also issued from Śvēt(aka), written by the *Saṁskṛitagrāhin* Śrī-Sāmant, and engraved by Svayambhu. The name of this Indravarmān is known from our plates for the first time. He is described as *Kōkalāvalapura-paṭṭapāṇinirgata* (ll. 7-8). Prithivivarman, father of Indravarmān, also calls himself *Kōkalāvalapura-paṭṭapāṇin* i.e., belonging to the city of Kōkalāvalapura. Generally the Eastern Ganga kings have the title *Kōkalāvalapuravarttān* (Lord of the city of Kōkalāvala). The terms Kōkalāvalapura, Kōkalāvalapura and Kōkalāvala seem to denote one and the same place which has been identified by Mr. L. Rice with Kollār in the Mysore State. Indravarmān bears the title of *Nandagiriṇīdhara*, or the Lord of Nandagiri, which has been identified with the well-known fortified hill to the west of Kollār District, Mysore, now called Nandidroog². It may be noted that both the above titles were also adopted by some of the Western Chālukya³ and Western Ganga⁴ kings.

The inscription was written by the *Saṁskṛitagrāhin* who also bears the designation Śrī-Sāmant but his name seems to have been omitted. It was engraved by the *Satākha* the Śrī-Sāmant Svayambhu of the brahmin class, son of Nripa, and registered by the Vaishnavi Śrī-Gōsvāmīnī Śrī-Mahādevī by which the chief queen may have been referred to.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁵ avastī (a*) Śvēt(aka)-ādhihastīkṣānāḍ-bhagavataḥ sucharūchata-gurōḥ (a*) sa(ka)-
- 2 kala-saṁskṛitāka⁶ ādichara-dharasya (a*) śhity-āpatī(tī)-pralaya-kāma⁷ hē-
- 3 tār-Mahāndrīśha(cha)la-si(ā)khara-nivāṣi(n)naḥ śrīmaḥ(ma)daḥ(d)-Gōkarṇa(pō)va(ava)ra-
- 4 bhā-
- 5 tārakasya churapa-kamal-ārādhanāt(d-a)vāpta-punya(aya)nicaya(yaḥ) (a*) śakti(kti)-
- 6 traya-praka-
- 7 śha-ānuraṅga-s(ā)śha⁸ sāmantā-chakra(h*) āva(ava)-bhūja-va(ba)ha-parākram-ākṛānta-sa-
- 8 kala-Kaling-ādhirājī(jyaḥ) (a*) parama-māhōvarō mātā-pitri-pād-āra-
- 9 dhyātō (a*) Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilaka(h*) (a*) śrī-Nandagiriṇīdhara(h*) Kōkalāvala-
- 10 pura-paṭṭapaṇinirgata-kānvalya-varayagholas-mā(ma)hārījādhirājya-pa-
- 11 tamōvara-pamamahāy(ā)śha-śrī-Indravarmadēva(h*) kusa(ka)śrī-Prithi-
- 12 vivarmadēva-sataḥ Hāṇnyara-vishat(yō) yathākāl-ādhyāt-mahā-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 11 manpa(uta)-śrīśānta-rājaka-rājaputra-kamārīnāty-utpa⁹ dandant- ✓
- 12 yukal(ka)-vishayapati-(grā)mapatī(tī) āgya(ayān)śha-cha-chaṭa-bhā(bha)ta-vallabha-jā ✓
- 13 tī(tī)ya(n*) rājakuṭa-kṛtāmvināś¹⁰ svāmavājika¹¹ sāmantā-janapadānāḍ(dān) sa-
- 14 māḍisatī viditāsa-sata bhavātā¹² etad-vishaya-samvānā¹³ grāmō-yaṇ Tare-

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 134.

² Imp. Gaz., Vol. XVIII, p. 359.

³ Ind., Nos. 95, 124, 125, 130, 132 and 133.

⁴ Danda unnecessary.

Kāraṇa has been omitted in the Sāmantavarma inscription. Above, Vol. XV, p. 277.

⁵ Read -prakarāḥ dandantījā śhāḍa.

⁶ Read rāṣṭrakūṭa-kṛtāmvināś.

⁷ Danda unnecessary. Read *@me-ānd-.

⁸ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 138 f.

⁹ Kishore's List of S. I. Ins., Nos. 192, 170n.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ Read śhāḍa.

¹² Read -āpātā.

¹³ Read śhaṇṭikā.

¹⁴ Read śaṇṭikā.

- 15 rdā nāma sa-jala-sthal-ārānya¹ chatur-ai(s)m-ōpalla(la)khitān(taś)=cha²
 16 Chhāndōga-churagāyā(ya)³ Rāragi⁴-śā(sā)khāya⁵ Vāchha(Vata)-gōtrāya⁶ pā(pa)ñcha-
 17 pravariya || Anrva(Aurva)-Bhri(Bhri)gu-Chyavana-A(A)pravaus-Jāmadagni(ni)|| tatha iva
 (tath-aiya)
 18 anupravari(h*) pañcha || bhāta-putra-Daga(rpa)khañḍānā⁷ ||⁸ bhajja-Vō(Bō)dhama-
 sutah(tāya) bh
 19 va (lh-aiya) su(sū)rya-grahāṇō⁹ datā¹⁰ mātē-pitrōr-ātmanā=cha¹¹ : panya(āya)¹²
 prāvīdhan(dhāyā)¹³ : sal(lh)-
 20 [la*]-dhātē-purāṣarṣya¹⁴ :¹⁵ chandr-ārka-sthiti :¹⁶ sama-kāla(m*) a-kari(cik)ṛitya¹⁷ pratipā-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 21 *pādūtō-smābhir-yatah¹⁸ :¹⁹ śā(sā)sana-darasanāt dharmo-gauravāht-tasmādaḥ-dgan-
 22 ravā=cha²⁰ na kēna-chipta(=pa)ripanthina bhasitavya(m*) tathā cha poṭhyatē dharmo-sāstrō
 (r*)Va-
 23 hubhir-vasudhā datā rājānai Ragar-ādhibhīh²¹ [(*)] yasya yasya yadā bhumi tasya tasya ta-
 24 dā phalaḥ [(*)] Mā bhumi phala-sāka va para-dat-ēti pārihiva²² Haratō harayatē
 25 bhumi manda-vudhī tamā-vrita[(*)] sa vadhdhō Vārupal pāsai tīrya-yō-
 26 nyāḥ=cha gachhati || Śva-datām-para-datām-vā yō harēti vasundharā | aha
 27 viśvāyā krimir-bhūtvā pītrībhīh sāha pachatō || Bh(m*)jyam-ēkati gōmā-
 28 kuś=cha²³ rbbum-ēkaḥ chatur-āṅgulaḥ [(*)] harao-narakam-āyāti yāvad-āhu-
 29 ti-sampaya || Saakthim-varia satām svagrah mōdati bhūmija || ()²⁴

Third Plate.

- 30 Akabēptā ch-anumantā(cha*)tāny-ē(va*) narakah vījēt || sva-dānāt-phalaḥ kuryā
 31 para-datt-ānpallanah [(*)] *ubhau tō punya-karmāṅau niyatō svarga-gā-
 32 minau || Iti kamala-dal-ānvu-vinda-lōlā(m) śrīyam-ann-
 33 chintyā manasya-jivitaḥ=cha | sakalam-idam-udāhṛitaḥ vudhā
 34 na hi parussa para-kīrtayō vilōpyā || likhitaḥ-idam sa-
 35 udhivigrahi-śrī-sāmantēna || utkīrtan-cha²⁵ sū(sā)sanaḥ kāmārā-kulaputraka-
 36 śrīśh[(*)]śh(hi)-śrī-sāmanta-Svayambhūnē Napa-sutēna²⁶ || lābhīhitaḥ=cha parama-
 37 vaishnavi²⁷ Gōvāminī(m) śrī-mā(ma)hādēvyā || uny-āksharam-ādīdhikāka-
 38 ram-vā²⁸ tat sarva(m) pramāṇam-iti(hi) || ॐ ||²⁹

¹ Read *churagāyā*.

² Read *Chhāndogya*.

³ Read *parakeurati*.

⁴ Read *yatah*.

⁵ Read *dhātē-dhātē-dharmas-gauravāt samad-paryachā=cha*.

⁶ Reading of these verses is hopelessly incorrect. Since they are well known no correction is made.

⁷ The second half of this verse is found in II. 20.21.

⁸ The first half of this verse has been omitted.

⁹ Read *śā(sā)śā*.

¹⁰ Read *Nripa-sūtra*.

¹¹ Read *manah*.

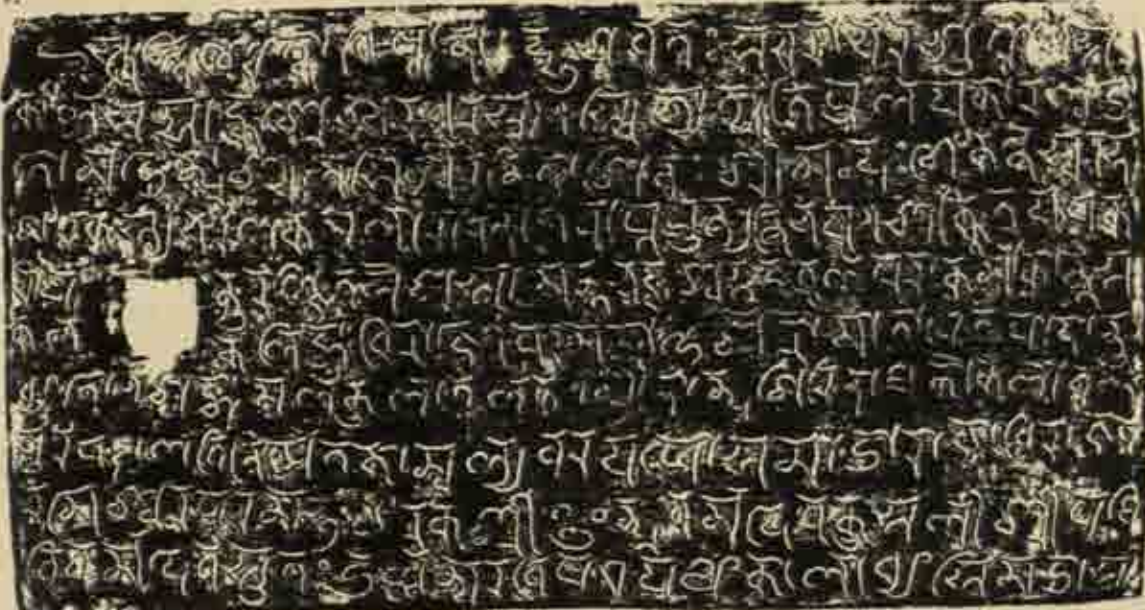
¹² Read *śa-āksharam-ādīdhikāka*.

¹³ There is a symbol after this.

¹⁴ *śā(sā)* unnecessary.

¹⁵ Probably intended for *datā* which is superfluous.

¹⁶ This *pa* is superfluous.

1.  2
2
4
6
8
10

ii. a.  12
14
16
18
20

ii.

22 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवा
 २४ द्यौः ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता
 २६ युयुत्सवः पाण्डवश्च द्रुपदश्चैव ॥ १ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 २८ अहो भूतार्जुन ॥ त्वय्युवाच ॥ १ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥

iii.

30 अहो भूतार्जुन ॥ त्वय्युवाच ॥ १ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 ३२ अहो भूतार्जुन ॥ त्वय्युवाच ॥ १ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 ३४ अहो भूतार्जुन ॥ त्वय्युवाच ॥ १ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 ३६ अहो भूतार्जुन ॥ त्वय्युवाच ॥ १ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 ३८ अहो भूतार्जुन ॥ त्वय्युवाच ॥ १ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥

No. 14.—PATTAN PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Pattan is a substantial village with a population of about 1,500 souls in the Multai *taluk* of the Betul District, Central Provinces. It lies about 10 miles south of Multai, on the Multai-Amrāoti road. Tradition says that the original village was turned upside down and buried underground by the curse of a Muhammadan saint Sulaiman Shah.¹ Even now when excavations are made, large-size bricks, beads of conch and coins are found, which also shows that the modern village is occupying an old site. The present plates were turned up in a field by the plough of a farmer in 1935. Mr. Rajaram Jain, Head Master of the local Vernacular Middle School, first brought them to notice in the beginning of the next year. Finding himself unable to decipher the record, he made fairly accurate eye-copies of it, one of which reached the hands of Mr. M. A. Suboor, of the Central Museum, Nagpur. The latter took immediate steps to acquire the plates for the Museum and thoroughly cleaned them when they were received. They are now deposited in the Museum. I edit them here as desired by Mr. Suboor.

They are five copper-plates of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only and the remaining three on both the sides. Each plate measures 6·9" by 4" and is about 1" in thickness. The ends of the plates are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims for the protection of the writing. About 1·9" from the proper right side of each plate there is a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter for the ring which originally connected the plates. When the plates reached the Nagpur Museum, the ring had been straightened, and its seal, which is a round disc, 3" in diameter, separated from it. The usual band, to which the seal must have been rivetted, is not forthcoming now. The weight of the plates is 134 tolas and that of the seal 8½ tolas.

Some of the plates have cracked at the edges. Their surface, which originally was not made quite smooth, has been further damaged by rust. The letters were deeply cut. Some of them show through on the reverse, especially in the case of the first and last plates which are somewhat thinner than the rest. Many letters in the right half of l. 45 and most of those in the two following lines have been almost obliterated by friction but can be read, though with some difficulty, from the traces left on the plate. The record consists of 47 lines. Each inscribed surface contains six lines, except the first side of the third plate which has only five lines incised on it. The seal contains the usual Vākāpaka legend in verse, inscribed in four lines.

The characters are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those of the Tirōḍi plates.² They include the signs for the initial short *i* in l. 27, long *i* in l. 46 and for the initial short *u* in l. 28. The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the length of the medial *i* is generally denoted by a ringlet in the curve which represents its short form, but in one case by a curve turned in the opposite direction, cf. *Bhāgīratthy*, l. 7, and in another by a dot in the circle, cf. *Sri-Pravara-sēnasya*, l. 19; the *mātrā* for the medial *ā*, *ī* and *ū* are added at the foot of the letters *sa* and *ka*; see *"in-Apārāgāṃ-Ōkthy"*, l. 1, *Aśvamedha*, ll. 2-3 and *Varadākhita*, l. 20; the medial *ḥ* is cursive in *Lohapāgar*, l. 20; the medial *me* is everywhere bipartite; see *Gautamīputra*, ll. 8-9; the subscript forms of *a* and *ā* are not distinguished, while those of *j* and *b* have no notch on the left; see *Upannasya*, l. 18, and *evacaryā*, l. 45; *-ārijāra*, l. 10, and *-āyur-bhala*, l. 27; a final consonant is indicated by its small form and in some cases by a short horizontal line at the top (see *Pravara-purāt*, l. 1, *dattam*, l. 23, etc.). The *upadhānīya* occurs in ll. 15, 18, and 35 of the inscription and

¹ Betul District Gazetteer, p. 23d.² Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 107 ff.

who was a servant (*amāta*)¹ of Kaṇḍaśiṅga. It is stated at the end that Pitāmaha and Nanda caused the charter to be drafted.²

Till now the latest known year of Pravarasēna II's reign was the twenty-third, furnished by his Dandī³ and Tiroḍī⁴ plates. The present plates therefore increase his reign by about four years. Kaṇḍaśiṅga, whose servant Išvarasiddha incised the present charter, is evidently identical with Kōṇḍaśiṅga,⁵ the son of Śatruḡhaśiṅga, at whose request the grant recorded in the Chamuak plates was made.

The mention of Kālīdāsa in the present grant raises the interesting question of his identity with the illustrious Sanskrit poet of that name. The date of the latter has been for more than a century the subject of controversy, and various theories have been advanced, attempting to fix it in periods ranging from the first century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. Of these the theory which places him in the Gupta age and makes him a contemporary of Chandragupta (II)-Vikramāditya is gradually gaining ground and receiving general acceptance. But nothing short of a contemporary inscriptional record mentioning the poet's name would remove the doubts of sceptics in this matter. The earliest epigraphical mention of this name, so far known, was that in the *Aihole prasasti* of Pulakāśin II, Śaka 556 (=A.D. 634).⁶ This is therefore, the first time that the name Kālīdāsa has been discovered in a record of the Gupta period.

Kālīdāsa, no doubt, figures only as a scribe in the present grant; but that does not per se disprove his identity with the great Sanskrit poet. Such charters were generally drafted and written on copper-plates by clerks working in the office of the *Sādakṛīṇṣhaka* or Minister for peace and war, but sometimes we find even great officers mentioned as writers of such documents. Thus the writer of the recently published Tiroḍī plates of this very Pravarasēna II was the Chief Minister (*Rājyādhipatyā*) himself.⁷ The Añjanayati grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III, was written by his Minister for peace and war.⁸ So there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the writer of the present plates was identical with Kālīdāsa, the great Sanskrit poet. Recent researches have, again, shown that Kālīdāsa was for some time at least connected with the Vākātaka court. From certain passages in the *Kuntalavaradānuyā*,⁹ a Sanskrit work ascribed to Kālīdāsa, which have been cited in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*¹⁰ of Rājāśekhara, the *Śringāraprakāśa*¹¹ and the *Saṁskṛta-kāvalīkharanā*¹² of Bhōja, and the *Aukhātyaśikharākhanda*¹³ of Kāśmīnātha, it has been conjectured with great probability that Kālīdāsa was sent as an ambassador by his patron Vikramāditya to the

¹ *Amāta* which is connected with the PIE word *amāta* meaning 'proximity, presence' occurs elsewhere as a technical territorial term (see *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 118, 120 and 132). It is used in Vākātaka grants in the sense of a subordinate officer or a servant.

² Cf. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 99 note 3. The word *Amāta* used here corresponds to *Amāta* which occurs elsewhere, e.g., in the (Hāring) Stone Inscription, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 167.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 202.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 174.

⁵ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 237.

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, p. 2.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 174.

⁸ Above p. 18; also *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 99, note 3.

⁹ The name occurs as *Kuntalavaradānuyā* in the *Kuntalavaradānuyā* of Kāśmīnātha (Nirayāgar Press ed., p. 139), but it is there probably a mistake for *Kuntalavaradānuyā*.

¹⁰ *Chandrasekharendra Series*, Second edition, pp. 96-97.

¹¹ *Śringāraprakāśa*, Chapters XXII-XXIV, Introd., p. xxii.

¹² Nirayāgar Press ed., p. 165.

¹³ *Kāśmīnātha*, *Guchchaka I*, Nirayāgar Press ed., pp. 139-40.

court of a Kuntalāśa (lord of Kuntala).¹ He stayed there for some time and when he returned, he reported to his patron that the lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing his kingdom on him (i.e., Vikramāditya). This lord of Kuntala is probably none other than the Vākātaka king Pravaraśena II; for it was during his reign that Gupta influence was at its highest at the Vākātaka court.² It seems that the Vākātaka princes had assumed the title of Kuntalāśa since the conquest of Kuntala by Prithivishēṣa I.³ It may be noted in this connection that the author of the *Sētibandha*, who is none other than this Pravaraśena II, is called Kuntalāśa in the Sanskrit work *Bharatacharita*.⁴ According to a tradition recorded by Rāmādāsa, a commentator of the *Sētibandha*,⁵ Kālīdāsa composed the Prākṛit work for Pravaraśena by the order of Vikramāditya. This he must have done during his sojourn in Vidarbha. The idea of writing the *Meghadūta* seems to have suggested itself to his mind at Rāmtēk near Nāgpur (Rāmāgiri of the *Meghadūta*) which, we know, was a holy place visited by the Vākātakas.⁶ It is not unlikely that while in Vidarbha, Kālīdāsa was attached to the office of the *Sēnāpati* as stated in the present record. There is, thus, *prima facie*, nothing against, and much in favour of, the identification of the scribe of the present grant with the illustrious Sanskrit poet.

But a close examination of the present record shows that this view is untenable. The scribe of the present plates had a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit. As pointed out above, there are numerous orthographical and grammatical mistakes, for most of which the writer, and not the engraver, must have been responsible. On the other hand, Kālīdāsa had a great command over the Sanskrit language. He has emphasised the importance of correct speech in one of his similes⁷ and his works contain fewer instances of solecism⁸ than those of his predecessors and successors. It is incredible that such a great poet as Kālīdāsa would commit so many mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, nominal and verbal forms, etc., which disfigure the present record. Disappointing as it is, one has to admit that the scribe was only a namesake and contemporary of, and not identical with, the prince of Sanskrit poets. We may note here that similar names ending in *dāsa* were current in Vidarbha in the age of the Vākātakas. Thus we know of Nāmīdāsa a *Sēnāpati*, Chānidāsa the Chief Minister, as well as Chakradāsa and Gōladāsa the scribes of the Poona and Dudiā plates respectively.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant Varadākṣhṛṣṭa is probably Warūd in the Mōrāi tālūkā of the Amraoti District, about 12 miles due south of Pāṭṭan. Lōhapagara, the headquarters of an ancient division, may be represented by Lōṇi about 9 miles south-west of Warūd. The name of the village Aśvattha-kṣhṛṣṭaka, in which the donated land was situated,

¹ For a full discussion on the subject see A. Rangaswami Sastri, 'Further glimpses into Gupta Literary History' *Quart. J. Mythic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 93 ff.; K. S. Aiyangar, *Vākātakas and their Place in Indian History*, pp. 40 f.; V. V. Mirashi, *Kālīdāsa* (Marāṭhi), pp. 37 ff.; N. Lakshminarayana Rao, 'The Gupta contemporary of Kāśyapaśarmā', *I. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, pp. 260 f.; K. S. Rangaswami Sastri, 'King Pravaraśena and Kālīdāsa', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Conference*, pp. 99 ff.

² Note for instance that in both the Poona and Biddhāpur plates of the Vākātaka Dowager Queen Prathāvatigupthā, the genealogy of the Guptas, and not that of the Vākātakas is given in the beginning.

³ See the inscription in the Ajanta Cave XVI, *A. S. W. J.*, Vol. IV, p. 125.

⁴ अन्तराष्ट्रपालकप्रदातमार्गसल्लक्षणं विरिचिर्भारता ।

श्रीविजयं कालमयूरसेनं परमं श्रीश्रीं सह कुलद्विजः ॥ Canto I. v. 4. Trivandrum Sāi. Series.

⁵ Nirṇayāgarā Press ed., p. 3; see also the colophon of the last chapter, *ibid.*, p. 497.

⁶ The Biddhāpur Plates of Prabhāvatigupthā (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff.) were issued from the feet of the Lord of Rāmāgiri.

⁷ *Kundrasambhāra*, Canto I, verse 27.

See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 214.

can no longer be traced; its site seems to be occupied by the modern village of Pattan. It may be noted in this connection that it lies on the way from Multāi to Warāj (ancient Varadākhēṭa), and thus, answers to the description of its situation in the present plates.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 इष्टः¹ [i*] स्वस्ति ॥ प्रवरपुरात्² अग्निष्टोमातोर्व्यामोवप्यवो-
- 2 उद्यतिराजवाजपेयवृद्धस्यतिसवसायस्तवतुरख-
- 3 मेधयाजिनः विष्णुवृद्धसगोचस्य सम्पाद³ वाकाटका-
- 4 नाम्नाहाराजयोप्रवरसेनस्य सु(सु)नोः सु(सु)नोरत्यन्य(न्त)स्त्रामिम-
- 5 जामैरवमक्तस्य अन्त⁴भारमन्त्रिवेमितमियनित्तोदहनमि-
- 6 वसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवङ्गा⁵नाम्नराक्षमाधिगतभा-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 गौरत्या(त्य)मन्त्रजन्मूर्त्ती(र्वा)मियित्तानाम्दयावमेधवधुञ्जाता-
- 8 नाम्भारयो(शि)वा⁶नाम्नाहाराजयोभवनाग[दी]⁷द्विचस्य गौतमीपु-
- 9 त्रपुत्रस्य⁸ वाकाटकानाम्नाहाराजयोप्रवरसेनस्य सु(सु)नोर-
- 10 त्यन्य(न्त)मादेश्वरस्य सत्याज्जवकादत्य(ण्य)गौर्यविद्वमन-
- 11 यविनयमाहाक्षधोमत्व(स्व)पात्रगतम[क्तित्व]⁹पात्रगतम-
- 12 क्तित्वधर्माविजयित्वमनोनैम्यं¹⁰त्यादिगुणैः¹¹ समुपेतस्य

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 13 सर्वशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौ-
- 14 त्र(त्रि)णः सुविद्विरवृत्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्नाहाराजयोप्रियविसे-¹²

¹ Read इष्टम् as in other Vākātaka grants.

² Here and in many places below, rules of sandhi have not been observed.

³ The letter इ is close on the original plate. Read इमाज.

⁴ Read अन्त-

⁵ Read वङ्गा.

⁶ The box at the top of the letter अ is not completely incised.

⁷ The right curve at the top is not sufficiently raised for want of space.

⁸ All the other Vākātaka plates discovered so far read गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य, thus making the construction ambiguous. See, above, Vol. XXII, p. 175. The reading in the present grant shows that the adjectival expressions from अन्तस्त्रामिमजामैरवमक्तस्य onwards qualify इष्टसेनस्य.

⁹ This expression is unnecessarily repeated.

¹⁰ Read सुविद्विरवृत्त.

- 15 नमः सु(सु)नोमैगवतचक्रपाणे(प्रसादोपाख्यितयोमसु-
 16 दयस्य वाकाटकानावाहाराज्योदमेनस्य सु(सु)नो-
 17 म्(मं)हाराणाधिराज्योदेवगुप्तमुत्तमाः प्रसाद[ति]गुप्त-
 18 वामुत्तमस्य शम्भो(प्रसादप्रतिज्ञासंयुक्तस्य वाकाटकाना-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 19 मरममादेखरमहाराज्योप्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] ॥
 20 लोहणगराभागे वरदाखेटमाने अश्वस्य(स)खेटके
 21 सत्राज्ञपुत्रो गो घामो वक्तव्यः [1*] अथ घामे रा-
 22 जकमानेन भूमेर्विवर्त्तनयतानि चत्वारि महापुरुषपा-
 23 दभुलसतोपयोव्यं नारायणराजविज्ञाप्येन दत्तम् [1*]

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 24 यतोध्वस्तकाम्बुधौकाकनियोगनिवृत्ताः आश्रमस्था-
 25 त्रिकुलपुत्राधिकता भटान्कावाच विभूतपूर्वा(व्यं)पाश्या-
 26 ज्ञापयितव्याः [1*] विदितमस्तु व(यो) यचे(वे)पाश्याभिराक-
 27 नो धर्मामुर्वन्तविजयेत्यर्थेवपुष्टये इहामुवृत्तिता-
 28 त्यमाकानुग्रहाय वैजयिक्के धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदला(त्वा) उदक-
 29 पूर्वम्प्रतिष्ठतः [1] अथास्त्रोचिताम्पूर्वरा(जा)नु(मता) चातु-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 30 व्य(वे)द्यापा(य)हारमर्थोदाचितरामः [1*] तद्यथा अकरदायो धमर-

* The medial *h* sign is faintly seen on the plate.

* Read गुताको.

* So in the Sami and Chammak plates. Read प्रसादप्रतिज्ञासंयुक्तस्य.

* Read राजकीयमानेन.

* The engraver has appended a wrongly incised stroke on the left of *al*.

* Read *gajapati* and *disturb*.

* It is better to read विज्ञातः.

* The engraver first incised the surname letter as *cha* and then tried to convert it into *chha* by adding a vertical stroke in the middle of the rectangle. Contrast the proper form of *chha* in l. 32.

* The feminine form *परा* in l. 28 seems to qualify some word like भूमि. प्रतिष्ठा is, therefore, required here. The writer has, however, used the masculine form throughout, as he has blundered upon the usual limit for the grant of a village (*घामः*). [The intended reforms here may be in the question mentioned in l. 30 in which case *सक-देवस्था* should be converted into *सक-देवस्था*. Apparently the 100 *simantakas* of land constituted the *grahana* granted to the temple and an expression like *ग्राहक-देवस्था* has been contrasted before discussed in l. 32. As such an expression would be mainly objected by Brahmins, the objections raised by Prof. Minaki in this note and the next do not seem to be justified.—Ed.]

* Read *सक-देवस्था*. The writer has forgotten that the present grant was made to a temple and not to Brahmins as stated in the four lines. See also *सक-देवस्था* in ll. 30-32 below. Some of the prohibitions and exemptions laid down here are appropriate only in the case of the gift of a whole village.

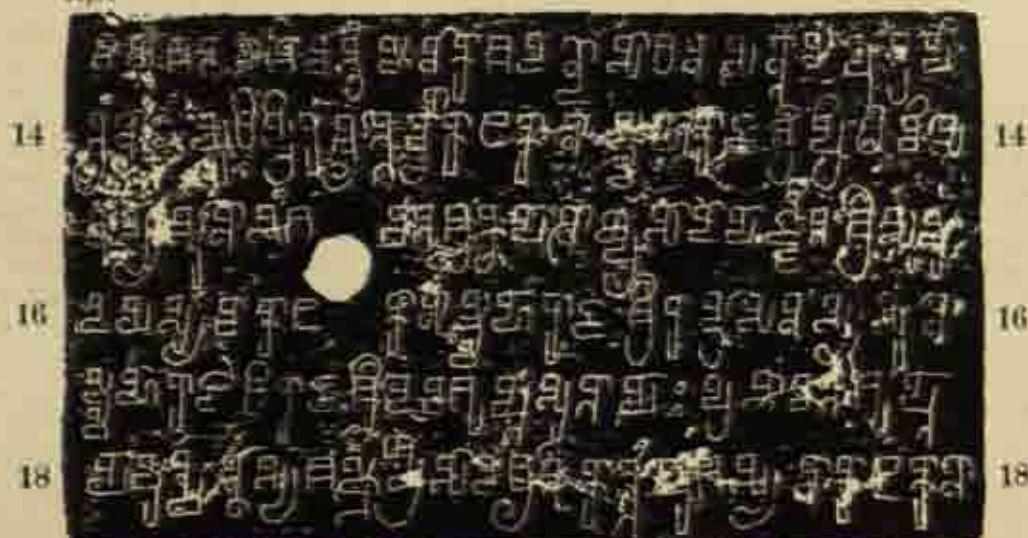
i.



ii.a.



ii.b.



20

20

22

22

24 24

26 26

28 28

30
32
34
36

- 31 च्छ(च्छा)वप्रविशः अपारंपरगौतमिर्हृदः अयुष्यचौरसन्दोहः[*] च-
 32 पा(चा)रा'मनचर्मोद्गा(हा)रः अलवणक्षेपिष्वनकाः सर्व्वे(वि)ष्टिपरीडा-
 33 रपरिहृतः[*] सनिधिः सोपनिधिस्त्रि(कु)सोपनिधि(कु)सः आचन्द्रादित्यका-
 34 लौघः पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुज्यमान(नी) न केनचिद्वशाचतयितव्यः
 35 सर्व्वल(त्रि)याभिन्ना(स्त्र)रजितव्यः<परिवर्त्तितव्यश्च [1*] य[चा]अच्छासनम-

—Fourth Plate: Second Side.—

- 36 मणयमानः[*] स्वल्पामपि परिवाधां कुर्यात्कारयौत वा' तस्य ब्राह्म-
 37 र्वैर्वैदितस्य सदृष्टनिग्रहं कुर्यामः(म) [1*] अस्मिन् धर्मोदरक-
 38 [२*]णि प्रतीतानेकपुत्रदत्ता(त्त)मशिततपरिपालन'कृतपुत्र्या(स्थ)
 39 नुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थ'व कीर्त्तयामः[*] व्यामगौती चात्र प्रीकौ
 40 मनालोकास्तथै [1*] अदत्तामरदत्तां ज्ञा(या) यो हरेत वसुभराम् [1*]
 41 मवां अतमहस्यश्च वसुधरति दुष्कृत[म्] ॥[२*]

Fifth Plate.

- 42 यष्टिर्वर्महस्त्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] पाच्येता
 43 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं वसेदिति ॥ [२*] सांख्यसरे सताविष्टे
 44 कार्त्तिकवदुत्पलसमस्याम्¹¹ सेता तिहाख्यायन-
 45 सन्तकेन लिखित(ते) ज्ञानि¹²दासेन [1*] [कीर्त्तराजधन्तकेन सुव]¹³य-
 46 कार¹⁴ ईश्वरदत्तेन स्मृतं ॥ अस्मिन् शासनस्य कारा-
 47 वकौ पितृमहजन्तौ ॥

¹ As the stroke for modified \bar{a} at the side of r was not quite clear, the engraver seems to have added another at the top.

² Read *śārngāśa*.

³ Read *अस्मिन्*.

⁴ Read: *पुत्रियास्य* *कुल*.

⁵ The *anusvara* is superfluous.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Read *सुव* [1*] or: Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ Read *अस्मिन्*.

⁹ Read *अस्मिन्*.

¹⁰ Read *सुव*.

¹¹ What looks like a dot in the middle of the circle for *media* \bar{a} is probably due to a fault in the plate.

¹² The letters in the brackets and those in the next two lines can be read with certainty on the original plate.

¹³ Read *सुवर्णकारिपर*.

The Seal.

- 1 वाकाटकस(न)स(ना)मस
- 2 क्लमप्राप्तपत्रियः [1*]
- 3 राष्ट्रप्रवरसेनस
- 4 प्राप्त रिपुप्राप्तन(नम) [2*]

No. 15.—TANDIVADA GRANT OF PRITHIVI-MAHARAJA: 46TH YEAR.

By B. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

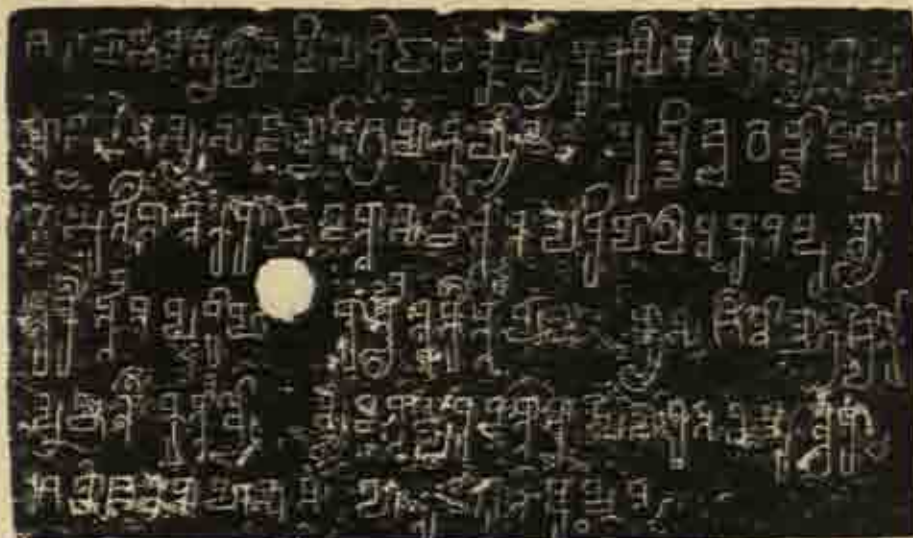
The subjoined inscription is engraved on a set of four copper plates received by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from M. R. Ry. M. Ramakrishna Kavi Garu, M. A., Assistant Curator, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, in the year 1917. They are included in Appendix A of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras*, as C. P. No. 6 of 1916-17 and described in a slip attached to the impression as follows: "These are four copper-plates oblong in shape and bearing a ring hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter at about $\frac{1}{10}$ " from the proper right margin. They have writing on six faces in all, the first and the last plates being blank on the outer faces. All the engraved faces have very slightly perceptible rims. The plates have an average thickness of about $\frac{1}{16}$ " and measure about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and a little over 2" in height. It is much to be regretted that the seal of this record, the dynasty of which is not known, is missing."

The alphabet is of an early Southern type. It resembles the characters of the Chikkula plates¹ of Vikramādityavarman, the Pulāṣībūra grant² of Mādhavarman, the Koppāram plates³ of Pulikēśin II and the Gōḍavari plates⁴ of Prithivīmūla. The letters of the British Museum plates⁵ of Chārudēvi and the Īpūr plates⁶ of Dēvavarman's son Mādhavarman are angular in shape and more antique than those of the present inscription. The Pulāṣībūra grant⁷ and the Peddavēgi plates,⁸ both belonging to the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I., appear to be written in more developed characters. Thus the alphabet of the present inscription may be said to belong to the period between the dates of these two sets of inscriptions, i.e., to the beginning of the 7th century A.D. The letters *i* and *n* are not distinguished here by a loop as both have a similar shape except that the right curve of *i* is continued on the left side at the bottom. The medial long *i* is distinguished from the short one by an inside curl at the top as in *Prithivī-Mahārāja* (l. 8) and *Prithivīśarmasamāj* (l. 14). The initial *o* is used thrice (ll. 11, 19 & 24) and *ā* in two places (ll. 23 & 28). Orthography is generally free from errors. The language is Sanskrit prose with the exception of the three verses at the end.

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 192.² *M. E. S.*, 1913-14, C. P. No. 7; *J. A. S. B. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 17 B.³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.⁴ *J. B. S. E. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 114.⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 143 B.⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 337.⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 254.⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 258.

in, b.

36



36

38

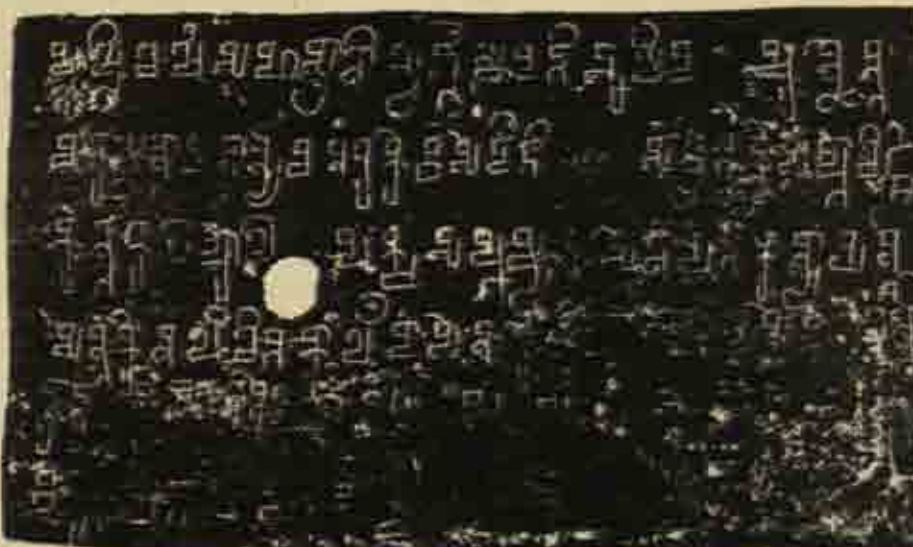
38

40

40

b.

42



42

44

44

46

46

Seal.



The object of the record is to register a grant of the *agrahāra* village Tāndivāda in Pāṇḍyāra-*vishaya* made from Pishṭapura by Prithivī-Mahārāja of the Kāśyapa-gotra who bore the *virada* Śrīvamsa,* son of Vikramēndra and grandson of Mahārāja Raṇadurjaya, to Bhavaśarman of the Kāmakāyana-gotra, who was the son of Prithivīśarman and grandson of Viśhṇuśarman and was a resident of Kōṇḍamañchi, on the full-moon day of Kārttika in the 46th year of his reign. The *Ajñapti* of the grant was Rāmaleṅgurāja. The donor is extolled as meditating on the feet of his parents, a *parama-brahmagraha* and as having subdued the whole circle of the *sāmantas*. His father Vikramēndra is not given the regal title *Mahārāja*, which perhaps indicates that he did not rule at all or his rule was very short and uneventful. The donee is described as a scholar well-versed in the Vēda, Vēdāṅga, Nyāya, Upanishad and Yōga and in 'three thousand sciences' (त्रिसहस्रविदा) and as the author of twenty commentaries (*vyākhyāna*). His father, Prithivīśarman, had mastered the three thousand sciences and could expound and comment on them and his grandfather, Viśhṇuśarman, had studied the Śruti and Smṛiti and performed the *Agnishōma* and other sacrifices.

There is no clue in the record to find out the exact period when Prithivī-Mahārāja lived. The language, phraseology and the 'formal elements'† of the inscription are strictly official and unostentatious and remind us of the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallava kings, the plates of the Śālanākāyana and the Viśhṇukundina, the Rāgōla plates of Śaktivarman, etc. As stated above, the alphabet belongs to about the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Since it is known from the Althole inscription‡ and the Timmāputam plate§ that Pishṭapura passed to the Eastern Chālukyas after its conquest by Pulikēśin II and remained in their hands since then, the present record must be assigned to a period prior to that event. A clear understanding of the political situation in the East Coast before the time of Pulikēśin (II)'s expedition will help us to determine the most approximate time when Prithivī-Mahārāja might have lived.

The earliest epigraphical reference to Pishṭapura is found in the Allahābād Pillar inscription¶ of Samudragupta (4th century A.D.) which shows that the city was held by Mahēndra* at the time of the Gupta king's southern expedition. The Rāgōla plates‡ which may belong palaeographically to the 5th century A.D., were issued from Pishṭapura which was evidently the capital of the Kālīāga king Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śaktivarman who calls himself "an ornament of the Māthara family". The Kīṇḍōppa grant of Anantavarman 'Lord of Kālīāga' who belonged to the

* See note I, p. 89.

† Dr. G. Stein opines that the "formal elements" in inscriptions "serve as a guide for chronological considerations, when other sources are lacking", see the *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, pp. 215 ff.

‡ Above, Vol. VI, p. 4.

§ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 317.

¶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 7.

* This Mahēndra has been conjectured to be a king of the Pallava family (*The Goddard's Hist. Guzerat*, p. 161). This does not, however, seem likely, since (Pallava) Viśhṇugūptas of Kāśchī is mentioned separately in the same epigraph. Further, there is no evidence to show that the Pallava territory had extended in the north beyond Kammarashetra, the modern Gunder District, since the Śālanākāyana Haṣṭavarman was holding the Vāṅga country (i.e., the Kistna District) at this period. We know that the Chandellur plates of Kumāreśvaran and the Ompōde grants I and II mention Kammarashetra as the district under the control of the Pallavas. The towns of Palaklāda, Daṣṭampura and Manamātura from where the Sanskrit charters were issued, were probably situated in this district (J. Dabeneil: *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 95). And Kudrākṣa-*stāva* of the Śālanākāyana is identical with Kudrākṣa of the later inscriptions, which comprised portions of the Kistna District.

† Above, Vol. XII, pp. 24. The alphabet is similar to that of the Kōṇḍagere plates of the early Kadamba king Śiva-Mānōbhāṭṭavarman. Compare also the Brihatprōkṣa inscription of Umāvarman and the Kōmāreṭi plates of Chandavarman which are assigned to the first quarter of the 6th century A.D. (*Ancient History of the Deccan* by J. Dabeneil, p. 94).

Vāṃśāṭha-kula is also stated to have been issued from Vijaya-Piṣṭapurādhishāhna.¹ After Anantavarman, Piṣṭapura appears to have been a bone of contention between the kings of Kalinga and the Vishukundins of Deṇḍalūra who had succeeded the Śīlāhāyana in the Kistna and a part of the Guntur Districts, and ultimately to have passed into the hands of the latter whom the Chālukya of Bādāmi conquered in the first half of the 7th century A.D. Since, as stated above, the present charter belongs palaeographically to this period, it is necessary to find out exactly when and in what capacity Prithivī-Mahārāja ruled at Piṣṭapura during the Vishukundin supremacy in the east coast. This object cannot be accomplished, as is evident from the sequel, without a full discussion of the genealogy and chronology of the Vishukundin kings.

The most important document of the Vishukundin family is the Pulībūrn grant of Janāśraya-Mahārāja Mādhavavarman III issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna in the 48th year² of the king's reign. During the period of about seventy years in the sixth and the seventh centuries to which the record may be assigned on palaeographic grounds, lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna occurred in the following years: (1) A.D. 593, February 21, Saturday; (2) A.D. 594, February 10, Wednesday; (3) A.D. 612, February 23, Tuesday; (4) A.D. 621, February 12, Thursday; (5) A.D. 639, February 23, Tuesday and (6) A.D. 653, February 23, Friday. Of these, on (1) and (3), the eclipse was not visible in India; (2) is too early for the 48th year of a king who was defeated, as shown below, in about A.D. 631, by Pulikēśa II or his brother Kubja-Vishuvarddhana; (5) and (6) are too late for the king who had been defeated with his territory annexed to the Chālukya dominions prior to them. Hence the date of the Pulībūrn grant may be equated with A.D. 621, February 12, Thursday on which day the lunar eclipse was visible in India.³ It is noteworthy that this grant furnishes a few synchronisms for determining the genealogy and chronology of the Vishukundin dynasty. Janāśraya-Mahārāja Mādhavavarman is described with the significant epithet *Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gita-parama-yuvati-ṣaṅga-sarathī* (l. 8)⁴ who delighted himself in playing with the maidens in the palace of Trivara-nagara⁵, i.e., the city founded⁶ by Trivara who has been identified in the sequel with Mahāśiva-Tivaraḍeṇa of Mahākōśala. Secondly, Śivavarman, the donee of this record, figures as the father of Rudrasarman who was the recipient of a gift in the Pulībūrn grant of the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I. In addition to these, other historical and astronomical considerations gathered from the published charters of the family and contemporaneous history will help us considerably in the study of the family. These are: the archaic method of dating the inscriptions in seasons and fortnights; the Vākātaka-Vishukundin relationship in the time of Mādhavavarman I; an ancient work⁷ on prosody called *Janāśrayi Chhandōśhikiti* written presumably under the patronage of Janāśraya-Mahārāja of the Pulībūrn record, which quotes a verse from the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi; and lastly, the Eastern Chālukya conquest of Kalinga which has an indirect bearing upon the subject. The cumulative evidence of all these points proves, as shown below, that the

¹ *J. A. H. S. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 122.

² This regnal year is expressed by the numerical symbol ४८ which appears to have been made up of ४ standing for 40, (see Kaye in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 52 and Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, plate IX) and ८ which resembles the one in the Chikkalla plates (l. 23) for 8. Mr. D. C. Sircar, however, takes it to be a single symbol for 48 which lacks epigraphical support (*Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 275, f.n. 2).

³ See also *Eclipse of the Moon in India*.

⁴ Scholars have attempted to identify this place with Toru in Central India (above, Vol. XVII, p. 234). This is unlikely, since Toru is known to ancient literature and epigraphy under the name of Tripuri or Tripura.

⁵ Similar instances are not rare in inscriptions. Pravarapura was the city founded by Vākātaka Pravarasena and Yayātiṃgura by Yayāti, otherwise known as Mahāśiva-gupta of the Śāmarasmi family.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. T. N. Subramaniam for drawing my attention to this work.

Vishnukundina ceased to be an independent ruling power by the middle of the 7th century A.D. and that Janāśrīya Mahārāja Mādhavarman was the last king and a later member of the family different from the homonymous king who was probably the originator of the dynasty.

Of the five copper-plate inscriptions belonging to this family, the Ipūr plates (set I)¹ bears a date in the seventh fortnight of the hot season (*gihma*) and the Ipūr plates (set II)² in the seventh fortnight of the rainy season (*vāsa*). Similarly the Chikkulla plates³ are dated in the eighth fortnight of the hot season (*gihma*). This dating presupposes the division of a year into three seasons of eight fortnights each, which is mentioned in the earliest extant works *Pāṇiniyaśāstra* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. The latest epigraphical instances giving similar dates belong to about the 6th century A.D.⁴

From the Rāmātirtham and the Chikkulla plates we get four generations of kings, viz., Mādhavarman I, his son Vikramēndravarmān I, his son Indrabhaṭṭārākavarman, his son Vikramēndravarmān II. In both the records Mādhavarman is described as a performer of one thousand *Āgnishōma* and eleven *Āśvamedha* sacrifices. The Ipūr plates (set II) furnish us with the genealogy: Mādhavarman I with the above epithets, his son Dēvavarman, his son Mādhavarman II, the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya. On account of the common epithets and the relatively early script of the record, Mādhavarman II may be supposed to be the grandson of Mādhavarman I through his another son Dēvavarman. The Ipūr plates (set I) and the Pulichūru grant should be studied together. The former supplies the pedigree for two generations only, viz., Gōvīndavarman and his son Mādhavarman, while the latter supplements it by adding Gōvīndavarman's father Vikrama[ma]jñāndravarmān.⁵ In both the inscriptions, Mādhavarman is given the additional adjunct *Trivara-nayana*, etc.,⁶ which distinguishes him from the homonymous king Mādhavarman I, mentioned above.⁷ Trivara is evidently the Sanskritised form of Tivara, a Sōmavahāṇī king of Mahākōśala who flourished about this period and who is the only king of that name known to Indian History. He is also mentioned under this Sanskritised name in the Kōṅḍōḍḍa and the Nivīnā grants⁸ of the Śailōdabhaya king Dharmarājādēva. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti who has edited the Nivīnā grant is inclined to think that Tivara-dēva of Mahākōśala was a contemporary of Dharmarāja, grandson of Mādhavarāja II whom he has identified with Mādhavarāja Sainyabhaṭṭa of the Ganjām plates dated in the Gupta Era 300 (A.D. 619-20).⁹ The only known regnal year of Mādhavarāja, son of Mādhavarāja II, being twenty-six, Dharmarāja may have to be placed in the middle

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 324.

² *Ibid.*, p. 337.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 193.

⁴ The Hala plates of the Kadamba king Ravivarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 28). See also above, Vol. XVII, p. 337, l. n. 7 and Vol. IV, p. 193, l. n. 4.

⁵ Vikrama[ma]jñāndravarmān is presumably the Vikramēndravarmān II of the Chikkulla plates.

⁶ I find from the impressions of the Pulichūru grant, and of the Ipūr plates (set I) that the *i*-sign in *Trivara* is distinctly long.

⁷ This descriptive clause does not occur in connection with Mādhavarman of the Chikkulla, Rāmātirtham and Ipūr (set II) plates. This is significant and I take that it is a *vyavasthāna* dharma, which differentiates him from his namesake though there are other adjectives common to both.

⁸ Above, Vols. XIX, pp. 267ff. and XXI, pp. 34 ff.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 30.

of the 7th century A.D. and accordingly his opponent Tivaraśīva would belong to that period.¹ It is thus clear that Mādharavarman of the Ipūr plates (set I) and the Pulāṣṭhūrū grant, who was a contemporary of Tivara, must be considered to be one and the same person and that he was a later member of the family, in spite of the fact that he bore some of the epithets of Mādharavarman I.² It is noteworthy that the alphabet employed in both the charters belongs roughly to the same period and from the examination of individual letters, it does not appear to differ much from that of the Rāmātrītham and the Chikkulla plates, whereas the script of the second set of the Ipūr plates is undoubtedly more archaic as remarked by Dr. Hultzsch.

Since Vikramāndravarmān is described as an ornament of the Viśhukunḍin and the Vākātaka families, his mother must have been a Vākātaka princess. According to Dr. Dubreuil, this Vākātaka princess was the daughter or the grand-daughter of Rudrasēna II whose son Pravarasēna II placed his relative Viśhukunḍin Mādhava (I) on the throne of Vēngi by uprooting the Śālanākāyanas in the 6th century A.D.³ But neither Rudrasēna II nor his son Pravarasēna II is known to have conquered any of the territories in the East Coast. On the other hand Harishēga, the last Vākātaka king (circa 599 A.D.) is stated in the Ajantā inscription to have conquered Kuntala, Avantī, Kaṭṭiga, Kōṣala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Āndhra, and it is very likely that he contracted some matrimonial alliance with Mādhava I and with his help defeated the kings of the East Coast as stated above.

Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, who has been identified with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Gōḍāvarī plates of Prithivīmūḥ,⁴ was an opponent of Adhirāja Indra who may possibly be the same person as the donor of the Jirjūngi plates⁵ dated in the year 39 of the Ganga era. If the view of some scholars⁶ that the era was started in about A.D. 496 be correct, the date of this grant would be about A.D. 535. According to the Chikkulla plates Indrabhaṭṭāraka defeated all the *śāyādas* in battle. We do not know of any *śāyādas* excepting the members of the collateral branch, viz., Dēvavarman and his son Mādharavarman II. Since, as shown below, the Viśhukunḍins ceased

¹ Fleet and Kielhorn have placed Tivara in about the 8th century A.D. (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 293; above, Vol. IV, p. 298). The Sripar Lakshmana Temple inscription of Mahāśivagupta (above, Vol. XI, p. 184) is written in characters of about the 8th century A.D. Hence his grand-uncle Tivara would belong to the middle of the 7th century A.D. More likely, he lived to the beginning of the 7th century. Tivaraśīva appears to have had a long reign, since there is a reference to Tivara-nagara in the Ipūr plates (set I) dated in the 37th regnal year (i.e., A.D. 616) of Mādharavarman III whose 48th year has been equated with A.D. 621. This date would no doubt be too early for him if it is assumed with Prof. B. H. Bhandarkar (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 240) that Chandragupta mentioned in the Sājān plates of Amoghavarsha as the contemporary of Gōvinda III (A.D. 780-814) was the son of Nannayashira and brother of Tivaraśīva of Mahākōṣala. But for reasons stated above, he cannot be identified with the brother of Tivaraśīva.

² The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has expressed a similar opinion in *M. E. R.* for 1913-14, pp. 6 and 162. [But the description of Mādharavarman in these two sets of plates as a 'performer of eleven *śimśānta* sacrifices and one thousand *śānta* or *śāntānāma*' seems to show that he may not be different from Mādhava I of the other Viśhukunḍin charters. It may also be pointed out that, according to Dr. Hultzsch, the paleography of the Ipūr plates (first set) is earlier than those of the Rāmātrītham and Chikkulla plates (above, Vol. XVII, p. 334).—Ed.]

³ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 74. We know that the principality of Vēngi and Kandrakūṭa was held by the Śālanākāyanas up to the 5th century A.D. (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 28 ff.)

⁴ *O. B. R. S. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff. and above, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.

⁵ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 40 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 237.

to be an independent ruling power before A.D. 631,¹ all the kings of the family must be accommodated in the interval of about 131 years (circa 500-631). According to our scheme of the genealogy there will be only six kings in the main line who can be very reasonably fitted in in this period. But if the kings Dēvavarman and Mādhavarman II are also to be included, there will be in all eight kings among whom the regnal years 10, 27, 48 and 47 are so far known for four kings. Granting that these are the last regnal years of the respective kings, the periods of their reign will cover at least 132 years which is in excess of the allotted interval and we will be driven to the contingency of eliminating the remaining four kings from the family. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Dēvavarman and his son Mādhavarman II belonged to the collateral branch and held a small principality in the Vishnukundin territory.

Vikramādityavarman II, the eldest son of Indrabhattāraka, as stated in his Chikkalla plates, appears to have become king even as a child, which perhaps indicates that his father died young leaving his eldest son only a child and consequently his rule might not have extended beyond 27 years. The next king was Mahārāja Gōvindavarman who bore the *virudā* Vikramāśraya. Lastly his son Mādhavarman III was the most powerful king of the family who bore the distinguished *virūḍa* Janāśraya-Mahārāja.

Mādhavarman III, Janāśraya-Mahārāja, must have been the last crowned king of the Vishnukundin dynasty from whom the Eastern Chālukyas conquered portions of their eastern possessions. He must have lived some time after Bhāravi, the celebrated author of *Kirātārjunīya*. For, there is an ancient work on prosody called *Janāśrayi Chhandōvichit*² which quotes the verse **अथ वासवश्च वचनेन**, etc., of Bhāravi³ under the *Udgātā-prakarana*. The work must have been named after Janāśraya-Mahārāja of the Vishnukundin family, who is the only king of that name in the whole range of Indian History.⁴ We know from the *Avantisamarāṅgikathā* that poet Dāmodara was introduced to the presence of prince Vishnuvarddhana by Bhāravi.⁵ Consequently Bhāravi must have lived in the Court of Vishnuvarddhana who is no other than Kubja-Vishnuvarddhana, the younger brother of Pulikēsin II.⁶ Since Ravikīrti compares himself to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634, Bhāravi must have been well known as a great poet by A.D. 634. It is probable that he flourished about 600 A.D.⁷ and Janāśraya-Mahārāja lived some time after that date. This date can be determined to some extent by the following synchronism. The king is stated in the Pulombūra grant to have endowed the village Pulombūra in Guddavādi-*śikhya* upon Śivāśarma, son of Dāmaśarma and grandson of

¹ [In spite of the arguments of the author, it is not impossible that the Vishnukundins were struggling hard to maintain their independence in some portion of their territory even after A.D. 631. The description of Indrabharman in the Rameswathan and Chikkalla plates as 'having gained victories in several *chāravāna* battles' might also indicate the same state of affairs.—Ed.]

² The work is published partially in the *Pirumalai Śrī Tsaṅkalā* by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Karṇ, M.A.

³ *Kirātārjunīya*, XII. 1.

⁴ The opening verse in the work describes the king with the *virudā* Janāśraya, as having celebrated several sacrifices. This is in keeping with the account given in the Pulombūra grant and the Ipūr plates (*first set*). See *A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts* 1925-26 to (1927-28, Madras), Introduction p. 1 and B. No. 5943. [From the information available at present it is not certain whether Janāśraya refers to a different ruler or is an abbreviation of Avam-Janāśraya which was a surname of the Gujjarī Chālukya king Pulikēśvara.—Ed.]

⁵ See the correct text of the relevant passage of the *Kathā* in *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 169.

⁶ As Vishnuvarddhana is called merely *śiṣya-sena* in the *Avantisamarāṅgikathā*, p. 6, it is probable that he had not yet become king.

⁷ This date is rendered plausible by the fact that Dāmodara, after staying with Vishnuvarddhana for a short period, went to the court of the Gaṅga king Dharmān, whose last date in the Gaṅga chronology cannot be beyond A.D. 608.

Rudrasarman of the Gautama-gotra and Taittiriya-jñāṣū. The same village was granted by the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I in his 15th regnal year (A.D. 648) to the *pūrvagrāhāvika* Rudrasarman of the Gautama-gotra, who was the son of Śivasarman and grandson of Dāmasarman. It is evident that this Rudrasarman was the son of Śivasarman, the donee of the Pulcūbūru grant. The word *pūrvagrāhāvika* indicates that he was in the enjoyment of the village for some time after his father, and that he had lost it during some troublous period, or his title to the village was contested and confirmed by a fresh order after the change of political power from the Vishnukundins to the Eastern Chālukyas. This latter event took place probably some time before A.D. 631 when the Koppuram plates¹ of Pulikēśin II were issued. For, we learn from this copper-plate grant that Kammariśvara, which had been included in the Pallava and the Vishnukundin kingdoms formerly, formed part of the Chālukya country at the time. A study of the political history of the Kālīṅga kingdom at this period would help us in fixing the date more precisely. The Chipurupalle grant² of Kubja-Vishnuyardhana records the gift of land by the king from his camp at Cherupūra in Pākī-śāyā to two Brahmins, Viśvasarman and Mādhavararman, sons of Durgasārman, who belonged to the Gautama-gotra, in his 18th regnal year, i.e., A.D. 632. In the Achyutapuram plates³ of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman bearing a date in the year 87 of the Gaṅga era, the donee is stated to be Durgasārman of the Gautama-gotra. This date may be equated with A.D. 581 provided the initial year of the Gaṅga era is accepted to be A.D. 496. It is very likely that the donees of the Chipurupalle grant were the sons of the donee in the Gaṅga record.⁴ If this is correct, the southern portion of the Kālīṅga country must have been conquered and annexed by the Chālukyas some time between A.D. 581 and 632. This period is brought into a narrower compass by the statement in the Aihole inscription (A.D. 634) that kings of Kālīṅga and Kēsala submitted of their own accord, to the increasing power of Pulikēśin II (A.D. 619). It may be noted that the Varāhavarpuṣi-śāyā of the Gaṅga grants was situated close to the Pākī-śāyā (or *śākhā*) and that the latter district had been a debatable ground between the Vishnukundins and the Eastern Gaṅgas for a long time. The Eastern Gaṅgas appear to have occupied it for some time after the date of the Rāmattirāṁ plates of Indravarman (*cir.* 535). It is probably to wrest back this province that Mādhava III started on an expedition to the Eastern region (*prāglik*) as recorded in his Pulcūbūru grant, the result of which is, however, not known. The conquests of South Kālīṅga and the territory of the Vishnukundins must possibly have been effected in one and the same campaign by Pulikēśin II. Since Tivradēva lived, as shown above, in the middle of the 7th century⁵, it is possible that Mādhavararman⁶ of the Vishnukundin

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 287 ff.

² *Ibid.* *loc.*, Vol. XX, p. 10.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 127 ff.

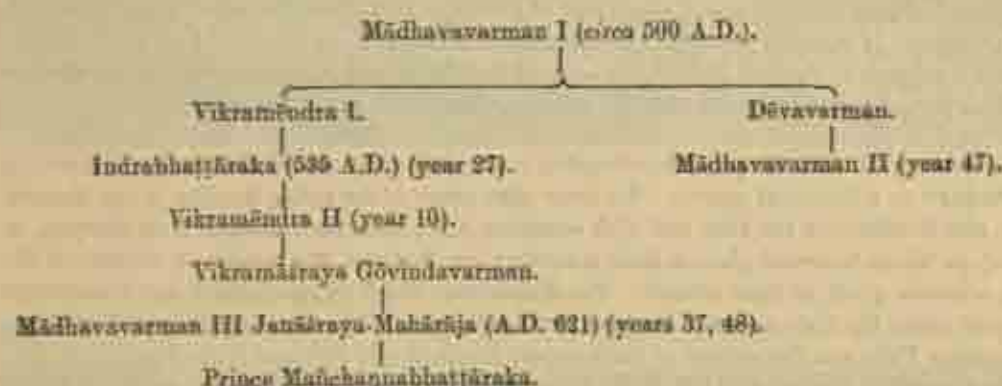
⁴ [But it may be noted that while the two sons of Durgasārman of the Chipurupalle plates were followers of the Taittiriya-śākhā, which is a branch of the Yajurēda, Durgasārman of the Achyutapuram plates was a Brahmin of the Chāṇḍāgā school which is a śākhā of the Sāmaveda.—Ed.]

⁵ Prof. V. V. Mirashi postulates two Tivradēvas in the Sōmaravamsi family and thinks that Tivara who was a contemporary of the Vishnukundin Mādhava was an earlier member and lived between A.D. 525-568 (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff.). But among the Sōmaravamsi kings there is only one Tivradēva known so far (above, Vol. XI, p. 187). And such an early date is not possible for Mādhava who must have been an immediate predecessor in time of the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I (*ibid.*, p. 21, f. n. 3 and Bhattacharya's *Northern List*, p. 293, f. n. 3).

⁶ The Kōṅḍōḍa and Nivāṇa grants of Durgasārman mention a certain Mādhava, who contemplated to oust the elderly relations (*prāglik*—*śākhā*) from the country, but being failed in his attempt took shelter under Tivradēva and was ultimately defeated along with his master at the foot of the Vindhya hill. Since this Mādhava is supposed to be a prince of the Śailōḍhava family, he cannot be identified with the Vishnukundin king of that name, though it happens that the latter had also contracted some political or matrimonial alliance with Tivradēva.

family ruled for some time after A.D. 619, the date of the Ganjām plates, and was subsequently defeated by Pulikēsin II or Kujja-Vishnu. As we have shown above that the date of the Pulōmbūru grant would fall in A.D. 621, we may conclude that the Chālukya conquest of the Vishnukundins was accomplished between A.D. 621 and A.D. 631.

With the facts set forth above, the genealogy¹ of the family with known regnal years and approximate dates for a few kings is given below for easy reference :



The name of Vikramāditya, the father of Prithivi-Mahārāja of the present record may perhaps suggest some relationship with the Vishnukundins among whom that name is found twice. It is not impossible that Prithivi-Mahārāja's father Vikramāditya was a subordinate of Vikramādityavarman who was the grandfather of Mādhavavarman, the donor of the Pulōmbūru grant. This surmise finds support from the fact that Pishāpura, the capital of Prithivi-Mahārāja, was situated within the limits of the Vishnukundin dominions which comprised the country to the south of Kāliṅga up to the present Guntur district which was the northern limit of the

¹ Dr. Hultsch's arrangement of the genealogy (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 and 337) comes into conflict with the pedigree given in the present record. According to him, Gōvindavarman's father would be Mādhavavarman, whereas his name is given as Vikramāditya in the Pulōmbūru grant. A recent writer on the subject (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IX, pp. 275 f.) thinks that Mādhava III of the Pulōmbūru grant is identical with Mādhava I as both are stated to have performed eleven *śrautas* and one thousand *Agnikūṣṭha* sacrifices. He holds that the family rose to political power in A.D. 500 under Vikramāditya, grandfather of Mādhava and continued to rule till the 8th century A.D. when it was completely overthrown by the Chālukyas. This view is not tenable. For, he has not taken into account the palaeographic evidence of the charters while construing the history of the family. According to him, Ipūr plates (set I) and the Pulōmbūru grant would be earlier than the Ipūr plates (set II) whose script has been declared by Dr. Hultsch to be more archaic than that of the other charters of the family (see also *Madras Epigraphical Report* 1913-14, pp. 6 and 102). Further, he has not considered the important synchronism with the Mahākṣatṛa king Tivradēva in the time of Mādhava (III) and the coherence contained in the *Janāraya* *Chāndrāvali* mentioned above. And we find from the records of Pulikēsin II, Kujja-Vishnuvardhana, Jayasīdha I, Tyāgāditya Indravarma and his successors that portions of the Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna and Guntur Districts, which comprised the Vishnukundin territory, were held by the Chālukyas since the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. and it is impossible that the Vishnukundins could have ruled as independent kings in that region after A.D. 631 when, according to the Koppāram and the Timmāpūram plates, the Eastern Chālukya rule had been fully established. (See note I on p. 93.—Ed.)

Pallava territory, as can be gathered from the situations of villages or divisions mentioned in the Rāmatirtham, Chikkulla, and Ipūr plates (see I) and the Pulombūra grant and also from the stone inscription of Viṣṇukundin Mādhavarvarman at Vēlpūru in the Sattampalle Taluk of the Guntur district. Simultaneously with the subjugation of the Viṣṇukundins by Pulikēśin II and occupation of their territory by his brother Kūḍja-Viṣṇavarādhana, Prithivī-Mahārāja, the ruler of Pishtapuram, appears to have held out against the Chōḷukyan attack for a while and finally to have sustained a crushing defeat in the fight. For, we definitely know from the Timmāpuram-plates that Kūḍja-Viṣṇavarādhana was in possession of Pishtapuram which is mentioned as his secondary capital (*vēṇaka*). It is, therefore, quite plausible that Pulikēśin II captured the fortress of Pishtapuram from the hands of Prithivī-Mahārāja who must have lived in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. This period perfectly agrees with the palaeographical evidence of the record.

It is noteworthy that the present inscription is the only early record that makes mention of **Raṇadurjaya** as a historical person. We know that many of the ruling families in the Eastern Deccan, who flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D., trace their descent from Durjaya or Raṇadurjaya whose time and place in their genealogy are, however, not certain on account of the varying accounts given in their records. The Kākatiyas,¹ the Konjāpādumati² and Velanāḍu³ Chiefs each claim for their ancestor Durjaya or Raṇadurjaya. The Gaṇavapūḍu grant⁴ of Gaṇapati mentions Prōḷa as a descendant of Raṇadurjaya; Durjaya who belonged to the Karikāl-*śreṇya*. The most important document of this later period, which gives a glimpse into the period of Raṇadurjaya, is the Tāṇḍavōḷu inscription⁵ of Buddharāja which appears to embody a genuine historical tradition. It is stated in it that the Konjāpādumati chief Buddharāja was the lion of the mountain, the Durjaya family—which shows that Durjaya was the originator of his family—and had for an ancestor one Buddharvarman who belonged to the fourth caste and was a servant of king Kūḍja-Viṣṇu of the lunar race who conferred on him the country west of the hill, which contained 73 villages. Kūḍja-Viṣṇu is, evidently, the brother of Pulikēśin II, who ruled from A.D. 615 to 633 in the Vēṅḷ country. Buddharvarman's date, accordingly, falls in this period. Durjaya, who was his ancestor, must have lived some time before the 7th century A.D. Since Karikāl is said to be his lineal ancestor whose date has been approximately fixed to fall in the 5th century A.D.,⁶ it is possible that Durjaya lived in the intermediate period and most probably in the 6th century A.D.; and his grandson Prithivī-Mahārāja, who had a long reign of at least 46 years, must have begun to rule in the latter half of that century.

The record does not disclose the name of the **dynasty** to which Prithivī-Mahārāja belonged. It only states that he belonged to the Kātyapa-*gētra*. It is clear from the foregoing discussion that Durjaya was a descendant of Karikāl-Chōḷa. The Chōḷa king Puṇyakumāra of the Cuddapah District belonged to the Kātyapa-*gētra* and Karikāl-*śreṇya*.⁷ The Chōḷa Satyāditya, son of Vikramāditya, was of the same *gētra* and family.⁸ The Chōḷas of Tanjore also are known to have

¹ Above, Vol. V, p. 142; *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 248 ff.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 692; above, Vol. VI, pp. 268 ff.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 23 ff.; the pedigree given in the Pithāpuram Pillar inscription is a jumble of confused traditions. It contains two Raṇadurjayas among the ancestors of Prithivīśvara.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 346.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 268 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 340.

⁷ Above, Vol. XI, p. 245.

⁸ *Ibid.*

i.

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ii, a.

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ii, b.

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26 28
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belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra.¹ It is therefore very likely that Rāṇadurjaya was a Chōja and his ancestors had settled in the Eastern Deccan, like their brethren in the Rānāṇḍu country, in some early period. It may be noted that Rāṇadurjaya was a member of the fourth caste as can be gathered from the Tāṇḍavōla inscription referred to above.

Of the places mentioned in the record, **Piṣṭapura** is well-known as the ancient name of Piṣṭāpuram in the East Godavari District. **Pāgunāra-vishaya** in which the village Tāṇḍivāḍa was situated is the same as Pāvunavāra-vishaya of the Vandaram plates² of Ammarāja II, Pāgunavara-vishaya occurring in a grant³ of Bhīma II, and Pāgunavara-vishaya of a record⁴ of Viṣṇuvardhana V. This *vishaya* appears to have comprised the modern Tanuku Taluk of the Kistna District as can be seen from the stone inscriptions at Juttiga in that Taluk.⁵ **Tāṇḍivāḍa** might be identical with Tāḍiparru in the Tanuku Taluk.⁶ **Kōṇḍamañchi**, where the donee resided, I am not able to identify.

TEXT.⁷

First Plate.

- 1 स्रक्षि⁸ [1^{*}] चौमपिष्टपुराक्षकलजगदवनसमुद्भूतकीर्ति-
- 2 चारुचन्द्रिकासुखी⁹(खी)तितदिगत(त्त)स्व म-
- 3 ज्ञाजगदुर्जयस्य सूनोक्षमति-
- 4 शयितमक्रविभूतेर्विक्रमेन्द्रस्व प्रियतनय[1^{*}]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 प्रवर्हमानप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसामन्तमण्डल(ली) निज-
- 6 भुजविजयोदयाधिगतयशोविशेषभूषणः श्रीरम[1^{*}]
- 7 काम्यपसमीचः परमब्रह्मणो मातापितृपा-
- 8 दानुष्मात[1^{*}] चौप्रिथिवी¹⁰महाराजः पागुणारविषये ताण्डि-
- 9 वाडपाममधिवसतसे(सतक्ष)वसमवेताङ्कटि(टु)स्त्रिनक्ष[मा]त्राय-

¹ See the Tiruvālaṅkāra plates and the Kanyākūmāri inscription and the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1903, p. 40.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 133.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 213.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1913-14, C. P. No. 8.

⁵ Nos. 734 and 736 of 1920 of the *M. E. R.* for 1921.

⁶ *List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*, p. 344.

⁷ From an ink-impression.

⁸ This word is engraved in the margin to the left of the ring hole near the third line of the text.

⁹ [There is also a root *gāt*. Madras.—B. C. C.]

¹⁰ Read "प्रिथिवी"

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 10 यति यथा। अतिम्ह(स्त्र)तिपादह्वनः यथावदनुष्ठिताम्(स्त्र)ष्टी-
 11 मादिक्रियापूतात्मनो विष्णुशर्मणः पुत्राय¹ यसकदिष्वा-
 12 प्रयोगयथायमाष्टविण्चतुर्विंश-
 13 दससम्पत्तः विसहस्रविद्याध्ययनप्रवचनव्याख्यान-
 14 गौलिनः मित्रिवो(पृथिवी)शर्मणः पुत्राय वेदवेदाङ्गन्याय(यो)प-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 15 निषयोग(गा)ववोधनिर्भलीकृतवृद्धये त्रिविधाध्वरावमृद्या-
 16 आपविचीकृतविषहाय देवपितृमनुष्यसमर्चन-
 17 समानोतराचिन्दिवाय कोण्डमञ्चियामनिवासिने
 18 विसहस्रविद्याय विंशतिव्याख्यानाय कामकायनस-
 19 गोत्राय ह्(स्त्र)न्दोगसन्नज्ञचारिणि भवशर्मणे अस्मदाहु-

Third Plate; Second Side

- 20 रारा(रो)ष्यशोभिह्वये सर्वकरपरिहारणासहारी-
 21 कृत्य सामोयन्दतः न कैचिदपि वाचा करणीया [1^a] प्र-
 22 [व^a]र्मानविजयराज्यमंवरं यद्वत्वाग्नी(र्दि)ग्नि
 23 कार्त्तिकपोर्णमास्थान्मन्त्रप्रदानमेतत् [1^a] आसमि[1^a] श्रीराम-
 24 लेण्डुराजः [1^a] अथ व्यासगीता[1^a] श्लोकाः [1^a] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता

Fourth Plate.

- 25 बहुभिषानुपात्तिता [1^a] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य
 26 तदा फलम् [1^a] स्वदत्तां परदत्ता(त्तां) वा यज्जादन्न युधिभि(हि)र ।
 27 मर्हो मर्होमतां येष्ट धर्मोच्छेयोनुपात्तनं [1^a]
 28 आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वलन्ति प्रपितामहाः² ॥(1)
 29 भूमिदाता कुले जातः (1) स नत्ताता भविष्यति ॥

¹ Head योत्राय.² The verse is faintly visible in the impression.³ Generally the reading of this pada is प्रपितामहाः पितृमहाः.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-8.) Hail! From the illustrious Pishtapura, **Sri Pṛthivi-Mahārāja**—who has meditated on the feet of his parents, who is extremely pious, who belongs to the *Kāśyapa-gotra*, who has subdued the whole circle of the *Sāmantas* by his ever increasing prowess and has as his ornament the distinguishing fame acquired by the rise of victory of his arms, who is the lord of wealth—dear son of **Vikramēndra** who had excelled Indra in prosperity, who was the son of **Mahārāja Rapadurjaya** who had lighted the whole region of the quarters by the beautiful moonlight, the fame arising from the protection of the whole world,

(Ll. 8-10.) commands all the *śūras* assembled together, who are the residents of **Tāpdivāḍa** in **Pāgunāra-viśāḍa**, that

(Ll. 10-21.) this village (i.e., **Tāpdivāḍa**) has been made into an *agrahāra* and conferred, free of all imposts, for the increase of our life, health and fame, upon **Bhavaśarman**, who is a student of **Chhandōga** (school), belongs to the *Kāmakāyana-gotra*, has studied three thousand sciences and (written) twenty commentaries, a resident of the village **Kōṇḍamañchi**, is spending days and nights in worshipping the gods, the *pitṛs* and mankind, whose body has been purified by the water of sacred ablution in various sacrifices, whose intellect has been clarified by the knowledge of the *Vēdas*, *Vēdāṅgas*, *Nyāya*, *Upanishads* and *Yōga*—son of **Prithivīśarman** whose habit it was to study, teach and comment on the three thousand sciences, and whose prosperity was revealed among the priests (*pitṛis*) and assistants (*śālasya*) by the riches given away in sacrifices frequently performed (by him)—grandson of **Viśvīśarman** whose mind had been purified by the due performance of *agnishōṣa*, and other (sacrifices) and who had mastered the *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*.

(Ll. 21-24.) No one should create any distraction (to this). In the 45th year of the ever prosperous and victorious reign on the full moon day of **Kārtika**, this religious gift was made, **Sri Rāmalegrurāja** was the executor (of the order).

(Ll. 24-29.) Here are the *ślokas* sung by **Vyāsa**. (Then follow three of the customary verses.)

No. 16.—A NOTE ON THE BHOR STATE MUSEUM COPPER PLATE OF KHAMBHA II.

By RAO BHADUR K. N. DUKSHIT, M.A.

On page 186 of part IV, of Volume XXII of the *Epigraphia Indica* Dr. Altkar has published an article on the Bhore State Museum Plates of Khambha II of the Chālukya dynasty, dated in the Śaka year 1001. There is no facsimile of the original attached to the article, but as the editor of the Plates has remarked, the order in which the different parts of the grant occur, is topographical. Thus after specifying the date, the writer at once proceeds to the specification of the donor and the village granted without mentioning the donees. Then are mentioned certain dignitaries followed by some verses describing exploits of the dynasty of the donor. After the imprecatory verses, the grant closes with the bare names (without specification of *gotras*, etc., of the donees) clearly as an after-thought. It is thus evident that the grant is not a regular and officially issued

* *Śūras* may also be taken as the *śloka*s of the king. Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharya whom I consulted thinks that *Śūras-Kāśyapa* might be one of the subdivisions of the *Kāśyapa-gotra* in which case, the expression will have to be emended 'who belonged to the illustrious Rama-Kāśyapa-gotra'.

charter, and cannot be considered as indicating the existence of a feudatory Chālukya king in the Śaka year 1001 for reasons given below :—

In the first place it is very unlikely that an inscription dated in the 4th year of the powerful Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI, who had already started his own era (named the Chālukya-Vikrama Era) should be without any mention of this paramount sovereign. In fact the first line specifying the date appears to have been written in smaller characters than the other lines and may possibly have been inserted later. The most important reason why the inscription appears to me to have been written somewhere in the middle of the 12th Century is the mention of certain officers and queens in lines 12 to 15. The two queens mentioned in line 14, namely, Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi appear to be identical with the queens Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi of the Śinda King Chāvuṇḍa II referred to on page 111 of the Vol. XX of the *Epigraphia Indica*. It is interesting to see that one Munjaya Sāhaji also occurs in the Benachamatti inscription referred to above, while in the present inscription the same Munjēya appears to have been referred to as the minister (*amātya*) of the Mahārājī Siriyā Dēvi. There are at least two other Sāhajis (Prakrit form of Sādhanī, a counsellor). It is therefore incorrect to take with Dr. Altekar that Siriyā Dēvi was called Munjēya Mahārājī because she was a daughter of Munja. The intended reading of the end of line 14 and beginning of line 15 should be "Rājī Mahalā Dēva(va)ḥyā dām/auḍyaka Sindhā". There seems to have been some confusion here in the name of the queen. The name Mahādēvi being that of the step-mother of Chāvuṇḍa II himself, the writer probably confused it with the name Dēvalā, of one of his queens.

As regards the language, there appears to have been some mixture of words in Marāṭhī which again may indicate a later date. The word *varā* in line 9 and *śrūkadēvā* in the same line are clearly Marāṭhī. The sense of the whole phrase from *sarvasūka*¹ is that all dues including the dues from artisans and oilmen were to be given to the donors. The phrase *agunīhitagushpim* (not *pushyini*) *rājadarśa(vā)nak* in lines 10 and 11 is explainable only in the light of the subsequent verse in lines 28 to 30 and means that an interview with the king should be with unstrung flowers, the stem *gush* being a Marāṭhī adaptation from *groth* in Sanskrit. The propriety of such a reference is shown in lines 28 to 30 where it is mentioned that 'any future king of my family should be interviewed by you with flowers not strung (into a garland) and requested on my behalf that he should maintain his religion (and continue this gift)'. There are passages in Sanskrit literature², which support the existence of this custom of approaching a king with an offering of unstrung flowers.

On the whole I am inclined to think that the grant belongs to the middle of the 12th century A.D. and was probably forged in the interest of the persons mentioned in the postscript of the grant. It is, however, not understood how the names of queens and ministers in places over 200 miles away are included, unless we suppose that the Śinda Queens had some private estates managed by their ministers in the locality of Bhor³.

¹ Cf. *Mahābhārata*, An IV, where Vidūshaka pretends to have been bitten by a snake, while spreading out his hand for a bunch of Aśoka flowers, as he wanted to see the queen with the customary flower offering.

² [There is certainly room for suspicion about the genuineness of the Bhor Museum Plates of Khumbha. But a great difficulty in accepting the identification proposed here is that the name of the husband of the queens Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi is expressly mentioned as Khumbha in these plates. Neither the name nor the genealogy of this ruler has any similarity with that of the Śinda chief Chāvuṇḍa II. It seems unlikely, even considering the grant to be a forged one, that the forgers would make use of the names of the two Śinda queens alone. If they were aware of the names of the queens one would expect them to know the name and family of their husband as well, who was the governor of a number of districts.—Ed.]

by the Paramāra King Siyaka and consigned to the Mālwa treasury along with other treasure and booty brought back from the campaign. Subsequently Siyaka's son Vākpati-Munja utilised the plates for engraving a fresh inscription after obliterating the Rāshtrakūṭa record. It is thus that we can explain the find of a plate granting a village in the Deccan carried away about five hundred miles from the place of its origin.

The characters of the Paramāra grants (B and C) are Devanāgarī, regular for the period and locality of the inscription. There is little to record about the Rāshtrakūṭa grant (A) as well, except that the characters are of the northern instead of the southern type to which most records of this dynasty are to be attributed. As regards orthography, no distinction has been observed between *sa* and *ha* and *sa* is often confused with *ha*.

The Paramāra records (B and C) open each with two verses one in praise of Śiva and the other in that of Viṣṇu. Then follows in prose the genealogy of Vākpatirāja. As in other records of Vākpati such as the Dharampurī plates only three predecessors of his, viz. : **Kṛishṇarāja**, **Vairisimha** and **Siyaka** are mentioned but not others known from other stone inscriptions. Vākpati is said to have **Amoghavarsha** as 'another name' of his, which is interesting in view of the fact that in the Harola grant² of his father Siyaka the latter is probably to be credited with the epithet **Akalavarsha**. Then follows the specification of the villages granted, which in grant B is said to be **Varikā** in the **Āvaraka-Bhōga** and **Hūga-Maṇḍala**; while in grant C it is stated to be **Kaḍahichchhaka**³ in the **Bhūti** of **Madhuka**, in the east **Paṭṭaka** of the **Ujjayini-Vishaya** and the **Avanti-Maṇḍala**. The latter village can be easily identified, as its situation can be located with certainty, being to the east of Ujjain. The village **Karcha** or **Kaḍacha** three miles to the north of Sarwal and a similar distance to the north-west of Gaonri can be confidently identified with **Kaḍahichchhaka**. The **Madhuka-Bhūti** in which the village granted was situated may perhaps be identified with **Mahā** or **Mhow**, the well-known cantonment near Indore which would be about 40 miles from Narwal. As the **Hūga-Maṇḍala** of the first plate must evidently refer to the country ruled over by the **Hūgas**⁴ in Mālwa, it must be taken as the northern part of the Mālwa plateau. The queen **Āvallādēvi** of the **Kalachūri** King **Karṇa** is said to have been the daughter of a **Hūga** king. The **Āvaraka-Bhōga** may possibly have been identical with the country round the town of **Agar**, north-east of Ujjain, close to which there is a place called **Āvār**. **Varikā** is to be identified with the village of **Bankā**, 15 miles north-west of **Āvār**. The place of the king's encampment is specified in the second set as **Pārṇava-Paṭṭaka**, which appears to have been situated on a river named **Puṇyābhara**, which I am unable to identify. The officer who conveyed the grant in the first set was **Rudraditya**, who is also mentioned in the Ujjain plates of 1036 V.S.

The donors in the set B are stated to be 26 Brāhmanas who received portions of the village of **Varikā** out of an aggregate of 78 parts. On an average, thus, each Brāhmana received three parts, although two Brāhmanas seem to have received only one part each and as many as 9 of them two parts each. The Brāhmanas belonging to the **Śig-Pada** seem to have received special preference, inasmuch as four of them received as many as 19 shares. The first-mentioned person is a Brāhmana named **Sarvānanda** hailing from the village of **Kaḍōpa**⁵ in the

¹ *Ibid.* *Indic*, Vol. VI, pp. 42-2.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 238.

³ [See p. 112, note 1 below.—Ed.]

⁴ The **Bhūti** set said to have been debited both by Siyaka, the father of Vākpati (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 232), and by Vākpati-Munja himself (*Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 126).

⁵ This place should be looked for in the modern **Patna Division**, particularly in the **Shahdol District** of **Bihar**, its present equivalent being something like **Kimpā** or **Kimra**.

country of Magadha who received as many as eight parts. It is worthy of note that the sole recipient of the second grant which is dated about five years later is the identical Sarvānanda. It is therefore likely that the Brāhmana settled down in the village of which he was the sole proprietor and carried with him the charter which conferred on him the title of the second village as well as that of the other grant of which he was the senior partner. It is noteworthy that the provenance of the plates is within three miles from the second village, while its distance from the first is about 40 miles.

✓ The most important information contained in these plates is regarding the migration of Brāhmanas from various parts of the country to Mitha where they were recipients of donations at the hands of the Paramāra prince. In several instances the donors seem to have migrated all the way from Bengal, which (contrary to the current belief that there were no Brāhmanas left in Bengal in the 12th century A.D.) appears as a country where Brāhmanas studying different Vēdas were flourishing. Thus we find a Brāhmana named Dōuśka, hailing from Vilvaguṇvāsa falling within the southern Rājāsa country, who received as many as five shares. Another person is said to have migrated from Kulāśchā, which in the form of Kōśāśchā and Kōśāśchā occurs as the original place of Brāhmanas who received grants in Assam, North Bihār and Orissa. I propose to identify this with Kulanch in the Bogra District of North Bengal. Another locality mentioned in these plates is Śāvathidēśa or Śāvathikā which is most likely the tract more or less corresponding to North Bogra and South Dinajpur in Bengal. An inscription of Indrapāla,¹ a king of Assam, refers to this Śāvathī (which is apparently the same as Śāvastī) and mentions the presence of a place called Vajirāma in it. The identity of the latter has now been completely established by the find of a copper-plate of the Gupta period found at Baigrām at the north-west corner of the Bogra District, in which the place is mentioned as Vājirāma. There can be no doubt that Śāvathī, Śāvastī or the Śāvathidēśa included the northern part of Bogra District. In the present case the two villages in this tract are Dardurikā and Mitula-pāṭaka which it is possible to identify with Dadra in Panchibī Thana of the Bogra District and Mitāl or Matialpurā both of which are in the Bogra District. Most of the Brāhmanas mentioned in the plates from Bengal just referred to are stated to have belonged to the Chhandōga-śākhā (of the Sāma-Vēda), which is significant in view of the preponderance of the adherents of this Vēda among the Brāhmanas of Bengal. Madhyadēśa which is roughly equivalent to the United Provinces is the original home of at least three of the donors but the place-name Yaka or Ayaka stated to be included within the Madhyadēśa cannot be identified. Uttarakośadēśa in which the village Paunḍarika was the home of a Brāhmana must be some tract to the north of the Ganges. Śravanabhadrā, stated to be the home of two Brāhmanas, also occurs in the plates of Bhōja found at Titah-wādī² near Baroda and must be some place in northern India, near Kanauj, as the family of Śuklāditya in the Titahwādī plates is stated to have come from Kanauj. It is also mentioned as Sōpabhadrā in the Madhyadēśa in the Sakhi³ plates of the Kalachuri Ratnāditya III, being the original home of a family of Brāhmanas also of the Vatsa lineage. Khēṭaka is undoubtedly the modern Khēṭ in Gujarāt, while Nāndipura in the Lāṭa country is certainly the modern Nāndod on the Narmadā. Khēṭapālīka and Khaḍupālīka may indicate a place-name like Khedāvala or Khedaulla, being perhaps the original place of the modern Khedāval Brāhmanas. Other places like Kharjūrikā, Sōpura, Dapura, Anōha, Avivā and Rājakiya-grāma may be found in the neighbourhood or within the province of Mitha. The

¹ *Kāmarūpa-Haradell*, p. 137.

² *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona*, pp. 324 f.

³ *Above*, Vol. XXII, pp. 159 ff.

name *Khajuriya* is very common around Ujjain. *Madhupālikā* may be same as *Majhewli*, a village-name common to U. P. There is thus a vast amount of information regarding the original places of Brāhmanas in the present plates which will be of great importance to the social history of this period.

The date of the donation of the grant **B** is mentioned as the full-moon day of *Kārtika* in the (Vikrama) year 1038, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, which is equivalent to Sunday, the 16th October, A.D. 981. The date on which the grant was actually written and conveyed appears to be nearly nine months later, being mentioned as the tenth day of the bright half of the second *Āshāḍha* of V. S. 1038. Obviously the year is to be considered as *Kārttikādi* or Southern and the equivalent date accordingly is July 3, Tuesday, A.D. 982, as there was no intercalation in the month of *Āshāḍha* in *Saṃvat* 1038 according to the Northern reckoning. The second grant (C) was made at the winter solstice (*Udayayana*) in the year 1043 V. S. which fell on 22nd December, A. D. 986, while the charter was issued on the thirteenth day of the dark (half) of the month of *Māgha* which is equivalent to Friday, the 31st December, A.D. 986 taking the month to be *Pūrvaṃśata*. The dates of these plates slightly advance our knowledge of the reigning period of *Vākpatirāja* for whom we already have 1031 and 1035 V.S. as the dates of his *Dharmapuri*¹ and *Ujjain*² plates; but the tragic end of *Vākpatirāja* in the *Chālukya* capital must be dated several years later than the date of the second grant.

The plates are all engraved only on one side, the last plate in grant **B** containing on the back only the words *Ṭepikā-grāma-śāsanam āmarapatrāni cha grāhīṇi* stating that the plates of the charter for the village *Ṭepikā* were three in number. On the first plate the obliterated *Rāshtrakūṭa* inscription (A) consists of 23 lines. The inscription fortunately contains all the most important information about the record, although there must have been at least two more plates in the beginning, one giving the genealogy and possibly one more at the end containing the concluding portion and the imprecatory verses. The donor *Savarṇavarha-deva* (*Gorinda* IV) is stated to be the son of *Nityavarha* (*Indra* III). The date of the grant is mentioned in detail as Sunday the full-moon day of *Māgha* in the *Śaka* year 851 *Vikrīta-samvatsara*, when the moon was in the constellation of *Āślāśā* and there was an eclipse of the moon. This date is identical in every particular with that of another *Kanva* inscription of the same ruler, viz., the *Kālas*³ inscription and is equivalent to Sunday, the 15th January, A.D. 930, when there was an eclipse of the moon. The inscription records that on the great occasion of the lunar eclipse, the king after having made grants of land, learning, food, desire-fulfilling tree, medicine, etc., and having weighed himself (against precious commodities) ordered the donation of the village of *Payalipattana* situated in the western boundary of *Manyakhōṭa* or *Malkhed* the *Rāshtrakūṭa* capital. The object of the donation was to establish a *śatra* or charitable feeding house where a thousand Brāhmanas belonging to different denominations were to be fed; thus 300 were the *Karṇāṭaka* Brāhmanas of *Malkhed*; 300 belonged to the *Kayva-śāśā*, 240 were Brāhmanas from *Karahāṭaka* (apparently those now known as *Karhāḍā* Brāhmanas in *Mahārāṣṭra*); 72 were Brāhmanas of the *Chāt-ś-Chaṇaga* or all the four *Chavaga*s, and 28 Brāhmanas are mentioned as *Savarṇasūmānya* or common to the thousand. The reference to the donations of this king in the phrase *prati... prayachchhatā* = 'daily giving away (to Brāhmanas, etc.) incessantly

¹ *Ist. As.*, Vol. VI, pp. 48 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 169.

³ *Ahoru*, Vol. XIII, pp. 229 ff.

charters of villages respected (by all) by the hundred' is borne out by his Cambay Plates¹ issued about four months later, when he granted 600 villages and 3 lacs of gold coins to Brāhmanas and 800 villages and 4 lacs of gold coins to temples. The arrangement of the donor is stated to be that the proceeds of the village granted were to be utilised for the feeding of a thousand Brāhmanas every day (apparently at Mānyakhūta). There is mention of some ceremonies on the *Aśvaya-pūrṇimā*, which is probably the same day as the full moon of Māgha, the date of the present grant.² The boundaries of the village granted beginning from the east were the villages Karigrāma, Maṇḍavaka, Nandapura, Nandalagrāma, Nisapura, Yamala-grāma, Villavala, Dharmapagrāma, Śālavī and Kapitthakhṛḍa. None of these localities I have yet been able to identify, but they are apparently to be looked for in the western part of the Deccan plateau.

Table of the Brāhmaṇa donors of the Gaonri Plates of Vākpati Muṇja: V.S. 1033.

Serial No.	Name of Donor.	Father's name.	Original place.	Vēda and Śākhā.	Gōtra and Pravara.	Parts of village granted.
1	Sarvānanda .	Dhahita Lohānanda.	Kaṇḍā in Magadha.	Rigvēda, Bahvricha.	Śākhya . 3	5
2	Māhātīśa .	Brāhmapatya.	Ayala in Madhyadha.	Śāmavēda, Chhandoga.	Vātsītha . 3	3
3	Lohya .	Hvara .	Kāyala .	Yajurveda, Vajimādhyaṇīna.	Gautama . 3	3
4	Chandricitya .	Phavāsa .	Chaurmāsa .	Śāmavēda, Chhandoga.	Śāgītya . 5	4
5	Śābara .	Baniditya .	Kolāhala .	Do. .	Do. . 5	2
6	Agnihōtrīn Lohapa.	Vāṇḍava .	Arīra in Atarbha-mandala.	Do. .	Vāsa . 5	4
7	Dhaka .	Gōstara .	Vilvavāsa in Pakṣina Pāṭha.	Do. .	Pūshara . 5 ³	5
8	Ananditya .	Suriditya .	Khadupālikā .	Yajurveda, Vajimādhyaṇīna.	Mandalya . 3	2
9	Vāmanavāmin .	Dhahita Hari.	Pandurika in Utsakula.	Śāmavēda, Chhandoga.	Gārgya . 5	3
10	Ātaka .	Hanā .	Unvarichara .	Yajurveda, Vajimādhyaṇīna.	Agastya . 3	1
11	Purnahōtama .	Lihā .	? in Madhyadha.	Do. .	Maltrīya . 5	4
12	Gōvindaśāmin .	Dēvasāmin .	Madhupālikā .	Śāmavēda, Chhandoga.	Kātyaya . 3	3
13	Sihta .	Mitrānanda .	Śavapabbhara .	Rigvēda, Bahvricha.	Vāsa . 5	4
14	Śākhara .	Dēvaditya .	Dardurikā in Śāvatikā .	Śāmavēda, Chhandoga.	Bhārgava . 3	2

¹ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 28 ff.

² [See p. 108; note 1 below. - Ed.]

³ This is apparently a mistake for 3, as this gōtra is never found to have five pravara.

Table of the Brāhmaṇa donees of the Gaouri Plates of Vākpaṭa Mukja: V. S. 1038—contd.

Serial No.	Name of Donor.	Father's name.	Original place.	Vēda and Śūkhā.	Gōtra and Pravara.	Parts of village granted.
15	Madhmathana	Achala .	Mūlāpāṭake in Śrāvasthikūṭa.	Yajurveda, Vājī-mādhyanīna.	Parikara . 3	2
16	Strayantapa	Śrāyāṇa .	Khōḍāpālīnā .	Do. .	Mama . 3	3
17	Nānalyaka	Madhu .	Khōṭaka .	Rīgveda, Bahurīcha.	Bhīrūdvāja . 3	4
18	Jamaṭa .	Vāhpa .	Ānōha .	Yajurveda, Vājī-mādhyanīna.	Bhārgava . 3	2
19	Dādāka .	Do. .	Do. .	Do. .	Do. . 3	2
20	Āvathika Śarvadēva.	Lohata .	Sōgara .	Śānavēda, Kāmādhama.	Śrādīya . 3	2
21	Vārāka .	Śrīdhara .	Kharjūrkā .	Śānavēda, Chhandogya.	Māhala . 3	4
22	Āśādīya .	Māhala .	Dapura .	Rīgveda, Bahurīcha.	Vārāka . 3	3
23	Bhāḍa .	Hari .	† in Lātādīka .	Yajurveda, Vājī-mādhyanīna.	Kōśyapa . 3	1
24	Dhādīya .	Lātādīya .	Rāpālīya .	Śānavēda, Chhandogya.	Vata . 5	2
25	Munijka .	Īvara .	Māntipura in Lātādīka.	Yajurveda, Vājī-mādhyanīna.	Bhīrūdvāja . 3	2
26	Anāṭa .	Gundakara .	Śrāvasthikūṭa .	Do. .	Vata . 5	2
Total .						78

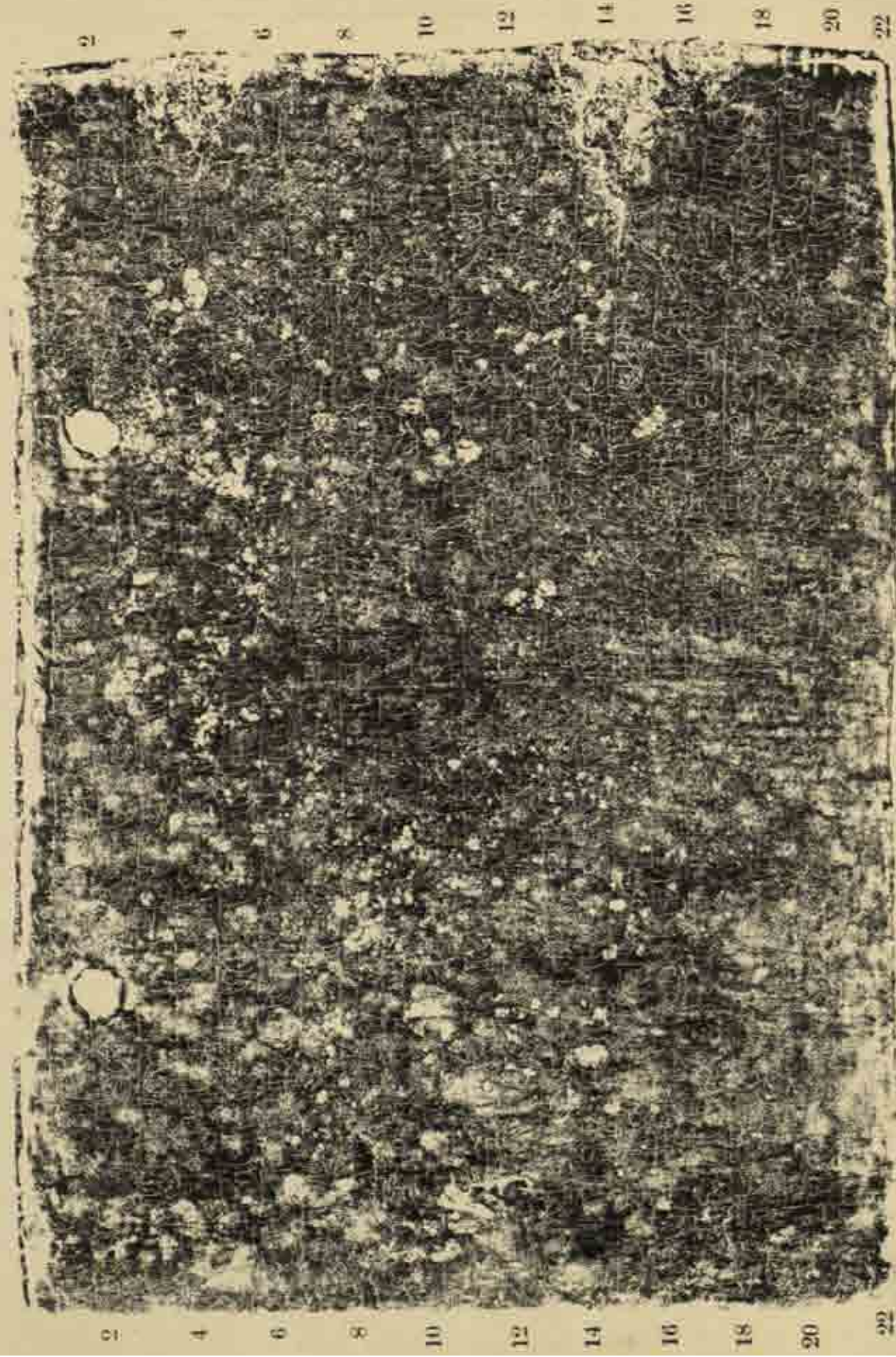
A.—Fragmentary grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Suvarṇavaraha (Gōvinda IV): Saka 851.

TEXT.

- परमेश्वरयोमस्त्रिखर्षं देवपादानुष्णातपरमभारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरयोमस्तु-
- र्णवर्षदेवपुष्पीवज्रभयोमहद्वभनरेन्द्रेवः कुशलो मन्त्रनिव [यथा]मन्त्र(स्व)ध-
मानक्रान्द्रपति-
- विषयपतिग्रामकूटमहत्तरायुक्तकोपयुक्तकाधिकारिकान्तमादिग्रामन्तु वः संविदितं
यथा मा-
- न्यखेटराजधानीस्त्रिस्तवावस्थानेन मातापितृराजन्तश्च पुण्ययोगीभित्तये पूर्वन्तु-
[मान्]-

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI.

A.—FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF THE KASHITRANUTA SUVARINNAVARSHA (GOVINDA IV); SAKA 851.



- 5 पि देवभोगाचहारान्प्रतिपालयता प्रतिदिनं च निरवधि नमस्त्वयामशानानि
शतसः(शः) प्रयच्छ[ता]
- 6 मया शकनूपकाशानोत्तमं(शः)शतं(शः)कपंचामदधिकं(शः)कतोपि सम्प्रसारणां
८५१ म-
- 7 वर्तमानविक्रतसस्वत्तरान्तर्गतमाचपौस्वभावा रथा आद्वेयानचतस्रं(स्वा)नि शसि-
(शि)नि सौ-
- 8 म[यह]महापर्वणि पृथिवीदानविद्यादानाहारदानकल्पवृक्षना(दा)नभैषज्यदाना-
नानि(दानानि) दत्वा(चा)
- 9 तुक्तापुरुषाद[नृ]त्तरता मया प्रथमं करोदकातिस्मर्थं सहस्रप्रमाणमहाजनाय
सर्वत्र(सार्थं)
- 10 [मान्य]खेट[कणा]टकप्रमुखत्रा(त्रा)छाणानां श(ष)ष्टधिकशतत्रयं वाजि-
कणधप्रमुखत्रा(त्रा)छाणानां
- 11 शतत्रयं करहाटकप्रमुखत्रा(त्रा)छाणानां चत्वारिंशदधिकं शतत्रयं चतुश्चरणसा-
मान्यघटि-
- 12 वर्त्मत्रा(त्रा)छाणानां द्विसप्ततिः सहस्रसामान्यत्रा(त्रा)छाणानामष्टाविंशतिरेवं
सहस्र(स)त्रा(त्रा)छा-
- 13 जेभ्यः श्रीमान्यखेटपश्चिमाघाटव्यवस्थितपयलोपत्तनं सहस्रमालाकु[मं] सधान्यहरि-
णादियं
- 14 सदण्डदोश(ष)न्दशापरार्धं समस्तो[त्प]त्तिशक्तीत्यत्तिमर्जितं पूर्वप्रसिद्धचतुश्चोम-
पर्यन्तमाचन्द्रार्कं [चषप्रतिपाल]
- 15 श्रीया'शान्य पूर्वदिक्(सा)दि(१) प्रा[सह]चिण्येन करिषामः मण्डवकनन्दसुर-
नन्दशयामभः
- 16 ना[स]पुरयमलधामवेजयशचक्षुषामसेविकपितृव्येडयामाः एवं श(स)व्यावाट-
विश्वपर्यन्तीप-
- 17 तनं रा(स)हव(स)महाजनस्व कथतः कर्षयती भु(भृ)जती भोजयती वा न
कौचि(कैषि)हराघतिः(घातः) भूयः व्या[१]न्याकतीव्या*
- 18 त्र(त्र)छाणामः [पुण्यधि]वैकानि च भवन्ति ॥ स(रा)मवचनं ॥ सामान्योयं
धर्मैतुनृपाणां काले काले त्या(पा)नती-
- 19 दो भवद्भिः[१] सम्मानिताम्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो कुरुते रामभद्रः ॥
अवस्था चासं ॥ श्रीमत्सुवर्णवर्जदे-

* The reading of the last line taken is doubtful.

* Probably the intended reading was *vyāhāra-śaṅkha-kartavya*.

- 20 वस्त्रालय[पूर्ण]मास्या [देव]प्रोत्थर्व[*] सिधिरस्त्वित्येतेन येयोर्ध्व(व)अग्राणा-
प्रसाद(दा)शकविस्तीर्णवासां स्वर्चतो
21 [परिवर्णितविशेष...] श(स)इसवा(त्रा)अणभोजनं प्रतिदिनं प्रवर्त्तनीयनिनि
(मिति) ॥ वच्चाभिहृदये तेन
22 यच...वण मया...कीयस्व...स निन च...

B.—Plates of Vākpati-Muñja : V. S. 1038.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं [*] याः स्फूर्जतफलभृद्विपानलमिलदूस्व[प*]भाः प्रोक्तसम्पूर्वाव(व)वगशाङ्-
कोटिघटिता याः सैङ्गि(सैङ्गि)केयोपमाः [i] याश्चव(च)त्रिरिजा-
2 कपीललुलिता[*] कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठोरकण्ठरुचयः येयान्नि-
(यांसि) पुष्पान्तु वः ॥ यक्षस्त्रीवदनन्दु(न्दु)ना न सुखितं यथा-
3 द्वितस्वारिधिवारा यश्च निजेन [ना]भिसरसीपद्मेन शान्तिहते [*] यक्षेष्वा-
क्षिफणासहस्रमधुरयासैर्न चाद्यासितं तटाधाविरहा-
4 तुरं सुररिपोर्वैजदपुः पातु वः ॥ परममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
छणराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरममहार-
5 कमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिमिङ्ग(मिङ्ग)देवपादानुध्यातपरममहारकमहाराजा-
धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानु-
6 ध्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोचवपेदेवापरामिधानश्रीमहाःपति-
राजदेवपुष्पीवाम-
7 योवज्जभनरेन्देवः कुमलो ॥ यथा ज्ञानसुन्दरी आवरकभोगसम्ब(स्व)वपुर्व-
भोजुभिर्भुक्तभुक्तिरुमेण यथासम्ब(स्व)[ज]मा-
8 न[*] समस्ततलकैः सञ्चित(ति) वणिकाधामे समुपगतानामस्ताराजपुरुषा(या)न्वा-
(न्त्रा)अणोत्तरान्प्रतिवासि[पट]किल्लनप[दा]-
9 दोषो वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः सस्वि(संवि)दितं यथा धर्तीत(ता)दत्तुंम(मिंश)दुत्तर-
साहसिकसम्ब(संव)करेच्छिन् कात्ति[व्या] सोम[वृक्ष]पर्वति-
10 स्त्रावा चराचरगुहं भगवन् भवानीपतिमभ्यर्थ्य सन्ना(संसा)रण्यासारतां
दृष्ट्वा ॥ वाताभ्वतिभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यसापातमाच-

1 (The reading appears to be—*śāṅga-jagannāṇa-śāṅga-jagannāṇa*—*Śāṅga*.)

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 First *SM* was written, then the scribe put the *S* sign without deleting the *S* sign.

[illegible]

- 11 मधुरो विषयोपभोगः [१*] प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(वि)न्दुममा नराणां धर्मः सखा
परमहो परलोक्याने [१*] भवमलम्बा(जंसा)श्चक्रा-
- 12 संवाराधारासिमां चियं [१*] प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पञ्चानापः परं फलं ॥
इति जगतो विनश्चरं सकलमिदमाकलत्वा(खो)परिलिखि-
- 13 तयामः स्वसीमावर्णकाष्ट(ड)यूतिगोचरपर्यन्त(न्तः) सवृक्षमालाकुल(तः) स-
चिरण्यभागभोग(गः) मोपरिकरः सर्वादायसमितः उ-
- 14 परिलिखितधामिस्मिन् कल्पितांश्च अष्टमस्तैर्मध्यात् मगद(ध)देशान्तःपातिकणो-
पामदधामविनिर्गतसांक्षल्यसगोचतु(चि)-
- 15 प्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमूर्ध्वानंदाय पण्डितदीक्षित[१*]लोकानंदसूतवे
अंग्याऽष्टौ^८ मध्यदेशान्तःपातिल्यकभट्टधाम-
- 16 विनिर्गतवासिष्ठसगोचतु(चि)प्रवरवृ(वृ)द्धोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमूलस्थानाय भाव-
स्विकत्र(त्र)ह्मणपण्डितसूतवे अंगचयं
- 17 ३ कावडभट्टधामविनिर्गत(गं)तशौतमसगोचतु(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मणलोहिणाय इ(ई)श्वरसूतवे अंगत्र-
- 18 यं ३ चौरमत्र(म्व)भट्टधामविनिर्गतसां(शां)डिल्यसगोचतु(चि)प्रवरवृद्धोगशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणचंद्रादित्यपि(पी)तवामसूतवे अंगचतुष्टयं ४
- 19 कुलांचाधामविनिर्गतसां(शां)डिल्यसगोचतु(चि)प्रवरवृद्ध(वृ)द्धोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
भाव(व)राय रमा(णा)दित्यसूतवे अंगचयं २ अश्वरसमंडलान्तःपा-
- 20 ति अविवाधामविनिर्गतयक्षसगोचपंचप्रवरवृद्ध(वृ)द्धोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपंडिता-
ग्निचौतु(चि)कलोहपाय वासुदेवसु(सू)तवे अंगचतुष्ट-
- 21 यं ४ दक्षिणराटान्तःपातिविव्स्ववामविनिर्गतपारास(श)रसगोचपंचप्रवरवृद्ध(वृ)द्धो-
गशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदीनाकाय गी-
- 22 मरवसु(सू)तवे अंगपंच^५ ५ खहुपडिकाया[१*]वि[१*]र्गतमौडल्यसगोचतु(चि)-
प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणधनन्तादित्या-
- 23 यं मुगादित्यसु(सू)तवे अं-

Second Plate.

- 24 अष्टयं २ उत्तरकुलदेशान्तःपातिपौण्ड्रिकभट्टधामविनिर्भगतवाम्यप्रमोवपंचप्र-
वरवृद्ध(वृ)द्धोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवाम-
- 25 नखा(खा)सिने दीक्षितहरिसूतवे अंगचयं ३ उम्बराचरविनिर्गत अगस्त्यस-
गोचतु(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्म-

* Read अंगचयं.

* Read अंगचयं.

- 26 ष षात्तुकाय रिसिउलसूनवे अंगमेकं १ मध्यदेशान्तःपातिमैत्रेयसगोचल(चि)-
प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणपुरुषोत्तमाय
- 27 कौतासूनवे अंगचतुष्टयं ४ मधुपालिकाग्रामविनिर्गतकास्य(श्र)पसगोचल(चि)-
प्रवरछं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणगीविन्दवा(स्वा)मिने देवशा(स्वा)मि-
- 28 सूनवे अंगचयं ३ अवनभद्रविनिर्गतवत्ससगोचलप्रवरव(व)भृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)-
छाणसिहटाय मिचानंदसूनवे अंगचतुष्टयं ४
- 29 शावधिकान्तःपातिदुर्गिकाग्रामविनिर्गतभागवसगोचल(चि)प्रवरछं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणसं(शं)कराय देवादित्यसूनवे अंगद्वयं
- 30 २ सावधि[का*]देशान्तःपातिमित्तकपाटकविनिग(गं)तपराशरसगोचल(चि)प्रवरवा-
जिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणमधुमवनाय अ-
- 31 चलसूनवे अंगद्वयं २ खेडापालिकाविनिर्गतमौनिसगोचल(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्य-
न्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणस्वयंतपाय श्रीनिवास-
- 32 सूनवे अंगचयं ३ खेटकविनिर्गतभारद्वाजसगोचल(चि)प्रवरव(व)भृचशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणनेनैयकाय मधुसूनवे अंगचतुष्टयं ४ अ-
- 33 नोहभट्टग्रामविनिर्गतभार्गवसगोचल(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणग्राम-
टाय विष्णुसूनवे अंगद्वयं २ तथा तस्मैव भा-
- 34 चे ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणदेदेकाय अंगद्वयं २ सोपुरविनिर्गतगांडित्यसगोचल(चि)प्रवरकौवु-
मशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणपावस्थिकस(श)र्वदेवाय लोहटसून-
- 35 वे अंगद्वयं २ खर्जूरिकाग्रामविनिर्गतमाहुलसगोचल(चि)प्रवरछं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणवराहाय श्रीधरसूनवे अंगचतुष्टयं ४
- 36 टपुरविनिर्गतवाराहसगोचल(चि)प्रवरव(व)भृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणभागादित्याय
माहुलसूनवे अंगचयं ३ [ला]टदेशविनिर्गत-
- 37 कास्य(श्र)पसगोचल(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणभादलाय हरिसूनवे
अंगमेकं १ राज[कौयग्राम]विनिर्गतवत्स-
- 38 गोचरपप्रवरछं(च्छं)दोगशा[खि*]ने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणदेवादित्याय लीलादित्यसूनवे
अंगद्वयं २ लाटदेशान्तःपातिनाम्दिपुरविनिर्गतभार-
- 39 हाजसगोचल(चि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणमुंजानाथ इ(ई)श्वरसूनवे
अंगद्वयं २ अवनभद्रविनिर्गतवत्स-
- 40 सगोचलप्रवरवाजिमाध्य(ध्य)न्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)छाणामात(त्यं)गुणाकरसु(सू)न-
वे अंगचयं ३ एवमसुना क्रमेण उ-

[illegible]

- 41 परिनिश्चितशामोय उपरिनिश्चितवा(वा)कान्ध्याः यष्टि(वि)नितिभ्यः सातापिवोराक-
नच पुण्ययशोभिह्वयेऽष्टफल-
42 महीकल्याचन्द्राकान्ध्यावजितिसमकालं परया भक्त्या शासनेष्वीदृजपुण्येकं प्रति-
पादित इति मत्वा तंनि(तन्नि)कासिप-
43 द्वि(द्वि)किलजलपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगः(न)कारहितस्मादिकं सर्वमात्राश्रयणविधे-
यैर्मत्वा सर्वदा एतेषां उ-

Third Plate.

- 44 परिनिश्चितनिव(व)दक्रमेण समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं इ(वु)[वु]अ-
दंशजैरन्वैरपि भा-
45 विभोक्तृभिरन्तरप्रदत्तधर्मदायोय(य)मनुमन्तव्यः ॥ पालनीयश्च । उक्तश्च ।
व(व)वृभिर्विमुखा मुक्ता राजभिः
46 सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा नन्दैर्दानानि धर्मार्थ-
47 शस्त्राणि [1*] निष्काशयान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम शा(सा)धुः पुन-
रा[द*]दीत ॥ अक्षकुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्विर-
48 न्यैव दत्तमिदमन्वतोदनीयं [1*] लक्ष्म्यास्तद्विकलितपु(वु)द्विचलाया दानं
फलं परयशःपरिपालनं
49 च [1*] सर्वानितान्माविनः पार्थिवेन्द्राभूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं
धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां
50 काले काले पालनीयो भवति ॥ इति कामरुदलावुवि(स्वु)विन्दुलीनां
वियम-
51 नुचितस्य मनुष्यजीवितस्य । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च इ(वु)डा नष्टि पुरयैः
पर-
52 कीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ इति मन्व(संव)त् १०३८ विराषादशदि १० स्वय-
माद्या-
53 दापकचात श्रीरुद्रादित्यः ॥ अक्षस्तोयं श्रीवावपतिराजदेवस्य ॥

C.—Plates of Vākpatī(-Muñja) : V. S. 1043.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री[1*] याः सुवर्णरत्नसहितानामित्तुम(स)प्रभाः प्रोक्ष्यन्तीव(व)दशशोकको-
टिचदिता याः

- 2 सैहिकेयोपमाः । याद्यच्चद्विरिजाकपोललुलिताः कस्तूरिकाविश्वमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठ-
कठी-
- 3 रकण्ठकचयाः श्रेयामि पुष्पान्तु यः ॥ यत्तच्चौषदनेन्दुना न सुखित(तं)
यन्नादितं वारिधेर्वारा यच्च नि-
- 4 जिन नाभिमरसौपत्रेण शान्ति(न्ति) गतं । यच्छेयाहिफणामृष्टमधुरन्धामैवं
चास्त्रामै(मि)तं तद्राधाविरष्ट-
- 5 तुरं सुरभिषोर्वैल्लहपुः पातु यः ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकण्ठ-
राजदेव-
- 6 पादानुध्वातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिसिद्ध(सिंह)देवपादानुध्वातप-
रमभ-
- 7 ढारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसौवकदेवपादानुध्वातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजप-
- 8 रमेश्वरश्रीमदसौवकदेवपराभिधानश्रीपातितिराजदेवपुत्रीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरेंद्रदेवः
- 9 कुमारी ॥ चवन्तीमण्डले श्रीमदुज्जयन्तीविषयपूर्वपञ्चकसम्ब(म्ब)ध्वमानमङ्गुलमुच(क्तौ)
कडङ्गिच्यक-¹
- 10 ग्रामे संसुपगतायामस्तुराजपुरुषान्वा(ग्ना)ङ्गाणोत्तराग्नतिनिवासिपङ्कक्तिजनपदादींच
वो(वो)-
- 11 धवत्वस्तु यः सन्निव(संवि)दितं यथा । पूष्णपथकावास्तितैरन्नाभिस्त्रिचत्वारिस-
(रिंश)सम्ब(संव)त्सरसहस्रे² माघे मामि
- 12 उदमयनपर्वणि । पुष्पाभ्यसरिति स्त्रात्वा चराचरगुहं मगधत(न्त)मस्वि(म्वि)का-
पतिमभ्यर्च्य स(सं)सारस्वासा-
- 13 रतां दृष्ट्वा ॥ वाताभ्यविश्वमभिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः ।
माणास्तृणा-
- 14 यज्जलवि(वि)दु(न्दु)समा नराणां धर्मः सखा परमशो परलोकयाने ॥ भवम
त्संसारचक्राद्यधाराधारामिमां
- 15 त्रिवं । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पञ्चात्तापः परम्यलम् ॥ इति जगती
विनश्वरं सकलमिदमाकल-
- 16 य्य । अयमुपरि समारोपितधामः । स्वसीमाद्वणगोचरगोयूतिपय(र्य)न्तः स-
हजमाताकुल-

¹ "The reading appears to be *Kadāṅgikā*.—Ed.]

² Read त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिके संवत्सरसहस्रे-

[illegible]

१७ उक्तेर विमुदुःमलमुगनेगकरतिमथालयसमेतः॥ मगवातथाति कालाया यमविनिगे
 नायमकृति मगमगद्वलजिआधामन सागयाविषयरास्यदीक्षितलाकोननुमुवाया वाद्वपा
 मवीनल्लापिबारा मनेगुणयामासि वृद्धगमदृषयस्त्वमज्ञतया वयुका उवक्षितिसम
 कालेपरधान क्पासासनेनोदकं यवैत्रयतिपादि तज्जयवित्याने चङनयद्वयवलयमानस
 ममागदिकमाहुगतेपवेवलेनृनसदा सवमस्ममयनितरास्माभना तितयुपायबुधा
 अस्मद्वमद्विरलिधुना तेषा ब्रुविसस्ययदत्र मरायादमनुमत्तवाः यान्तेनयधु वदुकि हे मुवा
 मुक्तागजलिः स मगादि द्विः द्यमुवासादवा मुमि मगु नस्यते रायस्व यान्तेददत्र नि सुनेर इ
 धुनानि प्रोषद्वग मराणा निमलुवनुयति मा नव नि का नम माधुं उ न ग र द ता सवो न ता
 द्योविनः या धित इन्द्रा द्वा द्वा द्वा द्वा सति रम रुडः म्भ्रान्तिा य नुम म उ द्वा पा काल कालि
 मालनी त्मा न वीरः ॥ अस्मा तुलुलेवममुदा श्रवदाद र द्वि र नि धुदनुले मर म भुनुसा द्वा नी न म्भ्र
 स द्वा सति म्भ्रमलुले दुरते वला द्वा द्वा सति यार द्वा श म्भ्रि र या न्ते न च ॥ उ निते म्भ्रदल म्भ्रु वि
 तुला साधुममभ्रते द्वा मनुषु द्वा वि तः स म्भ्र तले र मुदा द्वा त तेषु धान दि द्यु म्भ्रु सः परकीते
 ॥ द्या तिलो द्वा ॥ म्भ्रत १०४ १५ म्भ्राय वेरि १३ मगल म्भ्र म्भ्रि ॥

Second Plate.

- 17 चतुष्कण्ठवि[शो]ः समस्तभागभोगकरहिरण्यादायसमेतः ॥ मगवांत>पातिकणो-
पाधामविनिर्ग-
18 ताय । स(सं)कृतिसगोत्राय व(व)भृचे आत्ता(वत्ता)यनसा(शा)व्हाय । त्रिप्रव-
राय । दौक्षितलोकानन्दसु[ता]य । वा(मा)व्रण-
19 सर्वानन्दाय । पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिर्बुद्धये षट्पदफलमहीकृत्वाचन्द्रार्का-
र्णवर्धितिसप्त-
20 कालं परया भक्त्या सा(शा)सनेनोदकपूर्वम्स(र्वं स)प्रतिपादित इत्यवेत्याश्वत्थ-
नपदैर्यथा(यो)त्वद्यमानभा-
21 गमोगादिकमात्तायवणविधिवैभू(भू)त्वा सदा सर्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं ॥ सामा-
न्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्ध्या(बुद्धा) ।
22 अस्मदंस(श)जैरग्यैश्च भाविभोक्तृभिरस्त्रादत्तधर्मदायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥
व(व)भृभिर्वसुधा
23 भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं ॥ यानोह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्र-
24 हानानि धर्माश्चैयशस्कराणि । निर्मात्ववात्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
पुनराददौत ॥ सर्वानेता-
25 भाविनः पार्ष्वेद्वान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयन्मन्त्रेणेतुर्नृपाणां
काले काले
26 पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ अक्षत्तुलक्रमसुदारसुदाहरद्विरग्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यतुमोद-
नीयम् ।
27 लक्ष्म्यास्तङ्किलिवुद्ध(बुद्ध)दचंचलाया दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥
इति कमलदन्तावुवि(वुवि)-
28 न्दुत्तोलां त्रिषमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यलोचितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्या(बुद्धा)
महि पुत्रैः परकीर्त-
29 यो विलोभ्याः ॥ सम्य(संव)त् १०४३ माघवदि ११ मंगलं महाद्यौः ॥

No. 18.—MALLAR PLATES OF MAHA-SIVAGUPTA.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., AND PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA.

Mallār is a large village with a population of over 2,000 souls, 16 miles south-east of Bilsāpur, the headquarters of the Bilsāpur District in the Central Provinces. It was an important place in former times as can be judged by the ruins of an old fort near by, with a moat all round and a number of old tanks on all sides. It still contains numerous ruins of old temples as well as Buddhist

and Jain sculptures. Several stone inscriptions have been found there, one of which has been removed to Bilāspur¹ and another has been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.² The place is called Mallāra in these inscriptions. Two more statue inscriptions have been recently discovered at Mallāra, one of which is incised in early Brāhmī characters. The present plates were discovered underground near a temple between the village and the fort in August 1936. They were first brought to notice by Mr. P. L. Gupta, Joint Secretary of the Mahākōśala Historical Society, Bilāspur, through the courtesy of Mr. Sadha Ram, Malguzar of Mallāra and a member of the Bilāspur Local Board, and have since been acquired by Mr. K. N. Nagarakatti, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Bilāspur for the Central Museum, Nāgpur, where they are now deposited.

They are three copper plates of which the first and the third are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. Their surface was corroded in some places, but, fortunately, no letter has been lost. The plates have since been cleaned by Mr. M. A. Suboor of the Nāgpur Museum, who has kindly supplied us with their ink-impressions. The letters were deeply engraved and show through in many places on the back of the first and the third plate. Each plate measures 8·4" in length, 3" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The middle plate is somewhat thicker than the others. The rims of the plates were not raised, still the inscription is in a good state of preservation. About 1" from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a round hole 6" in diameter for the ring which connects it with the other plates of the set. The ends of this ring which is about 4" in thickness and 4·3" in diameter are secured below a circular seal 3·5" in diameter. The ring was not cut when the plates reached the Nāgpur Museum. The surface of the seal, which is somewhat deeply counter-sunk, is divided into three parts. The upper part bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull with a *triśūla* in front. Behind the animal is what looks like a *kamandala* with something placed on it. Below this comes the legend in two lines, which is separated from the upper device by two horizontal parallel lines. Below the legend is shown a large full-blown lotus flanked by two leaves one on either side. In form, fabric and disposition of the device and the legend, the seal of the present plates resembles those of the Rājīm³ and Balōdā⁴ plates of Tivaraḍvā and of the plates of 'the kings of Śarabhapura'.⁵ The weight of three plates is 123½ *tolas* and that of the seal and the ring 82½ *tolas*.

The record consists of 28 lines, there being seven on each inscribed surface. The letters were neatly written and deeply engraved. Their average size is ½". The characters are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those on the Rājīm and Balōdā plates of Tivaraḍvā. These are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the plates of 'the kings of Śarabhapura' and much more so than those of the plates of the Vākātaka kings Pravarasēna II⁶ and Prithivishēna II.⁷ The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the length of the medial *i* is denoted by a dot in the circle which denotes its short form; see *gūṭa* l. 21 and *vaishya* l. 22; the medial *au* is tripartite; see *śaurya* ll. 2-3; the right vertical stroke of *ch* and *kh* is lengthened below the rectangle on the left; see, e.g., *chāturdī-* l. 12, *chandr-* ll. 13-14, *su(pra)mukhān* ll. 7-8; the subscript *r* has in many places the same form as the vowel *ri*; see *iri* and *pīri* both in l. 5; the

¹ Now deposited in the Town Hall of Bilāspur. See Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Ed.), No. 220.

² Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1241. The Ratanpur inscription of Prithivishēna II and Brahmadēva (*ibid.*, No. 1240) also seems to have originally come from Mallāra: for l. 22 of it reads मल्लारिकान्तवर्षवर्षे पञ्चद्वयम् ३३३ ।

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate XLV.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. VII, p. 102.

⁵ See, e.g., the Thākurdi plates of Mahā-Pravarasēna, *above*, Vol. XXII, pp. 165.

⁶ See, e.g., *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate XXXV.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 167ff.

final form of *t* occurs in ll. 19, 24 and 25; punctuation is denoted by a vertical line hooked at the top. The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end the whole record is in prose. Unlike the charters of *Tivarādēva*¹ it contains no expressions in common with the formal portion of the grants of the 'kings of Śarabhapura'.² The inscription is somewhat carelessly written. The writer has for instance used in many places the short for the long form of medial *v* (see, e.g., *śhītiśa* and *śhāhīya* in l. 1, *śhālā* in l. 5, etc.) and, in some places of medial *u* also (see *śuṇu*, l. 4, *śuryya* l. 23, etc.); the *anuvāda*, *visarga* and final consonants are omitted in many cases; see *śapāḥita* l. 2, *mahābhūdaya* l. 3 and *purushā* l. 9; the unaspirated consonant is used for the aspirated one in—*palam* and *cicā* *śeśā* in *abhiśāpam* both in l. 20. The *anuvāda* is wrongly changed to *śa* before *v* in *paradattām*—*vā* l. 27 and to *ś* before a sibilant in *śāśa* l. 4, *Taraḥśāśaka* l. 11 and *śrīśāśāś* l. 19; cases of wrong *sandhi* occur in *anpāśāśa* l. 8, *śhāśhīya* l. 21 and *dāśāśaśāś* l. 28, etc. As regards orthographical peculiarities sanctioned by Sanskrit grammar we may notice that the consonant preceding and following *r* is doubled in some cases, e.g., *śhūryya* ll. 2-3, *śhāśaśa* l. 8, *śhāśāś* l. 14, *śhāśāśa* l. 22, etc.

The plates were issued by the illustrious **Mahā-Sivaguptarāja**, the son of the illustrious **Harshadēva**³, who was born in the lunar dynasty and was a most devout worshipper of Mahā-*vara* (Śiva). They record the king's donation of the village **Kailāśapura** in the *bhōga* or subdivision of **Taraḥśāśaka** to the community of venerable monks from the four quarters residing in the small monastery at **Taraḥśāśaka**, which had been constructed by **Alakā**, the wife of **Kōra-dēva**⁴. The gift was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of **Āśāḍha** at the request of the king's maternal uncle the illustrious **Bhāskaravarman**.

This **Mahā-Sivaguptarāja**, the son of **Harshagupta**, is evidently identical with the homonymous king, also known as **Bālārjuna** and mentioned in several stone inscriptions at **Sirpur** (ancient **Śrī-pura**) in the **Raipur District**.⁵ From one of these edited by **R. B. Hirala**⁶ we learn that his mother **Vāśatā** was a daughter of king **Sūryavarman** of the **Varman** dynasty of **Magadha**. As shown elsewhere,⁷ this **Sūryavarman** is probably identical with the prince **Sūryavarman**, a son of the **Maukharī** king **Isānavarman**, whose **Harāhā** stone inscription⁸ is dated in (**Mālava**) **Samvat 611** (A. D. 555). **Bhāskaravarman** who is called in the present plates the maternal uncle of **Mahā-Sivagupta** was, thus, a son of **Sūryavarman**. The name of **Sūryavarman** is omitted in the later **Maukharī** genealogy and it is therefore supposed that he must have predeceased his father⁹ or if he came to the throne he left no male issue. The present inscription shows, however, that his son **Bhāskaravarman** lived to a fairly advanced age. Was **Sūryavarman**, then, a younger son of **Isānavarman** who consequently never came to the throne? Or if he succeeded his father as implied by his title *śrīpa* in the **Sirpur** stone inscription of **Vāśatā**, was his son **Bhāskaravarman** prevented from succeeding him in consequence of a war of succession? These questions cannot yet be answered in the absence of sufficient evidence.

¹ See, above, Vol. XXII, p. 17, n. 5.

² The king is named **Harshagupta** in the legend on the seal.

³ The text reads **शोरदेवमहोपाध्यायक**, but as this gives no satisfactory meaning, we propose to read **शोरदेवमहोपाध्यायक**.

⁴ See **Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions**, Nos. 1634 and 1655. Also **Hirala's List of U. P. Inscriptions**, Nos. 173 and 184.

⁵ The **Lakshmana Temple Inscription**, above, Vol. XI, pp. 184ff.

⁶ See **Thakurdiya plates of Mahā-Pravararāja**, above, Vol. XXII, p. 19.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 115.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

From the Jaunpur¹ and Harāhā stone inscriptions we learn that the Maukhari kings Iśvaravarman and his son Iśānavarman raided the Āndhra country² and defeated the ruling king. As the country of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala (modern Chhattisgarh), where the early Sōmavamśi kings were ruling, is contiguous to the Āndhra country, it is not unlikely that the marriage of the Maukhari princess Vāsatā with king Harshagupta of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala had a political significance. It may be noted in this connection that Udayana the earliest known king of the Sōmavamśi dynasty was ruling in Central India, as a stone inscription found at Kālāñjara³ records his construction of a temple of Viṣṇu, evidently at Kālāñjara. It is not unlikely that he was a feudatory of the then Maukhari Emperor and either he or his sons invaded Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Chhattisgarh during the campaigns of the Maukhari king Iśvaravarman against the Āndhra king who was probably a prince of the Viṣṇukunḍin family. In any case we find Udayana's grandsons Nannadēva and Iśānadēva firmly established in Chhattisgarh. A mutilated stone inscription in the temple of Lakṣmīśvar at Kharōḍ in the Bilāspur District records Iśānadēva's gift of some villages evidently to the god enshrined in that temple.⁴ Iśānadēva's nephew Tivaradēva is known from two sets of plates found at Rājim in the Raipur District and Balōḍā in the Phuljhar Zamindari in the old Sambalpur and present Raipur District, both the places being included in Chhattisgarh. The villages mentioned in the Balōḍā plates cannot be traced but those named in the Rājim plates can be identified in the vicinity of Rājim.⁵ As stated before, Tivaradēva's grand-nephew Mahā-Sivagupta-Bālārjuna, the donor of the present plates, is known from several stone inscriptions at Sirpur. The find-spots of these inscriptions and the identification of the villages mentioned in them clearly show that these Sōmavamśi kings were at first ruling in the Western parts of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. It is not therefore unlikely that the Maukhari kings Iśvaravarman and Iśānavarman were helped in their southern campaigns by these Sōmavamśi princes of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. This also accounts for the Viṣṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman I's invasion and occupation of the capital of Trivara (i.e., Tivaradēva) as stated in his Pulōmbūru and Ipūr plates.⁶ The political alliance between the Maukhari and Sōmavamśi houses seems to have been cemented subsequently by the marriage of Vāsatā and Harshagupta.

There is one more stone inscription of this dynasty which is said to have been found at Bhāndak outside the limits of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, viz., the stone inscription of Bhavadēva Rāpakāśarin, now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.⁷ But one cannot be certain about its find-spot; for, as pointed out by R. B. Hiralal, no accurate record has been kept of the provenance of inscriptions collected before the establishment of the Nāgpur Museum. Besides, this inscription is fragmentary. The extant portion unfortunately contains no place-name, otherwise it may have helped us in tracing its find-spot. We have therefore to rely on conjecture in this respect. In 1873 while Cunningham was at Bhāndak he was informed that "an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nāgpur during the time of the Rājā about 40, or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Sahib."⁸ Cunningham

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 223ff.

² If the Sūlikas over whom Iśānavarman won a victory are identified with the Chōlas, the Maukhari king must have penetrated much further to the south.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40 and plate IX; above Vol. IV, p. 257, note 4.

⁴ Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1651. In an inscription at Arang, the name of Rāpakāśarin occurs (see Hiralal's *List*, No. 183), but it cannot be said if he is identical with Bhavadēva Rāpakāśarin, or with the brother of Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna mentioned in the Sirpur stone inscription. (Above, Vol. XI, p. 191.)

⁵ The Rājim plates record the grant of Pimpurpadraśa in the Pīnthāma-Śaśīti (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 295). These places have not yet been identified, but the former is certainly Pimpri, 3 miles north-west of Rājim and the latter may be Pīndh 6 miles north of Rājim.

⁶ See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 198.

⁷ Edited by Kisthorn in *J. R. A. S.* (1905), pp. 617B.

⁸ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

conjectured that the stone-slab containing the inscription of Bhavadēva Rāgākṣarin must have been the one removed by Mr. Wilkinson from Bhāṇḍak on the following grounds: (1) It is a long slab just as described to him by the people of Bhāṇḍak and it is of the very same fine-grained reddish stone as that of the Wijāsan hill at Bhāṇḍak; (2) Dr. Stevenson, who has translated it, received a copy of it from Major Wilkinson who was a resident at the Nāgpur Court and (3) the inscription records that it was attached to the house of Sugata (Buddha) and therefore it probably belonged to Bhāṇḍak which has ancient Buddhist caves. Cunningham's opinion was subsequently endorsed by R. B. Hiralal¹ and we find the stone inscription now relegated to Bhāṇḍak.² None of the arguments, however, on which Cunningham's opinion was based appear to be convincing. Inscribed slabs of fine-grained reddish sandstone have been found in Chhattisgarh also. The Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I.³ and the Kosgin stone inscription of Vāharēndra,⁴ which are now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum, are incised on such slabs. As for the statement that such a slab was taken away from Bhāṇḍak we may point out that it may relate to another inscription, viz., 'the Nāgpur Museum *prāsasti* of the rulers of Malwa,' as has already been conjectured in the second edition of the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*⁵ (published in 1870). This latter inscription was translated in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1843 and this date, curious as it might appear, roughly corresponds to the time when according to the account of both the writer in the *Gazetteer* and Cunningham an inscription was removed from Bhāṇḍak to Nāgpur. There are, again, some ancient ruins of Buddhist temples and sculptures at Ārang and Sirpur in Chhattisgarh,⁶ and our present inscription, which records the donation of a village to a Buddhist monastery, shows that Buddhism continued to flourish in Chhattisgarh for at least three generations after Bhavadēva Rāgākṣarin. What is more, if we except this doubtful case of the so-called Bhāṇḍak inscription, we find no other instance of an inscription of the Sāmavarṇī dynasty discovered in ancient Vidarbha in which, as shown elsewhere,⁷ the whole country from the western boundary of modern Berār to the eastern one of the Marāṭhī district of Bhandār in C. P. was included. This country was in the beginning of the sixth century under the direct rule of the Vākāṭakas, Harishāpa, the last known Vākāṭaka king, mentions the king of Kōśala among his feudatories.⁸ If the period A. D. 530-559 assigned

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 208, note 20; Vol. LXII, p. 163; Hiralal's *List*, p. 13.

² See Bhāṇḍak's *List*, No. 1650.

³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

⁴ Hiralal's *List*, No. 210.

⁵ 'The date of its (i.e., of the Nāgpur Museum *prāsasti*) translation coincides curiously with the time at which an inscription was removed by the Nāgpur Rājā from the famous Śnaka temple at Bhāṇḍak in the Chāṇḍa District.' *C. P. Gazetteer* (Second Edition) Introduction p. liv. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally relegated this *prāsasti* to Bihāri in the Jubbulpore District, because the name of the village Mōkhalapātaka granted by it sounds like Dhangetapātaka, Kheilapātaka, etc., mentioned in the Bihāri stone inscription (see his *List* l. c. on p. 1). But no such name can be found in the list of villages in the Jubbulpore District, while we have been able to trace one closely resembling it in the Chāṇḍa District (viz., Mōkhara, 50 miles east of Bhāṇḍak). Vyapura, the name of the *śaśāḍa*, in which it was included, may be represented by Wurgam near Vairāgarh, 30 miles north-east of Mōkhara. These identifications would show that the *prāsasti* originally came from the Chāṇḍa District. For a Paramāra record of a slightly earlier date, found still further to the south, see the Jainad inscription describing the victories of Jagadīśvara, a son of Udayāditya. (*Annual Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Survey* 1927-1928, pp. 23-24 and above, Vol. XXII, pp. 54-63.)

⁶ See Hiralal's *List*, No. 184.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 169 and 211. It may be noted in this connection that the *Gandā-Purāṇa* (*Irāṇī-ḥanda*, *colloquy* 26, st. 2) mentions the town Āḍishā (modern Āḍishā near Saun in the Nāgpur District) as situated in Vidarbha. This clearly shows that the Wardhā was not the eastern boundary of ancient Vidarbha as it is of modern Berār.

⁸ *A. S. W. J.*, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.

to Tivaradēva in the article on the Thākurdīyā plates¹ is correct, an inscription of his predecessor is not likely to have been found at Bhāndak in the heart of the Vākātaka territory. We have, therefore, to conclude that the stone inscription of Bhavadēva Raṣakāsarin must have been found somewhere in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Chhattisgarh and not at Bhāndak in ancient Vidarbha. When Kielhorn edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, he was informed that the inscription was found at Ratanpur,² but this information also was probably incorrect; for the present Ratanpur was founded by Ratnadēva I. of the Kalachuri dynasty in the eleventh century A.D.³ What seems to have happened is that the stone inscription was first removed to Ratanpur from some place in Chhattisgarh and was later transferred to Nāgpur where it was recorded to have come from Ratanpur.⁴

It has been shown elsewhere on palaeographical and epigraphical evidence that Tivaradēva flourished from circa A.D. 530 to 550. His grand-nephew Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna will have to be placed in the first half of the seventh century A. D. Either he or his successor must have been the ruling king when Yuan Chwang visited the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. Though the present plates do not mention any place of issue, we know that Śrīpura in the Raipur District continued to be the capital of Sōmavāṣṭī kings at least from the time of Tivaradēva⁵ to that of Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna.⁶ It would therefore be interesting to see how far Yuan Chwang's description of the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala suits Śrīpura.

Several scholars have attempted in the past to locate the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. Fergusson and Grant identified it with Wairāgarh,⁷ while Cunningham took it to be Chāndā.⁸ But, as pointed out by R. B. Hiralal, 'what is missing at both these places is any trace of remains of the Buddhist monasteries and temples which Yuan Chwang so prominently mentioned.'⁹ R. B. Hiralal himself at first identified it with Bhāndak;¹⁰ for he thought that the country of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala extended in the west to the eastern boundary of modern Berār. He believed with Cunningham that the stone inscription of Bhavadēva Raṣakāsarin originally belonged to a Buddhist cave at Bhāndak and following Kielhorn he held that a line of Buddhist kings belonging to the Pāṇḍuvāṁśī line ruled in that place down to the 9th century A.D. Later on, after weighing all evidence R. B. Hiralal concluded that 'both the places (Sirpur and Bhāndak) seem at present to have an equal claim to the honour of a visit from the great pilgrim of China, but Bhāndak seems to possess more tangible evidence than Sirpur'.¹¹ But, as pointed out above, Bhāndak was included in ancient Vidarbha and not in Kōśala and must have been under the direct rule of Pulakēśin II, who, in the Aihole inscription, is called the lord of 'three Mahārāṣṭras comprising 99,000 villages'.¹² One of these Mahārāṣṭras must have been ancient Vidarbha, since it is not separately mentioned in the Aihole inscription. From the same inscription we learn that Pulakēśin did not annex Kōśala but only exacted submission from the ruling king. Yuan Chwang

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 19.

² *J. E. A. S.* for 1905, p. 618.

³ See the Ratanpur inscription of Jājallādēva I, above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

⁴ A similar thing seems to have happened in the case of the Ratanpur inscription of Prithvīdēva II and Brahmadēva, which originally seems to have belonged to Mallik. See above p. 114, n. 2.

⁵ Both the Rājim and Balōdā plates of Tivaradēva are issued from Śrīpura.

⁶ As stated above, there are several stone inscriptions of the reign of this king at Sirpur.

⁷ *J. E. A. S.* (1875), p. 280.

⁸ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (1924), p. 536.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, p. 183.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 298, note 19.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. LXII, p. 186.

¹² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

also mentions the king of Kōśala as different from Pulakēśin II. whom he calls the king of Mahā-nishtra. So the capital of Kōśala cannot be located at Bhāndak.

From Yuan Chwang's account we learn that from Kalinga he went north-west by hill and wood for above 1800 *li* to Kōśala. . . . The king was a Kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion and of noted benevolence. . . . To the south-west of this country, above 300 *li* from the capital was a mountain called *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*. From Kōśala he travelled South, through a forest, for above 900 *li* to the *An-to-lo* (Andhra) country, the capital of which was *Ping-chi-(ki)-lo*. This description suits Sirpur better than any other place in Chhattisgarh. Sirpur lies north-west of Mukhalīngam on the left bank of the Vamśadhārī, 18 miles from Parlākīmedī in the Ganjam District, which is now generally taken to be the ancient capital of Kalinga. The reigning king, who was either Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna or his successor, was no doubt a Kshatriya, as the Sōmavarāṇśī kings traced their descent from Pāṇḍu, the father of the Epic heroes Pāṇḍavas. Mahā-Sivagupta was a devotee of Śiva,² but the present grant shows that he patronised Buddhism also and the same can probably be said of his successor. The mountain *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*, which has been rendered by *Bhramara-giri*, may refer to Bhāṅgāra-Pavvato (Skt. *Bhṛāṅgāra-parvata*) which is mentioned in an ancient Brāhmī stone inscription at Ārang.³ It may be noted in this connection that Ārang lies south-west of Sirpur as required by the Chinese pilgrim's description. If *Ping-chi-lo*, the capital of the Āndhra country, is identified with Vāṅgī (which was then the capital of the Eastern Chālukyas), it will be seen to lie almost due south of Sirpur. Sirpur, therefore, answers best to the bearings and other description of the capital of Kōśala in Yuan Chwang's account. It is true that the distance of Sirpur from Mukhalīngam, Ārang and Vāṅgī does not exactly agree with Yuan Chwang's account,⁴ but this is not the only case in which the Chinese pilgrim's distances are found to be incorrect. We have, therefore, no hesitation in identifying the capital of Kōśala in the seventh century A.D. with Sirpur in the Raipur District.

The present grant is **not dated**, but as stated above it can be assigned to the **first half of the seventh century A.D.** It records the donation of a village on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Āshāḍha. Taking the month to be *purnimānta* we find that there was a solar eclipse in Āshāḍha four times in the period A.D. 600 to 650, viz., A. D. 606, 616, 633 and 643. Of these A.D. 633 and 643 would perhaps be too late dates for Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna. So A.D. 606 or 616 may be the date of the present grant. It does not, of course, admit of verification.

Unlike his ancestors Tivaradēva⁵ and Harshadēva⁶ who are known to be devotees of Viṣṇu, Mahā-Sivagupta Bālārjuna was a worshipper of Śiva. The seal of the present grant has consequently Nandi, the emblem of Śiva, and not Garuḍa, that of Viṣṇu, who figures on the seal of the Rājīm and Balōḍā plates of Tivaradēva. It may again be noted that like the afore-mentioned grants of Tivaradēva, the present inscription does not mention the title *Trikalingādhipati* which is met with in many records of the later kings of the Sōmavarāṇśī dynasty who ruled over the eastern parts of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala.

¹ Watkins, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 200, 203.

² For a similar discrepancy in Yuan Chwang's account, see his description of Harsha, who from his copper plate inscriptions and Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* is known to have been a devotee of Śiva.

³ Hiralal's *List*, No. 183. *Bhṛāṅgāra* which means a cricket is after all not very different from *bhramara*. Or was it some mountain in the *Bhramara-bāṇya-saṇḍala* in the Bastar State? (Above, Vol. IX, pp. 179 f.) There is, again, a hill named Bhāmragach in the Ahiri Zamindari of the Chāṇḍī District, which also lies South-West of Sirpur, but the distance is more than 160 miles.

⁴ Sirpur is about 275 miles as the crow flies from Mukhalīngam and about 300 miles from Vāṅgī. These distances will be somewhat increased if the inevitable windings of the road are taken into consideration.

⁵ Tivaradēva calls himself *Parasara-Vaiṣṇava* in his plates.

⁶ See v. 20 of the Sirpur Lakṣmaṇa Temple Inscription, above, Vol. XI, p. 122.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present plates, *Taraḍamśaka-bhōga* in which the donated village was situated is probably identical with the *Talāhāri-maṣḍala* mentioned in several later inscriptions.¹ From one of these² we learn that the *Talāhāri-maṣḍala* included Mallāra (modern Mallār, where the plates were found). The Buddhist images at present deposited in Mallār are said to have been brought from Jaitpur, a village about a mile to the north of Mallār. The site of ancient *Taraḍamśaka* where the Buddhist monastery was situated is, therefore, probably marked by the modern village Jaitpur.³ As regards *Kailāsapura* granted by the present charter, there is now no village of that name in the Būlāpur and Janjgir tahsils, but there are several of the name Kesā, which may be taken to correspond to ancient *Kailāsapura*. Of them the one which is nearest to Mallār is Kesā, about 8 miles to the south-east, which contains ruins of an old temple.

We edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं¹ स्वस्वमेवाचिन्ति(ती)शविश्राम्यामविशेषासादितमहनि(नी)यप्रिययस-
- 2 म्मन्(सं)पादितसकलविजिगी(गी)षुगुणो गुणवत्[मा]श्रयप्रकटतरुगौ-
- 3 र्थेप्रज्ञाप्रभावस(सं)भावितमहाभ्युदय[ः]² कान्ति(त्ति)केय इव कृति(त्ति)वासो
- 4 राज्ञ[ः]³ त्रि(त्री)हर्षदेवस्य सु(सु)तु[ः]⁴ सोमवत्⁵सम्भवः परमसाहे-
- 5 खरी मातापितृपादनुभवा[ः]⁶ त्रि(त्री)महाशिवगुतराज[ः]⁷ कुयवि(वी) ॥⁸ त-
- 6 रङ्गकर्मोमि(मी)यकैलासपुरयामे ब्राह्मणा[न्]⁹ सम्युज्जं सप्रधा-
- 7 नावलिवासिनो यथाकालाभ्यासिनश्चमाहन्तुसविधातसु(पे)-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 8 मुखानधिवारिन्[ः]¹⁰ सकरणात्मन्या¹¹ग्वाश्रत्पादोपजि(जी)विनः सर्व[रा]-
- 9 जपुषा[न्]¹² समाज्ञापयति [ः]¹³ विदितमस्तु भवतां यवाक्षाभिरयं वा-
- 10 सः सनिधि[ः]¹⁴ नोपनिधिः सदशापराधः सर्व्वकरसमेतः सर्व्वपीडा-
- 11 वञ्चित[ः]¹⁵ पतिपिडचाटभटप्रवेशतया ॥¹⁶ तरङ्गक¹⁷प्रतिष्ठि-

¹ Dhundeshkar's *List*, Nos. 1231, 1232, and 1246.

² Bātopur inscription of the time of Prithvīdēva II and Brhmadēva. See above p. 114, note 2.

³ This name may represent ancient Guatya-pura. There is a village named Tarōd 11 miles north-east of Mallār and 3 miles south of Akattāl in which ruins of temples and tanks are to be seen. Its name would also correspond to *Taraḍamśaka*, but it is not known if it contains any Buddhist remains.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read वर.

⁶ The *śardas* are superfluous.

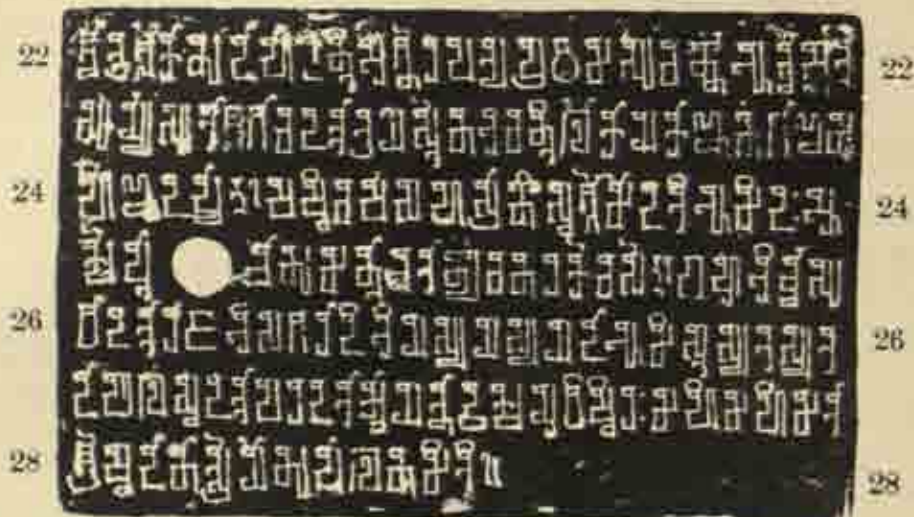
⁷ Read तरङ्गक.

⁸ Read सरशासनवतिवासिनो.

⁹ Read ब्रह्मणा. (The symbol requires सदाद् instead of ब्रह्मणाद्.—Ed.)

¹⁰ This *śardas* is superfluous.

¹¹ Read सरङ्गक.



Seal—From a photograph.



ACTUAL SIZE.

- 12 तकोरदेवभोर्खालक'कारितविहारिकानिवासिचातुर्दिशार्थमि-
 13 सुमहाय श्रीभास्करवर्माभातुलविग्रह्या ताम्र'भासनेनाच-
 14 न्द्रार्कसमकालाद्यातापिन्नोराखनच पुण्याभिद्वये ।⁹ चापादा-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 15 मावास्यासूर्ययज्ञोपरामे⁸ उदकपूर्वे प्रतिपादित इत्येतच्च
 16 विधियतया समुचितश्रीगभागादिकमुपनयद्विम(मे)वद्विः सुख-
 17 म्प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति ॥ भावितच भूमिपालानुद्वि(दि)श्वेदमभिधीयते [1*]
 18 भूमिप्रदा दिवि ललन्ति पतन्ति जन्त जह्या महि(र्ही) नृपतयो
 19 नरके नृगङ्गात्(गंताः) । एतद्व(ह्यं) परिकल्प्य चलाच्च लक्ष्मीः¹⁰ मायुस्त-
 20 धा कुचत यद्वतामभि(भौ)ष्ठ(ष्टम्) [११*] अपि च [1*] रक्षापालनयोस्तावत्प-
 (रफ)लं सु-
 21 गतिदुस्मिति(तौ) [1*] को नाम स्वर्गमुच्छ्रित्य¹¹ नरकं प्रतिपद्यते [12*]
 आत्मगोता(ता)-

Third Plate.

- 22 चात्र श्रीकानुदाहा(ह)रन्ति [1*] चम्पेरपत्न्य(त्वं) प्रथम(मं) सुवर्णं भूर्वेणा(वि)
 23 सु(सु)खेत्तताच गावः [1*] दत्ता¹² वयस्तेन भवन्ति लोवा यः [1*] काञ्चन
 गाव म-
 24 हि(ही)च दद्यात्¹³ ॥ [३॥*] पट्टि(ष्टि) वर्षगणमाणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आ-
 25 चैता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹⁴ ॥ [४॥*] वहुभिर्लस-
 26 धा दत्ता राजभिः [1*] मगरादिभिः [1*] वस्य वस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य त-
 27 दा फलं [५॥*] स्वदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्तास्ता¹⁵ यत्तावच्च दुषिष्ठिरः¹⁶ [1*] महि(र्ही)
 महिमता(ता)

⁸ Read कोरदेवभाषादाहा.

⁹ Read ताव.

¹⁰ This *lasya* is superfluous. Read पुण्याभिद्वये चापादा.

¹¹ Read पराग उदकपूर्वे.

¹² Read प्रति । अतश्च.

¹³ Read लक्ष्मीमायु.

¹⁴ Metre *Varanashikā*.

¹⁵ Read सुवर्ण.

¹⁶ Metre *Anushitukā*.

¹⁷ Read दत्तावय.

¹⁸ Metre *Indumajrā*.

¹⁹ Metre *Anushitukā*; and of the two following verses.

²⁰ Read परदत्ता वा.

²¹ Read दुषिष्ठिर.

28 चेठ दानात्स्वे(च्छे)योनुपाजनमिति' ॥[६३*]

The Seal.

1 राज्ञः श्रीहर्षगुप्तस्य सुनोः सनुवशास्त्रिनः ।*

2 शासनं शिवगुप्तस्य स्थितमाभ्युपनिष्यतिः ॥*]²

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-9) Om. Hail ! The illustrious **Mahā-Sivaguptarāja**, born in the lunar dynasty, a most devout worshipper of Mahāśvara (Śiva), who meditates on the feet of his father and mother, who is a son of the king, the illustrious **Harshadēva** even as Kārtikēya is of Śiva, who has acquired all the accomplishments of a conqueror through the perfection of commendable discipline attained by a special study of all the royal lore, who has attained great prosperity by his patronage of accomplished persons, exceedingly great valour, intelligence and majesty, being in good health, issues the following command; after honouring the Brāhmanas in the village **Kailāsapura** of the **Taraṣamāka bhōga** (sub-division), to the inhabitants (of the village) together with their Headman, the Collector, the Receiver and other officers who may be in charge (of the village) from time to time, together with their subordinates, as well as to all other royal officials who may be dependant on him—³.

(Ll. 9-15) Be it known to you that on the (occasion of) an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of Āshāḍha, this village together with treasures and deposits, together with (the fines imposed for) the ten offences,⁴ together with all taxes, free from all obstructions, (and) not to be entered by the regular or irregular forces, has been granted by Us for as long as the sun and the moon will endure at the request of (Our) maternal uncle **Bhāskaravarman** (and) for the increase of the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourselves by a copper-charter (and) by (a libation of) water, to the Community of venerable (Buddhist) Monks from the four quarters, residing in the small monastery situated in **Taraṣamāka**, which was caused to be constructed by **Alakā**, the wife of **Kāradēva**—.

(Ll. 15-28) Wherefore, offering submissively due taxes, revenue,⁵ etc. (to the donors), you should dwell happily in this village. And this we say to the future rulers of the land—

(Here follow six benedictory and imprecatory verses.)

The Seal.

This is a charter, enduring as long as the world, of **Śivagupta**, the son of the king, the illustrious **Harshagupta**, who shines by his good qualities.

No. 19.—THE PURI PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN-SAINYABHITA.

By PROF. R. G. BANERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., CALCUTTA.

In February-March of 1913 I published an article in Bengali on a single copper-plate inscribed on both sides of it, belonging to the reign of King **Madhavavarman** (**Sainyabhitā**, *alias* **Śrinivāsa**)

* Read 'pāṇinim' [16*] at 1.

¹ Matre Jussatvāt.

² Lit. on our feet.

³ See above, Vol. IX, p. 47 and n. 1.

⁴ See, above, Vol. XXII, p. 173, n. 8.

of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōngōda in Kāliṅga, in the now defunct Bengali monthly magazine, the *Sāhitya* of Calcutta in its Phālguna issue of 1319 B. S. (pp. 889 ff.). It was stated in that article that that plate was undoubtedly the second of a set of at least three such plates which contained the whole text of the epigraph and that the other two plates (*viz.*, the first and the third) had been missing. A hole in the plate indicated that that plate and the other missing ones were originally held together by means of a ring. It is not easy to say if any seal with any legend was soldered on to it just as, we are informed, the Buguḍa plates of the same king possessed. Both the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and Mr. Vinayaka Miśra (*J. H. Q.*, 1931, pp. 665 ff.) omitted to take notice of that plate or my article on the same, while they dealt with the chronology of the Śailōdbhava kings of Kōngōda. This plate is preserved in the Museum of the Varāṇasī Research Society, Rājāhāli (Bengal). Luckily enough, last year (1933) my friend Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, sent to me the impressions of two plates of the length of the above-mentioned (Rājāhāli) plate with marks of ring-holes of the same dimension on them, and remarked that these two plates must have belonged to an incomplete set and added that they had recently been acquired by the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Dr. Chakravarti also said in his letter to me that he had inferred that the incomplete Śailōdbhava plate of the Rājāhāli Museum which I previously edited in Bengali, and the newly acquired two plates belonged to the same set. I am glad to find that with this discovery of Dr. Chakravarti the whole grant of king Mādhavavarman is now completely recovered, making it possible for me to make a contribution on the whole grant to the pages of this journal. The second plate was obtained on behalf of the Varāṇasī Research Society, Rājāhāli, from Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit Sadasiva Miśra, by my friend Mr. (now Rai Bahadur) Rama Prasad Chanda, when the latter, with some other members of the Society, toured in the autumn of 1912 in Orissa, visiting places of antiquarian interest. The Mahāmahōpādhyāya got it, as we were told, from the late Mr. Padma Charan Mahanti, formerly Superintendent of the Puri Collectorate, an inhabitant of the village Bīrobaī in the Puri District. The provenance of that plate, as well as of the two newly discovered ones, is not known. We prefer to call the whole set as the Puri Plates of Mādhavavarman, because we got the second plate at Puri from an inhabitant of the same district.

Of the three plates the first and the third are engraved on one side only, but the second plate is engraved on both the sides. The first plate contains 12 lines of writing on its reverse side only, the second 11 lines on each of the obverse and reverse sides, and the third 10 lines on its obverse side only. Each plate measures $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ". In some places, specially on the reverse side of the second plate, some letters appear to be blurred and illegible. Otherwise the inscription is in a fair state of preservation. There is a mark of fracture in the second plate.

The characters in which the inscription is written belong to what Kielhorn would call 'the Ganjām variety of the northern alphabet'. But I should like to differ greatly from his view¹ that they "cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A.D." Such characters were rather prevalent in Kāliṅga in the 7th-8th century A.D. They mostly resemble those used in the Buguḍa plates² of the same king. The age of the script has been discussed by the present writer elsewhere.³ Of initial vowels we have in this epigraph signs for ā, ī, and u, e.g., *ānā* l. 10, *āśāpā* l. 41, *ai* l. 12, 14 and 17, *au* l. 20, *umitānā* l. 18, *Uatāya* l. 31, etc. The peculiar sign for medial *ā* in the Buguḍa plates, pointed out by Kielhorn,⁴ as "denoted by a small hook,

¹ Above, Vol. VII, p. 101.

² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff. and Vol. VII, pp. 100 ff.

⁴ *Vide my The History of North-Eastern India (C. 320-760 A.D.)*, Calcutta, 1934, pp. 169-170.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, p. 101.

duties of the *Pratidhara*, acted as the *dātaka* of the grant. It may be noted here with advantage that the persons mentioned in ll. 42-44 are identical with those mentioned in the Buguḍa plates of the same king and hence it may be inferred that the latter plates which are undated were not far removed from the date of our plates.

An abstract of the contents of the rest of the grant may be mentioned here. The first verse of the inscription forms an invocation of protection of the god Śaṃbhū (Śiva), which seems to be an indication that the kings of the Śailōdbhava dynasty were devotees of Śiva. The next verse relates that there was a great person of the name of **Pulindasēna** who was 'famous amongst the people of Kālīnga'. But he is stated (v. 3) to have been averse to rulership on earth for himself, although he was a highly accomplished man. By his ardent worship of the god Svayambhū for the creation of a fit and able ruler for the country, **Śailōdbhava** was created as the lord of the earth, and from him originated a family of good rulers (v. 4). In the next verse (v. 5) we are told that a ruler of the name of **Araṇabhita** was born in his family (*kulaja*) and that he was a terror to his enemies. His son was king **Sainyabhita** who achieved victory over his enemies with the help of a large troop of elephants (v. 6). In his family again (*tary-āpi saṃśā*) was afterwards born a king of the significant name of **Ayaśōbhita**, who had a record of pious deeds at his credit which could not be expected of a king of the Kālī age (v. 7). His son was king **Sainyabhita** who was a great warrior (v. 8). He was able, in his prosperous condition, to reduce the sovereign influence of his enemies over their own statal circle (*maṇḍala*) of kings (v. 9). This king appears to have also been known by the *brāhṇa* **Śrīnivāsa** and is described in v. 10 to have performed *Atumēḥa* and other sacrifices which had fallen into disuse on account of the negligence of impious kings of the Kālī age, from which it appears that he helped in the restoration of these sacrifices in Kālīnga. He was also called **Mādhavavarman** and is stated to have issued this charter while residing in **Kōṅḍōḍa** (v. 11). After this verse 11, the record contains the formal address by the king to the various administrative officials and other people concerned. From the contents of our grant as mentioned above, and those of the Buguḍa plates, we obtain the following genealogical tree:—

- Śailōdbhava
⋮
1. Araṇabhita (*tat-kulaja*, i.e., born in his lineage)
⋮
2. Sainyabhita
⋮
5. Ayaśōbhita (*tary-āpi saṃśā... jātaḥ*, i.e., born in No. 2's family)
⋮
6. Sainyabhita (=Mādhavavarman-Śrīnivāsa)

We are to notice carefully that Ayaśōbhita (No. 5 above) is not a son of Sainyabhita (No. 2), but a descendant born in his family. We know that the *Pārikudā* plates of Madhyamarāja, and the *Purī* (Uttarapārve Maṭha) plates and the *Kōṅḍōḍā* grant of Dharmarāja contain the same genealogy as above, but only carrying it down respectively to one and two more rulers in succession, viz., (No. 7) Madhyamarāja (*alias* Ayaśōbhita¹) and (No. 8) Dharmarāja (*alias* Mānabhita).

¹ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 281-287.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 265.

The last king's dates are known as A.D. 736 and A.D. 743-44 in his above-mentioned grants.¹ But the trouble for scholars in the matter of consideration of the full genealogy of the Sailodbhava dynasty arises when we look at the genealogy of three generations of kings as obtained from the undated Khurda² and the dated (A.D. 619-20) Ganjām³ plates of Mādhavarāja, both belonging palaeographically to the same age. The genealogy obtained from these two plates may be thus stated:—

(Khurda plates.)	(Ganjām plates.)
2. Sainyabhīta	2. Mādhavarāja
3. Ayasōbhīta	3. Ayasōbhīta
4. Mādhavarāja ("Master of all Kalingas")	4. Mādhavarāja (mentioned as Sainyabhīta in the seal attached, <i>Mahārāja Mahāsammata</i> of king Śaśāṅka).

Identity of script in both these inscriptions leads us to the inevitable conclusion that the Sainyabhīta of the Khurda plates is identical with the first Mādhavarāja of the Ganjām plates. The most important point here is that these three kings (Nos. 2, 3 and 4) are stated in the relationship of father and son. But in both the Buguḍa plates and the Puri plates under notice Ayasōbhīta (No. 5) is stated to be not a son but a descendant of Sainyabhīta (No. 2). Hence the Ayasōbhīta (No. 3) of the Khurda and Ganjām plates (stated to be a son of Sainyabhīta No. 2) cannot be the Ayasōbhīta of the Buguḍa and Puri plates. So Sainyabhīta (No. 5) (=Mādhavarāman-Śrinivāsa) of Buguḍa and Puri plates cannot be equated with Mādhavarāja (No. 4) of the Khurda and Ganjām plates. Moreover, there is absolutely no doubt that the palaeography of the Buguḍa and our Puri plates is later than that of the Khurda and Ganjām plates, belonging to the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. Attention of scholars should be drawn to the most cogent and proper remark made by Hultsch, while editing the Ganjām plates of Mādhavarāja (G. E. 300—A.D. 619-20), that "as the alphabet of these (Buguḍa) plates is considerably more modern than that of the subjoined inscription (i.e., the Ganjām plates), it follows that Yasōbhīta's (really Ayasōbhīta's) son Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāman of the Buguḍa plates was a remote descendant of Yasōbhīta's (Ayasōbhīta's) son Sainyabhīta Mādhavarāja II, the contemporary and subordinate of Śaśāṅkarāja."⁴ I, however, do not think that Sainyabhīta-Mādhavarāman of the Buguḍa plates and the subjoined Puri plates is a very remote descendant of Sainyabhīta-Mādhavarāja II, but the former may only be the grandson of the latter. We have no hesitation in agreeing with Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, with the observations on the topography of Kāśyāpī-maṇḍala, Ōḍra and Kalinga made by him in his article on the Nivīmā copper plates grant of Dharmarājādēva, but we are afraid we cannot subscribe to the view expressed by him though with doubt, that Sainyabhīta-Mādhavarāja of the Ganjām and the Khurda plates may be identical with Sainyabhīta-Mādhavarāman of the Buguḍa plates (and therefore, evidently with the king of the same name in our plates also). Our own view on this point has also been stated in detail elsewhere.⁵ We cannot also support

¹ (Neither of these dates is certain. I think that all the dated records of the Sailodbhava rulers so far known, except the Ganjām plates of G. E. 300, have to be referred only to equal years and not to any particular era.—E.S.)

² J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXIII (1904), pp. 282 ff.

³ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 144.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 24 ff.

⁶ *Vide my History of South-Eastern India* (C. 326-760 A.D.), pp. 176 ff.

the remark of Dr. Chakravarti¹ who, following the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, says that in spite of paleographic difficulty the Buguḍa and Ganjām plates might have to be assigned to one and the same ruler. We are, however, glad to note that he feels inclined to place the Pārikul grant towards the end of the 7th or the early part of the 8th century A.D. On the above considerations, we have also taken the first Sainyabhita-Mādhavarāja of the Khurda and Ganjām grants as identical with the first Sainyabhita of the Buguḍa and our Puri plates, in whose family Ayaśbhita (No. 5) is described therein as being born. Hence the gensalogy of the first six kings of the Śailādihava dynasty according to our opinion should be settled as follows :—

- Śailādihava
⋮
1. Aragabhita
|
2. Sainyabhita I (=Mādhavarāja I)
|
3. Ayaśbhita I
|
4. Sainyabhita II (=Mādhavarāja II, A. D. 619-20)
|
5. Ayaśbhita II
|
6. Sainyabhita III (=Mādhavarāman-Śrinivāsa).

With these introductory words I edit the grant for the first time from the original plates and the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

TEXT.

[Metres: Vv. 1, 3, *Śāntalāṅkriḍita*; vv. 2, 5, 8, 8, 9, *Vasantatilāta*; vv. 4, 12-17, *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 7, *Indraṃjṛ*; v. 10, *Sragdharā*; v. 11, *Āryā*]

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm* Svasti []* [I]oḍḍ[re-dḍhan]ta-mṛigāla-tantubhir-iva śliṣṭā[h*] kara[h*] kōmalaiva-
(re-ba)dḍh-āhēr-aru-
2 vai[h*] eḥurat-phapa-mana[nā]re-dī[di]gdha-prabhāsā-n[ā]ubhi[h*] Pārvatyā[h*] so-
[kacha*]-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛita[ita]-va[ba]-
3 mḥa-mathā Gang-āmbha[h*]-plati-bhinna-bhāma-kaṇikā[h*] Śambhūr-jatā[h*] pāsta
va[h*] []* Prāśa-mahabha[Prāśur-mahābha]-ka-
4 ra-pivara-chāra-vā[hā]hu[h*] kṛṣṇ-śama-saṅchaya-vibhēda-vishā[sā]la-vakṣā[h*]
rā[I]va-kōmala-dal-āya-
5 [ta]-lōchan-āntā[ta] āyāta[khyāta] Kālūga-janatāsu Pull[ī]ndasāna[h*] || 2 ||*
Tān-āttān guṇa-sāpi satva[ttva]-mahatā

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

* Expressed by a symbol.

- 6 n=śaṣṭham(śaṣṭam) bhuvō maṇḍala(h*) śaktō ya(h*) paripālānya jagata(h*) kō
nāma sa syād-iti [*] pratyā-
- 7 dīśṭa-vibh-ūtsavāna bhagavān-ārā(dh)ta(h*) śāsvata tachit(s=tach-chitt)-ānugu-pam
vīdhit-u-
- 8 r=śāśad-vāśchihīn*) Svayambhō(bhū)r=api || [3 || *] Śa śilā-sa(sa)kal-ōdbhēdi
tēn=āpy=śilāya dhū(dh)ma-
- 9 tū [*] parikalpita-sad-vanśō(vamśah) prabhu(h*) Śailōdbhā[vah*) kṛitah[| 4 [*]
Śailōdbhavasya kulā]ō-Rapa-
- 10 bhīta śāid=yēn=śaakṛit-kṛita-bhīyām dvishad-aṅganānām [*] jyōti(t)mā-pravō(bō)-
dha-sama-
- 11 yō sva-dhīyā(ō)(y=ai)va sū(r)ddham-ākampitō nayana-pakṣma-jalōchu chandrah
[| 5 [*] Tasy=ābha-
- 12 vad=vivu(bu)dhapāla-samasya sunu(sūnuh) śri-Sai(Sai)nyabhīta iti bhūmipatir=
ga(rī)-

Second Plate : Obverse.

- 13 yām(yān) [*] yam prā[pya*) n-aika-śata-nāga-ghaṭa-vighaṭṭa-lavḍha(bdha)-prasāda-
vīja(yam mu)ṇudō
- 14 dharittrī [| 6 [*] Tasy=āpi vāt(vah)ś[ō]=t(ha*) yath-ārtha-nāmā jātō-Yasōbhīta
iti kṣhi-
- 15 tī(tī)śah [*] yēna pruru(rū)dhō=pi *subhāś=charittrair=umrīśṭa(h*) kalāśka(h*)
Kalī(h)-darppaṇasya [| 7 [*]
- 16 [Jātō-tha*) tasya tanaya(s)=śukṛit(tī) samasta-s[ī]mantini-nayana-śaṭpada-puṇḍarīka-
[h*) [| 8 [*] śri-
- 17 Sainyabhīta || bhūmipatir-mah-ābha-kumbha-śhall-dalana-durlalit-śai-
- 18 dhāra(h || 8 [*] Jātōna yēna kamalākatavat-sva-gōttra[m] unmilītaṁ dīnskṛit-
eva
- 19 mahōdayēna [*] saṅkalpita-maṇḍala-ruchaś=cha gati(h*) prayāsam-śū dvishō
graha-ga-
- 20 gā iva yasya dīptya [| 9 [*] Kālōyair-bhūtadhatṛipatibhir-upechit-śāśka-pāp-ā-
- 21 vatōra[ī]=nūtā yēhād kath-āpi prahyam-abhimatā kīrti-mā(gā)lir=sjaśam [*]
- 22 ya[śaśa]-teir-Aśvamedha-prabṛitibhir-amarā lambhītā *triptim=urvīm=uddṛipt-ātāti-
- 23 pakṣu-kahaya-kṛit-paṭunā Śrinivāsēna yēna || [10 [*] Kōngōda-kṛita-nīkōtaḥ

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 24 śarada-nāśakara*-marī(rī)chi-sitī(ta)-kīrti(h) [*] sa śri-Mādhava(va*)rīmā ripu-mā-
- 25 na-vighaṭṭana(h*) kuśal[ī] || [11 [*] Āsmīn(Āsmīn) bhū-mma(ma)gājāś śri-
sāmnta-mahāśāma-

* The name is *Arasāśita*.

* An example of Prakrit influence.

* There is a superfluous *śrī* here (l. 14), and a superfluous *śāśka* in l. 15.* The name is *Aśvāśita*.* Read *gōttra=unmilīta*.* Read *lambhītā=tri*.* Read *śarada-nāśakara* as in the Buguḍa plates.

i.



ii, a.



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... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
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... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...

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... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
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... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...

36

38

40

42

44

- 26 nta-mahārāja-rājana(nya)ka-rājaputtr-[*]ta(na)raṅga-dapḍanāyuka-dapḍapāi-
 27 n-ōparikara¹-vishayapati-tadāniyu[ka*]kāmva(kān-va)rttamāna-bhaviṣyatō vya-
 28 vahārīpa(h*) sa-karaṣāra(nān)=vrā(brā)hmaṇa-purog-ādi[n*] jānapadāma=chāṭṭa(ta)-
 bhāṭa-vallabha.
 29 jātiyān(yān) yathārhaṇ² pūjayati mānayati [*] Vīditam=astu bhavatām(tā)m
 30 Thōraṇa-vishaya-samvandha(mbaddha)-Sā(Mā)la-grāma(h*)³ ————— Kauśika⁴
 31 gōtrāya — *Utathya-pravarāya ————— *nānā-pravarāya Chchhandōga-charaṇā-
 32 ya Kauthuma-sākhāya Bhāṭa-Vittadēvasya(vāya) mātā-pittē=ātmanā=cha puṇy-ā-
 33 bhividdhaya⁵ sūlila-dhārā-pura(h*)sarōṇ-ākaratvēna⁶ *māchandr-ārka-kshiti(tū)-
 sama-
 34 kālam pratipādītō-smāhhi(h*) Yātā=cha tāmra(mra)-paṭṭakam dāśadhā⁷ dharmma-
 gaura-

Third Plate.

- 35 vā[*] kalpa-kalp-āntarō=api na *kai=cha paripanthinā bhavitavyam=iti |
 36 ukta=cha Mānavō dharmmasāstrō [*] Va(Ba)hubhū=vyasudhā dattā rājābhi-
 [s*]-Sagar-ādi-
 37 bhūh [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmita(s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam(m)
 || 12 [*] Mā bhūva(d=a)phala=ā-
 38 akā vaḥ para-datt-ēti pā(r)thivaḥ(vāh) [*] sva-dānāt-phalam=ānantiyati¹⁰ para-
 datt-ānupāla-
 39 mah(nō) || 13 [*] Sva-dattōḥ para-dattam=vā(trām vā) yō harōti(ta) vasu-
 dharā(rām) [*] sa viśvāyām kṛmīr-bhūtvā
 40 pitṛibhi(h*) saba pachyatō || 14 [*] Shaakṣīm varaha-sahasrāpi svarggā
 mōdati bhā-
 41 mīdāh [*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakam=va(kō va)śōt || 15 [*]
 Lā(Lā)khit-ō-
 42 pēndrasinhōna(sinhō)=tra tanayā(yaḥ) Kuṇḍabhōginā(naḥ) [*] lāchhitam Jaya-
 siṅ(sinh)hāna [u]kti-
 43 rōṇa(h*) Chchhaḍḍibhōginō(nā) || 16 [*] Samyag-ārādhita=svām-prasāda-śiṣṭa-
 mānasah [*] dūta-
 44 [kō] Gaṅgabhadrō=tra[*] prātihāya(ryō) vyavasthitaḥ || 17 [*] Samvat
 20 (1) 3 ||

¹ Read *Sparīka-vishaya.² The rēpha meant for ān has been wrongly put on pā by the engraver.³ The five letters after this word seem to be vāṇḍapāya. [The reading of the first three of these five letters is quite uncertain. If the reading suggested is accepted the name of the village granted will have to be considered as missing which is unlikely.—Ed.]⁴ [The reading of the second letter is uncertain. It may be pointed out that the Kauśika gōtra cannot have Utathya pravar.—Ed.]⁵ The letter before this word reads like lu. [The corrected reading is Lā(du)khit.—Ed.]⁶ The three letters before this word read like lōlōh. [The reading appears to be Lā...Sangharāya.—Ed.]⁷ Read *māchandr-ārka.⁸ [Reading seems to be ānura-puṣṭa-darśad[d*].—Ed.]⁹ Read ānuchit for ānū-cha.¹⁰ The pa of this word looks like dā, the mātā having closed up the top of the letter.

TRANSLATION.

On Blessings.

(Verse 1) May the matted locks of hair of Sambhu, in which the particles of ashes are separated by the overflowing waters of the Gaṅgā (on his head), which are touched by the soft rays of the moon (also on his head) as if by white lotus fibres, of which the lustre is daubed by the red rays of the entwining snakes bearing sparkling gems on their hoods, and which are slackened because of their knot being set aside on account of Pārvatī's union accompanied with a grasp of His hair, protect you!

(Verse 2) (There was a person) famous amongst the people of Kaliāga, named **Pulindasēna**, tall, with charming arms as stout as the trunk of a large elephant, having a chest as broad as the fragment of a black mountain, and whose eyes were as large as the soft petals of lotuses.

(Verse 3) By him, though so accomplished and great in spirit, (the rulership over) the circle of the earth was not longed for. (By this person) denying the pleasure of rulership, thinking as to who (else) would be the man that would be able to rule over the earth, was worshipped the lord Svayambhū (Brahmā) the eternal, and (the latter) being desirous of creating (one), according to his heart's desires, granted his prayer.

(Verse 4) As (he) was observed as splitting asunder pieces of rocks, **Sailōdbhava** was made by this wise (god) as the lord with an illustrious dynasty (of rulers originating from him) vouchsafed.

(Verse 5) A descendant in the family of **Sailōdbhava** was **Araṇabhīta**, by whom, at the time of the rise of the moon-light, the moon was caused to tremble, along with their own intellect, in the waters from the eye-lashes of the wives of his enemies who were frightened repeatedly.

(Verse 6) Of him, who was equal to the lord of gods, (i.e., Indra), the very great king **Sainyabhīta** was the son; by obtaining him who attained victory in which prevailed calmness of disposition (even) in havoc caused (amongst his enemies) by rows of many hundreds of elephants,² (as her lord), the Earth felt delighted.

(Verse 7) Afterwards, in his family was born King **Ayaśōbhīta**, whose name carried a true import, by whom was purged, by means of his illustrious deeds, the accumulated dirt on the mirror of the Kali age.

(Verse 8) Then was born his son, of meritorious deeds, the king, named **Sainyabhīta**, who is (as it were) a lotus to the bee-like eyes of all ladies, and the edge of whose sword is playfully active in splitting asunder the frontal globes of the huge elephants³ (of his enemies).

(Verse 9) By this (king), while in great prosperity,⁴ is made illustrious his own family, just like a lotus pool (in which the lotuses are) opened by the sun while rising; and on account of his majesty his enemies, with the power of their own circle of kings reduced, meet with destruction, just as all (the other) planets (disappear), with the brilliance of their own discs diminished, on account of the lustre (of the sun).

(Verse 10) By this **Śrinivāsa**, who is skilful in the act of destruction of the partisans of his highly insolent enemies, the gods are made to enjoy extreme satisfaction on account of (his perfor-

¹ This king caused death of his enemies, whose wives were therefore compelled to shed tears of sorrow on account of their widowhood which destroyed for ever their union with their husbands at moon-rise.

² Elephants played an important part in the army of the Kaliāga kings in ancient times.

³ It may be noted that the words, *adrya*, *maṇḍala* and *apṛa* as used in this verse convey by *śāka* the double meanings (1) prosperity and (2) rise, (1) the eternal circle of kings and (2) disc, and (1) majesty and (2) lustre, respectively.

⁴ *Sainyabhīta*-*Mādhavaravaman* had a *bīrasa* *Śrinivāsa*, which also means Viṣṇu, as well as an abode of royalty.

manes of those *Asvamedhas*¹ and other sacrifices the very mention of which is (now) relegated to the domain of non-existence by kings of the earth belonging to the Kali age, who have accumulated (and) introduced sins of many kinds, (but) which was liked ever so much by (kings) who were upholders of fame.

(Verse 11) This *Mādhavarman*, whose fame is as white as the rays of the autumnal moon and who is competent to crush the pride of his enemies, being in good health, and (while) putting up in his residence in *Kōngōda*,²—

(Lines 25-35) duly honours and esteems the illustrious *Sāmantas*,³ *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājagolas*, *Rājaputras*,⁴ *Antarvāgas*, *Dāyadāyikas*, *Dāyadāśikas*, *Uparikas*, *Vishayapatis* and *Tadāyuktakas*, the present and the future *vijayādristas* (administrative officers), the *gīrayakas* with the *Karakas* and the chief *Brāhmanas* and (also) those of the *Chāṭa*, *Bhāṭa* and *Vallabhā* classes (with the following information):—

Be it known to you that the village of *Sāla* (*Māla*!) situated in the *vishaya* of *Thōraṇa*, has been given, free of all dues, by me, to last as long as the sun and the moon endure and the earth lasts, with a libation of water for the enhancement of the religious merit of my parents and of my own self, to *Bhāṭa Vittadāva* of the *Kauśika gōtra*, having for his *pravaras* *Utathya* and others) belonging to the *Chhandōga charaga* and the *Kanṭhuma śākhā*.

As this was a copper-plate grant, no one should stand as an impediment (in its operation) even in future *Kalpas*, out of respect to *dharma* in ten ways⁵. There are verses also mentioned in the *Mānava Dharmasūtra* (to the same effect) —

(Verses 12-15) (There are four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.)

(Verse 16) In this (grant) *Upēndrastibha*, son of *Kuṇḍabhōgin*, was the writer, and the charter was marked by *Jayasimha* and incised by *Chhaḍḍibhōgin*.

(Verse 17) *Gaṅgabhadra*, whose mind was attached, through favour, to his master whom he served thoroughly, and who was appointed to the duties of the *Pratidhāra*, acted as the *dātaka* herein.

Sarvat 20(7) + 3.

NO. 20.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SHERGADH.

By PROF. A. S. ALTHEAR, BENARÉS HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Shergadh, where the two inscriptions edited here are found, is a deserted town in the *Atru Nizamat* or *Taluka* of the *Kotah* state in *Rājputānā*. It is about 12 miles to the south-west of the railway station *Atru* on the *Kotah-Bina* line of the *G. I. P. Railway*. Within the stony massive walls of the town there are more than three thousand houses in different stages of dilapidation. The present population, however, is hardly more than 300 and so the township presents a dreary appearance even by day. According to local tradition, the present name

¹ This refers to the restoration of the *circumlocutions* in the seventh century A.D. not only in *Kalinga*, but in many other parts of North-Eastern India.

² Also spelt as *Kalingōda* in some of the other grants of the *Śaśibhava* dynasty.

³ For the meaning and functions of these terms, vide the author's article in *Bengali* on "the administration of the Pilsa kings" of *Bengal*: *Prabodh, Aśvina* issue, B. S. 1343.

⁴ *Thōraṇa*, is also mentioned as the *vishaya* in which the village of *Arhaṇa* mentioned in the *Kharas* grant (*J. A. S. B.* Vol. LXXXIII, 1904, pp. 282 ff.) is situated.

⁵ [See p. 128, n. 8.—Ed.]

of the town was given to it after its capture by Sher Shāh of the Sūr dynasty in the course of his Mālwa campaign. Its ancient name, mentioned in several inscriptions found at the place, was Kōśavarddhana, 'the increaser or the asset of the treasury'. The Inscription B edited below, shows that the city was an important thriving centre of trade, industry and agriculture, contributing a good deal to the royal treasury. It was also an important military station. The present dilapidated township itself was a strong fort in the Hindu period, as its still existing powerful ramparts show. It is also expressly referred to as a fort (*ḍurga*) in the Inscription A. A new fort was constructed outside the old one in the Muslim period. When Dr. Mathurālal, the State Historian, Kotah, and myself visited Shergadh in February 1936 in the course of our tour of archaeological explorations undertaken at the instance of the Kotah Government, we came across several Jain, Hindu and Buddhist inscriptions, both in the new and in the old fort, ranging from the 8th to the 13th century A.D. It is clear that during this period the citizens of this flourishing city followed these three faiths.

The inscriptions are engraved on two different stone tablets, built into the present temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Of these, the Inscription B, has been edited with a short note by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, pp. 175-6. Inscription A has not yet been noticed or published. As one ascends the platform of the temple, the Inscription A is to be seen in the wall on the left near the third stair step. The Inscription B is on a tablet built into a front line pillar of the *maṇḍapa* to the left of the entrance. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, while editing this last mentioned record, has observed that it is inscribed on a stone lying outside the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.¹ The information supplied to him in this connection was incorrect. The two stone tablets in the temple have been occupying their present position ever since the time of the visit of the *munsāfi* of Col. Tod to this temple during the second quarter of the last century. According to the information given by the present priest, no repairs have been done to the temple during the last three generations.

A.—Inscription of the Paramāra Udayāditya.

The stone on which this record has been inscribed is well dressed and is 27" x 23" in dimension. The record, however, is not complete and its concluding lines have been broken off. The present temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa cannot be more than 300 or 400 years old. Hence it would appear that when the temple of the Paramāra period was subsequently repaired, or overhauled, or pulled down, the inscribed tablets were re-set in the new structure in the course of which the lower portion of the tablet of this inscription might have been damaged. To judge from other Paramāra grants, the lost portion of the record consisted probably of not more than two lines and contained the concluding line of the last verse, the stanza beginning with *Iti kāmala-dal-śaṅka-bhūṣa-lalāṇa*, followed possibly by the name of the *dātaka*, the signature of the donor, and the date of the record given in figures at the end.

The stone has further peeled off to its right, destroying in various degrees the concluding portions of the first twelve lines of the record. Local tradition ascribes this damage to a lightning stroke. With the exception of a portion of the date, the rest of the missing part can be restored with the help of other Paramāra records. The record as preserved to-day consists of 24 lines, each line containing about 38 letters.

The characters are the normal Nāgarī of the 11th century to which the record belongs. The duct of writing is good and the medial & *mātrās* are graceful. The engraver's mistakes are very few.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 175.

The **Language** of the record is Sanskrit throughout. The rules of *samiti* are usually observed with a few exceptions like *tri Udayāditya*, l. 6, *addhāc aśmad*, l. 19, etc. Grammatical mistakes are also very few. We have *māri-pitrōh* for *mātā-pitrōh* in l. 16 and *anyuñ* for *anyuñ* in ll. 19 and 22. The latter, however, may possibly be the engraver's mistake. The record is partly in prose and partly in poetry, poetical portions consisting of the introductory and the imprecatory verses.

The **object** of the record is the grant of a village made by the *Parama-Bhāṭṭaraka-Mahārājāśrī-Paramēśvara-Śrī-Udayāditya* of the Paramāra house. The arrangement of its contents is similar to what we see in many other Paramāra grants. It opens with the two usual verses in the adoration of Śiva followed by the name and genealogy of the donor, and then follow the name of the village granted, an address to its inhabitants, the date, the place, the occasion and the motive of the grant, the name of the donee and the usual exhortations to succeeding monarchs.

Our record describes the donor, king **Udayāditya**, as meditating on the feet of **Bhōjadēva**. The relationship between the two, however, is not stated. A late record from Udayapur, belonging to the 16th century A. D., states that Udayāditya was the son of Gṛhā, grandson of Gṛdhala, and great grandson of Śūravira, who belonged to the Paramāra clan.¹ This document would make Udayāditya a scion of a minor Paramāra branch, and very remotely related, if related at all, to Bhōjarāja. Two official Paramāra documents, however, issued within a generation of the death of Udayāditya, contain quite a different statement. Thus the *Nāgpur prasasti*,² issued in the reign of Lakṣmadēva, a son of Udayāditya, refers to the latter as a *bhāṭṭa* of Bhōja. Till recently this was the only early record describing the relationship of Bhōja with Udayāditya and it was possible to suggest, especially in view of the genealogy given in the Udayapur inscription, that the term *bhāṭṭa* may have been used in denoting a relation in general rather than a real brother.³ Recently, however, another Paramāra record, the Jainad stone inscription of Jagaddēva, has been published. This ruler is very probably identical with Lakṣmadēva in whose reign the *Nāgpur prasasti* was composed. In this record a specific assertion is made that Udayāditya was the father and Bhōja the uncle of Jagaddēva,⁴ which shows that the word *bhāṭṭa* of the *Nāgpur prasasti* must be taken as having its normal sense, viz., a brother.

When two official Paramāra documents, issued within less than 25 years of the death of Udayāditya, state that he was a brother of Bhōja, we have to accept their testimony in preference to that of an early 16th century record, which does not seem to have been properly edited as well.

In the genealogy of Udayāditya, as given in our record, his predecessors Vākyati, Sindharāja and Bhōja are mentioned. The predecessors of Vākyati are passed over, probably as being too remote in time. The omission of Jayasinha, the immediate predecessor of Udayāditya, however, cannot be explained on that ground. It is worth pointing out that no record either of Udayāditya or of any of his successors, mentions Jayasinha, even when the genealogy is taken back to Bhōja.⁵ This can hardly be regarded as accidental. It seems that Bhōja left behind no son and in the chaos that followed his death, several of his relations came forward to claim

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 549.

² *Asi.*, Vol. II, p. 185; cf. v. 32. लक्ष (भोजराज) नगपुरदवादिनीजद्वयति ।

³ Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 123-4.

⁴ *As. Rep. Archaeol. Dept., Nizam's Dominions*, 1927-28, pp. 23 f.; *Asi.*, Vol. XXII, p. 54; cf. v. 6. जगदीदवादिनद्वयः

दिवसीदेव विद्वज्जः न न भोजराजः ।

⁵ *Nāgpur prasasti*, *Asi.*, Vol. II, p. 185; *Udayapur prasasti*, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 223; *Mādhātā plates of Dēvapāla*, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 108.

the Paramāra throne, when the victorious armies of Bhīma and Karna returned to their homes. Udayāditya and Jayasinha were two among these claimants. Jayasinha succeeded in the beginning with the help of Sōmāvara I, the Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇī.² How he was related to Bhōja is not yet known. Probably he was not his son,³ but a distant relative.

The success of Jayasinha must have for a time frustrated the ambition of Udayāditya. He, however, got his opportunity when Jayasinha was overthrown by Sōmāvara II. With the help of the Chāhamāra ruler Durlabha III, Udayāditya succeeded in reconquering Mālava.⁴ If the above conjecture is correct, it is natural that the official records of his time should not describe him as *śaśanābhikṣa-pād-śraddhāta*. Throughout his reign Jayasinha was practically a feudatory of the Chālukyas, the bitter and long-standing enemies of the Paramāras. He must therefore have been regarded as a disgrace to the Paramāra house, and as one whose name even did not deserve to be included in its official genealogies. Udayāditya is therefore always described in his own and in his successors' records as meditating on the feet of Bhōja and not of his immediate predecessor, Jayasinha.

The date of the grant which is now partially lost, is the Damanaka Festival on the fourteenth day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama Samvat) year eleven hundred exceeded by It is unfortunate that the most material part of the date giving the years in excess of 1100 has been lost in the five letters peeled off at the end of the I, 9, as dated records are badly needed to determine the precise limits of the reign of king Udayāditya.

Damanaka was a spring festival when a branch of *damanaka* tree was offered to god Śiva or Viṣṇu with a prayer to him and to Madana for the happiness and felicity of the whole household.⁵ Our inscription agrees with Hāmidī and Madanavāda in describing Chaitra *śukla* 14 as the day of this festival. Other authorities, however, lay down that it was to take place two days earlier.⁶

The grant made in this inscription, like most of those recorded in the Inscription B below, is made in favour of the temple of Sōmanātha, which is described as being situated in the fort of Kōṣavarddhana, i.e., modern Shergarh. From the boundaries of Sōmanāthapalli given in the Inscription B, it is clear that the temple of Sōmanātha of the Paramāra period was situated somewhere near the modern temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa where the inscriptions are preserved at present. When I visited this temple in February 1939, its priest showed me a *Siva-līṅga* in its *mandapa* which is known as Sōmanātha even to this day. It may be that the ancient temple of Sōmanātha, which was the principal object of worship of the inhabitants of Kōṣavarddhana, as shown by the numerous grants given to it in the Inscription B below, was destroyed by the Muslims, probably when the fort was captured by them during the reign of Sher Shāh. The temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa may have escaped destruction as being of minor importance. Later on when the fury of the Muslim storm had passed over, the *līṅga* of Sōmanātha may have been transferred to the neighbouring temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, along with its inscribed tablets recording various donations. It is also possible, though not probable, that Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa may be interlopers in their present temple, a Vaiṣṇavite revolution being responsible for the

² The expression *vijet śaśanābhikṣa* of the Nāgar *pramāṇi* makes this supposition very probable.

³ *Vikramādityaśataka*, III, 67.

⁴ Udayāditya would have hesitated to describe himself as meditating on the feet of his rival's father.

⁵ *Pratishāstisūtra*, V, 77.

⁶ *Sūriti-kosasthāna*, pp. 19-23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

enthronement of Lakshmi and Nārāyaṇa in the sanctum of the present temple when Sūmanātha was relegated to a corner of its *mandapa*.

A portion of the inscription recording the details of the situation of the village granted is missing, but the village seems to have been **Vilāpadraka**, since its inhabitants are exhorted to pay the usual royal dues to the temple. It is described as situated in the twelve-village subdivision of - - - **radraha**, situated in the *maṇḍala* or district of **Chachchurōṇi**. The last mentioned place is obviously identical with the village Chāchurā, (spelt in Survey maps as Chāchom), situated about 24 miles S. S. E. of Shergadh, on the confluence of the Parwān and the Nimaj¹. Vilāpadraka may be Bilāgi, a village about 11 miles E. S. E. of Shergadh. Or, it may be identified with the village Bilwār, situated about 25 miles east of Shergadh. I am indebted to Dr. Mathurālal, the State Historian, Kotah, for this information.

TEXT².

- 1 ॐ स्वस्ति [१^३] अयोधुदयश्च । जयति^३१ योमहेगोसो [यः सर्गाय
विभर्ति ताम् । ऐ^३]न्दर्वो सि(मि)रसा शेखा जय-
- 2 [ही]जाङ्गराकृतिम् । [। १ ॥^३] तन्वतु(न्तु) वः क्षरारतिः कल्याणम-
निर्गं जटा । कल्पान्तस्मयोदाम[तडि^३]-
- 3 इत्यपिज्ञाः ॥ [२ ॥^३] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवावपति-
राजदेवपा[दानु^३]-
- 4 ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिखुगजदेवपा[दानुध्यातपर^३]-
- 5 ममभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्यातपर[मभट्टारकम^३]-
- 6 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीउदयादित्यदेव[^३] कुम्भो ॥ चक्षुरोणीभेड[नान्त-
पाति . . ॥^३]-
- 7 रत्नद्वयदेवके श्रीकोशधर्मेन्दुर्गोविन्दश्रीसोमनाथदेव[म्]स्तेरु^३.....
- 8 विलासद्वयधामि ससुपगतान् समस्तराजपुरुषान् ज्ञा(ज्ञा)ज्ञानोत्तरान् प्रतिनिवा-
सिपाक्लिज^३]-
- 9 नपदादीन् वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं^३ यथा कर्षासिकायामावस्थितेर-
क्षा[मि.....धि^३]-
- 10 कश्यपैकादशकक्षवर्धरै चैचसुदि(यज्ञ)चतुर्हस्ता दमनकपर्चणि छात्रा चराचरगु-
[र्ह भमवन्तं म^३]-

¹ The name of this river is spelt as *Mawa* in Survey maps.

² From the original stone and ink-impression.

³ Expressed by a symbol, which is only partly visible.

⁴ Usually स्वस्ति is followed in Pāṇinian records by the verse जयति योमहेगोसो, etc. Here medial & sign is partly clear on the letter following ja and the place damaged can accommodate the letters supplied in the text.

⁵ Read *ay. Udayadityadev*.

⁶ What followed in the text in the portion destroyed cannot be inferred.

⁷ The sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Only five letters have been lost in the missing portion of this line of which the last syllable must have been *dhā*. Hence it is apparent that the unit and the decimal figures together consisted of four letters only.

- 11 वानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य संसारश्चासारतां दृष्ट्वा । तथाहि [1*] वाताभविभ्रम-
मिदं वसुधाधिप[त्यमापात*]-
- 12 माचमधुरी विषयीपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाद्यजलवि(वि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्मैः
सखा परम[हो पर*]-
- 13 लोकयाने । [। ३ ॥*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राद्यधाराधारमिमां चय्य(यम्) ।
प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पद्यात्तापः परं फलं(लम्) [। ४ ॥*]
- 14 इति जगतो दिनश्वरं स्वरूपमाकलय्यादृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चन्द्रार्क्षाणां वर्चितिसम-
कालं या-
- 15 वत्परया भक्त्या श्रीकोशवर्जितदुर्गायित्रीसोमनाथदेवायैवोपरिलिखितधामः स(स)-
सीमादणयू-
- 16 तिमोचरपर्यन्तः सञ्जयमालाकुलः सङ्घिरण्यभागभोगोपरिकरसर्वादायसमेतश्च माद-
(ता)पिचोरात्म-
- 17 नश्च पुण्यवशीभित्तये ।¹ शासनेनोदकपूर्वकतया प्रदत्त इति । तन्मत्वा
तच्चिवांसिजनपदेयया[॥*]-
- 18 दीयमानभागभोगकरङ्घिरण्यादिकं देवत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणभुक्तिवर्जमाद्याश्ववणविधेयैर्भूत्वा
सर्वमसुधै
- 19 समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्धां यस्मिन्शत्रैरर्णै(न्यै)रपि भा-
विभोक्तृभिरस्त्रयदत्तधर्मा(र्मा)-
- 20 दायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च [1*] व(व)हुभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता
राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य य-
- 21 स्व यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) । [। ५ ॥*] यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । नि-
- 22 म्नाञ्जवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददोत । [। ६ ॥*]
यस्मात्कुलजममुदारमुदाहरद्विरर्णै(न्यै)-
- 23 च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्तडिहलघुबुद्धु(बुद्धु)दत्तचलाया दानं
फलं परवशःपरिपाल-
- 24 नं च । [। ७ ॥*] सर्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवेदाम् भूयो भूयो
याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं धर्मसेतुर्न²

¹ This *dasda* is superfluous.² Read *buddhi* *damad*.³ About the probable extent of the lost portion of the inscription, see the introduction, p. 132.

B.—The Sōmanātha Temple Inscription.

This record is inscribed on a tablet, 16"×13" in dimension, which is smoothly dressed. The original record was only in 15 lines, each line containing about 30 to 36 letters. At its end, however, there are scribbled two lines, of which the second is extensively damaged. This postscript was written in Saviat 1566 in the reign of Mahatāja Sri-Jaśasambhu, who seems to have been some local ruler.

The characters of the record are the Nāgarī ones of the 11th century, to which it belongs. There is nothing particularly worth noting about them; attention, however, may be drawn to the way in which the medial *ś* of *bhā* in *bhāwī* has been written in l. 8.

As regards the orthography, *ś* is usually written for *ṣ*; cf. *Vaiśākha* for *Vaiśākha* in ll. 1 and 3, *śrībhāṣa* for *śrībhāṣa* in l. 1, *śāḍa* for *śāḍa* in l. 6, *śamkhika* for *śamkhika* in l. 12. *Shā*, however, is not confounded with *śa*; cf. *Gōvriśha* in l. 1, *karsha* in l. 2 and *vrishabha* in l. 4. The second letter of the conjunct, of which *r* is the first member, is sometimes doubled and sometimes not; cf. *pārvataś* in l. 13 and *mārggādāya* in ll. 3 and 4, but *chandrūrka* in ll. 2, 4, 6 and 7, *Kapardaka* in l. 8 and *mārgādā* in l. 14.

The Language of the record is Sanskrit, but showing many mistakes and some admixture of Prakrit. Wrong case-endings, or rather, no case-endings, are to be seen in the case of *data* *vrishabha* for *data* *vrishabhaś* in l. 4; *ghāṇa* for *ghāṇa* in l. 5, *śakīyā* for *śakīyā* in l. 11. The sandhi rules are often neglected, cf. *°dityaś bhāṭāraka* for *°dityaś-bhāṭāraka* in l. 2.]

This inscription is a public register of several donations given mainly to the same temple of Sōmanātha, which is the donee of the Inscription A above. In this respect it resembles the first part of the Siyadōṇi inscription, inscribed about half a century earlier. Shergadh is only about 125 miles to the west of Siroy Khurd, where the Siyadōṇi inscription was discovered.

The donors in this record are all private individuals, mostly merchants or landlords. In the Siyadōṇi inscription the record of each donation is separated from that of the succeeding one by the interposing of a peculiar punctuation symbol; this has been done only once in the present record, at the end of the second donation in l. 4. The dates of the donations have been given only in the first three cases. The latest of these, that of the donation No. 3, is Māgha Śuddhi 13 of Saviat 1084. The dates of the subsequent donations mentioned in the last section of the record have not been given. These, however, seem to have been made on the same day. And since the oilman Thāyāka, mentioned in the donation of Saviat 1084, figures here also as one of the donors, the record as a whole can hardly be much later than Saviat 1100.

All the donations but one are in favour of Sōmanātha temple. The exception is the first donation which was given on the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha of Saviat 1074. As the week day is not given, this date cannot be verified, but it probably corresponds to the 2nd of April A. D. 1017. The donation was jointly given by three merchants named Narasimha, Gōvriśha and Thāyāditya to Bhāṭāraka Nagnaka and consisted of the daily gift of a *karsha*, i.e., about three-fourths of a *toḍa* of ghee, for the purpose of the anointing of his feet. The record states that this quantity of ghee was to be given from out of the *Māṇḍapikā* tax. *Māṇḍapikā* is a word unknown to Sanskrit *śāstras*, but it seems to be the original term from which the Marāṭhi word *maṇḍal* and the Hindustānī one *maṇḍī*, both meaning market, have been derived. The three merchants mentioned above seem to have constituted the Town Committee in charge of the collection of the market taxes, which were usually collected in kind. The donation given by them was a trifling one, and they may have possessed discretionary powers to make it. Bhāṭā-

raka Nagnaka, the donee, seems to have been a Saivite rather than a Jain monk, residing in the temple of Śōmanātha. He seems to have dispensed with clothing altogether, though he daily required some ghee for anearing his feet¹.

The second gift was made on Vaisakha sudi 3 of Śarhvat 1075, probably corresponding to the 31st of April A.D. 1018. The donor Varāṇya is described as *śāṅgādāyā karpaka*. The last word in this expression appears to be Sanskrit in origin, but it is not found in any Sanskrit dictionary. *Karpaka* seems to have been the name of an office connected with the collection of tolls on roads. The donation was made for the purpose of providing incense and sandal in the temple of Śōmanātha, and it consisted of five *śrīśābhas*. On the analogy of *śrīśābhas* mentioned in I. 7, we may conclude that *śrīśābhas* denotes not an ordinary bull but a goat, probably bearing the emblem of the said animal on one of its sides. The Parmāras are not known to have issued a currency of this description in Mālava during the 11th century. Only one ruler of the dynasty, King Udayāditya of the Inscription A above, probably issued coins, but they bore the image of a seated goddess on one side and the name of the king on the other.² In Central India and Rājputāṇḍa gold *paṇḍa* were current at this time, but they could not have been described as *śrīśābhas*. At the time of our record the Hindu kings of Ohind and the Tōmaras of Dullī were issuing silver and billon coins, having the horseman on the obverse and the bull on the reverse. Whether these coins were current in Mālava and were popularly known as *śrīśābhas* we do not know. A currency that could be more appropriately described by this term was issued in Mālava, Gujaraṭ and Kāśmīr by Śāṅkadevā in the 5th century. One of his silver issues bore the king's head on one side and the bull on the other.³ This type was probably imitated by the rulers of Valabhi in subsequent centuries.⁴ It is not improbable that some local rulers or private moneyers of Mālava may have continued to issue coins of this type down to the 11th century. Not improbably the Parmāra administration may also have done the same, though we have not so far discovered their coins of this fabric.⁵ Probably some of such a type are described as *śrīśābhas* in our record. Silver coins current in Central and Northern India at this time were usually 60 grains or about one-third of a tola in weight. Five *śrīśābhas* would therefore approximately correspond to Rs. 2. Their purchasing power, however, at the time of the grant would have been approximately equal to that of Rs. 16 in the present day.⁶ The record does not state whether this amount for incense and sandal was to be paid monthly or annually.

About nine years later than the last donation, viz., on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Māgha of Śarhvat 1084, i.e., probably on the 12th of January A.D. 1023, three donations were given to the temple by Thakkura Dēvasāmān. In order to provide oil for the temple lamps, he assigned to the temple the entire produce of two of the oil mills owned by Thāyāka, who is described as *Thāyāka-rāja*, and who therefore was probably the chief of the guild of oilmen. He further undertook to give a daily gift of a *śāṅgī*, i.e., *śāṅgī* of cowries for providing incense at the *pāṇḍalā*. *Śāṅgī* was equal to the fourth part of a copper *paṇḍa*, and since the latter was equal

¹ [Since the gift is made to last as long as the sun and the moon (exist), it would be better to take Bhāṭṭa-raka Nagnaka as referring to an image and not to a person.—Ed.]

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVI, p. 84.

³ Allan, *Coinage of Indian Coins*, Gupta dynasty, p. 121.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁵ Virasena and Śālāka have issued coins bearing a bull on the reverse, (*Ibid.*, pp. 147-8, 151-2), but these coins could hardly be meant here. These gold coins could hardly have been known in Mālava in the 11th century.

⁶ For the purchasing power of money at this time, see Alcock: *The Rājasthānis and their Times*, pp. 378-8.

to 89 cowries, *kopardaka-vāṭi* must have been equal to 20 cowries. Copper *paṇas* were slightly bigger in weight than what a modern pice and a half would be. The donation for the daily incense was therefore slightly less than half a pice and its purchasing power would have been equal to that of half an anna of the present day. What exactly the *parvatāḥ* was where this incense was to be burnt is difficult to guess. The term usually denotes huts for the hermits. It would appear that there were huts or sheds in the vicinity of the temple of Somanātha, where persons like Bhattāraka Nagnaka used to stay. If some of them required ghee for anointing their feet, others may quite possibly have felt the need of incense. The incense provided by Dāvasvāmin may probably have been meant for some worthies of the latter category¹.

The third donation of Dāvasvāmin was the monthly payment of two *śaśāḥas* to be made on the occasion of the *saṃkrānti*. The object of this donation is not stated; it was probably a contribution to the general funds of the temple. *Śaśāḥas* are obviously the silver coins issued by the Pratihāra king Bhoja, and probably by some of his successors as well, which on one side had the image of a bear². These coins were also about 60 grams in weight; two of them would be equal to a twelve-anna silver piece, if one such were issued to-day. The present-day value of the donation would be about three rupees and a half.

The lines 8-13 record the donations of several *cāsanikās* made to the temple by different individuals. *Vāsanikā* was a dwelling house of considerable dimensions; in the *Śigadōpi* inscription two of the *cāsanikās* are described as consisting of four and three houses respectively.³ All told, eight houses were given by nine donors. Among these, six were merchants, one a *śaśāḥas* (probably a well-to-do landlord), one an oilman (who is identical with the chief of the guild of oilmen mentioned in l. 5), and one a *Śaśāḥas*. What precisely the last word denotes is difficult to say. The term may denote either a worker in shells or a person of mixed parentage, born of a Śūdra mother and a *śaśāḥas* father.⁴ Probably we have to take the word in its first sense, since most of the donors are merchants.

For the temple establishment so many big houses were not necessary. It would appear that the temple management was expected to lease them either for residential or business purposes, and utilise the rent for the temple expenses.

Lines 13-15 describe the boundaries of Somanāthapalli. *Palli* usually denotes a hamlet, but here it seems to denote an outlying suburb or a ward. Since the boundaries of Somanāthapalli are described immediately after the recording of the gift of eight big houses, it is probable that these latter may have constituted either a portion or the whole of Somanāthapalli, which was obviously the name of that ward of Kāśavarddhana, in which Somanātha temple was situated. To the east of this ward was the temple of Somanātha itself, to the south the river, to the west the house of Thākura Kundaṇaka and to the north a public thoroughfare. During my visit to Shergadh I found that it was possible to mark off a ward of the city in the vicinity of the modern temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, satisfying these boundaries. Some distance to the west of this temple, there are still some houses which are even to-day owned by Thākurs. The Parvān river continues to flow to the south of this ward. The precise road which separated it on the north cannot be singled out. The temple on the east may very probably be the older temple of Somanātha rather than the modern one of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Traces of the old temple, however, are not to be seen to-day.

¹ [See above, p. 128, n.1—Ed.]

² Rapson, *Indian Coins*, para. 110.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 174, ll. 7 and 32.

⁴ *Arjunavarṇana-purāṇa* as referred to in the *Siddhantapūrnima* under the term *Śaśāḥas*.

TEXT.*

- 1 श्री ॥ संवत् १०७४ वैसा(शा)खसुदि ३ अक्षयतृतीयायां मंडपिकादाया-
[त्*] से(से)ठिनरसिंहगोष्ठपथीरा-
- 2 दिव्ये भट्टारकचोमन्मकस्य पादाभ्यंगाय दिनं प्रति घृतकर्षमे[क*]१ प्रदत्तं ।
आचन्द्रा[र्क] यावत् ।
- 3 संवत् १०७५ वैसा(शा)खसुदि ३ श्रीसोमनाथदेवाय चंदनधूपनिमित्तं भार्गवादाये
कीर्तिक-
- 4 वरंगेन(ण) भार्गवादायात्(द) दत्तं वृषभं ५ आचंद्रार्कं यावत् ॥ ॐ ॥
संवत् १०८४ माघसुदि १३
- 5 श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य दीपतैलनिमित्तं ठक्कुरदेवस्वामिना तैलिकराजयादयाकघा-
ण(णी)
- 6 द्वौ प्रदत्तौ आचंद्रार्कं यावत् ॥ तथा पञ्चमालायां धूपनिमित्तं कपटैकवो-
डो(डो) १ दिनं प्र-
- 7 ति दातव्या आचंद्रार्कं यावत् ॥ तथा मासवारके संक्रांती वराह(घो) द्वौ
प्रदत्तौ आचंद्रार्कं
- 8 यावत् । [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्थस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ॥
श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य वणि*
- 9 इंदामडिंदका[भ्यां] सत्का वासनिका^१ प्रदत्ता ॥ तैलिकयादयाकेन सत्का वा-
सनिका प्र-
- 10 दत्ता । [१*] तथा वणि[क*] सोटाकेन सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥
तथा वणिक्(क्) सादयाकेन स-
- 11 त्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा वणिक्(क्) श्रीहरजसोमाभ्यां सक्कीया(यो)
वासनिकौ द्वौ २ प्र-

* From the original stone and an ink-impression.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* The letter *ka* is partly damaged.

* Dr. D. B. Bhandarkar's reading श्रीरा is untenable: cf. धूप and श्रीमनाथ in l. 3.

* This *daṇḍa* is superfluous. Read इममा.

* Read दत्ता वृषभा.

* Read पञ्चमालाया. Dr. D. B. Bhandarkar reads this as पञ्चमाला (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 176), but the second letter is clearly *ḥ*.

* Read वणिग्भूमिस्थ.

* The syllabic *ka* is damaged.

- 12 दत्ता ॥ तथा वणिक्(ग)महज्जकेन सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा
सं(ग)खिकलक्ष्मीधरेण
- 13 सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ श्रीमोसनाथदेवपण्डिका पूर्वतः देवमर्यादा ।
पश्चिमतः
- 14 [उ*]कुक्कुडणक[स्य*] वासनिका मर्यादा । उत्तरतः माम्मा(म)र्यादा ।
दक्षिणतः नदी मर्यादा
- 15 दा । चतुराष्टाटमाधिता श्रीमोसनाथदेवपण्डिका ॥ ३ ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

No. 21.—UPALADA PLATES OF RANAKA RAMADEVA.

By B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D.(LUGD.), OOTACAMUND.

This set of copper plates is one of the nine sets acquired for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1935, some of which have already been published.* They are said to have been unearthed by a cultivator, while digging a field, in the village of *Upalada* in the *Pariakimadi Taluk*, *Ganjam District*. I received ink-impressions of the plates from Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, *Archaeological Section*, *Indian Museum*, for editing the record.

These are **three copper plates**, each measuring $7\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ ". They weigh 106 *tolas*. Their rims are raised and the writing on them is consequently well preserved. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on the inner side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. The inscription consists of nineteen lines in all, three sides containing six lines each and the fourth only one. The plates were originally held together by a ring, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, passing through the hole cut in the centre of each plate half an inch away from the left margin. The ends of the ring were soldered under a circular seal. This and the ring together weigh 22 *tolas*. The central portion of the seal is occupied by the figure of a standing bear, cut in high relief, facing the proper left. At the bottom is placed an elephant-head (*ankusa*), and at the top another weapon that looks like a battle-axe. Against the hook of the *ankusa* is to be seen an oval-shaped object—perhaps a lotus-bud. The seal does not contain any legend.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of about the 11th century, strongly influenced by the *Nāgarī* script. Letters like *n* and *l* show each two different forms; cf. *n* in *-śaṇḍhyā-*, l. 2 and *-dāna-*, l. 3; and *l* in *kaśalinā-*, l. 5 and *sa-jala-sikula-*, l. 7. The **language** of the record is *Sanskrit*, though it also contains some vernacular terms in ll. 15-18 where boundaries of the donated village are defined. It is composed in prose, barring three of the customary verses found in ll. 9-15. The **orthography** of the document is as erroneous as its language is faulty. To instance the latter, the verb, *ādānti* or whatever it be, is missing after *kūśalinā-* (l. 5), while some such word as *upabhōgyam* is wanting after *śaṇḍhyā-* (l. 6). Among the orthographical peculiarities may be noted the usage of *s* for *ś* and *sh*, of *v* for *b*, of *y* for *j* and of *j* for *y*. These and some other inaccuracies have been pointed out in the footnotes to the text as well as in the text itself.

The record is not dated, but may on palaeographical evidence be assigned to the 11th or 12th century A.D. It was engraved by the goldsmith *Taula*.

* There is a symbol between the two pairs of *dopācas*.

* See above, pp. 13 and 76.

The object of the record is the grant of a village called *Upalabaddā* to one *Rūvāna-nāyaka* by the *Rāṣṭra-śrī-Rāmadēva*. The donee appears to have been an officer under the said *Rāṣṭra* and might have received the gift as a reward for some heroic deed on his part. As regards his master, *Rāmadēva*, we do not know anything from other sources, whilst the present epigraph relates so little of him. His title *Rāṣṭra*, however, shows that he was a feudatory chief. Some conventional epithets added to his name indicate that he was a devout worshipper of Śiva, had acquired the right to the *Pañcā Mahāśaktis* and was enjoying the favour of the goddess *Agī*.¹ Besides, he is styled *Tailapa-cami-śākhara*, 'born in the family of Tailapa'.

It appears that the *Rāṣṭra Rāmadēva* had not to his credit any achievement worth the name. The same may be said of his father and grandfather, since neither of them is mentioned in the record. The only prestige the *Rāṣṭra* could boast of seems to be his high descent as conveyed by his attribute *Tailapa-cami-śākhara*. This Tailapa, as is apparent from the manner in which he is adverted to in the inscription, must have been a great personality or a mighty ruler reputed enough to be the pride even of his indirect descendants and distant relations: *Rāmadēva* could not have been a direct descendant of Tailapa, for in that case the inscription would have specifically described him so.

Now as to who this Tailapa was, we know of several kings² who bore this name, but the one with whom Tailapa of our record can reasonably be identified is, I think, the famous Chālukya monarch, Tailapa II, who is credited with outstanding military achievements, and whose bitter rivalry with the Paramāra sovereign, Vākpaṭa Muṇja, is well-known.³ Further support to this identification is lent by the fact that the *śākhāra*, consisting of a standing boar, an elephant-goat, etc., depicted on the seal of the *Rāṣṭra Rāmadēva*'s inscription, is the same as is usually found on the seals of the Chālukya records.⁴ We may thus suppose that the *Rāṣṭra Rāmadēva* was a feudatory of and related to a Chālukya ruler subsequent to the time of the Chālukya Tailapa II whose death occurred towards A.D. 998.⁵

Of the places mentioned in the record, *Upalabaddā*, the granted village, is apparently the same as *Upalada*, where the plates have been discovered, while *Chikhal-śtān* from where the grant was issued cannot definitely⁶ be identified.

TEXT.⁷

First Plate.

- 1 Om⁸ svasti [1*] Chikhal-śtān : parama-nāṣṭhāra-śamadhigata-pāth-
- 2 cha-mahā-śa(ka)vala(bā)-māta-pātri-pād-ānuśyātā(ka)-setya-śaṣṭau)cya-dayā-

¹ *Agī* obviously stands for *Agni*. In Vedic and later Sanskrit literature *Agni* is invariably a male deity. His mention here as a goddess (*devī*) is owing to the vernacular influence. In Hindi and cognate tongues the word *ag* 'fire' is feminine. *Agī* as the name of a female occurs in an early Prakrit inscription from Śālistī, see above Vol. II, p. 371.

² For instance three kings of the Chālukya dynasty and two of the Kadamba family bore the name Taila or Tailapa (see Index to G. M. Murray's *The Kadamba Dynasties*).

³ Cf. D. C. Ganguly, *Hist. of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 61.

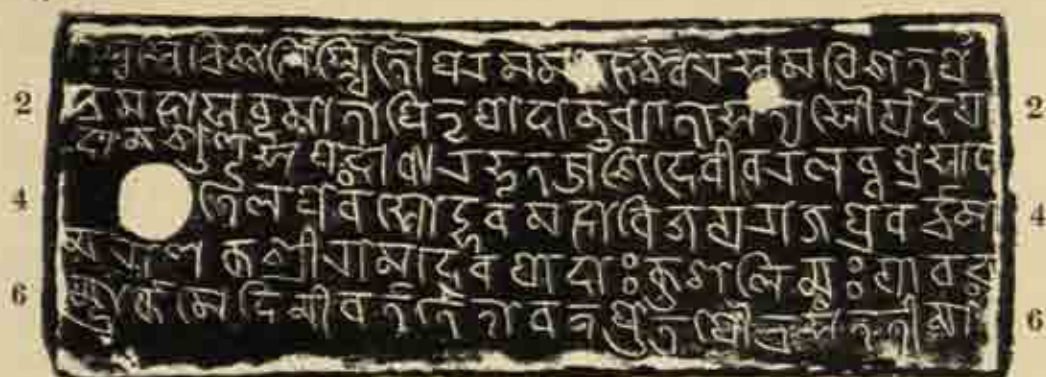
⁴ Cf. above, Vol. V, pp. 29, 133.

⁵ This locality cannot be far removed from the donated village, as the principality under the *Rāṣṭra Rāmadēva* may not have been a very large one. Mention of one *Chikhal-śtān* is found in the Madras Museum plates of Vajrachūṭa III: Śaka 984 (above, Vol. IX, p. 25), but this place is not identified either. (Chikhal-praṇa of the Kander Plates of Puṣpachandrabhāta (ibid., p. 188) is in C. P.)

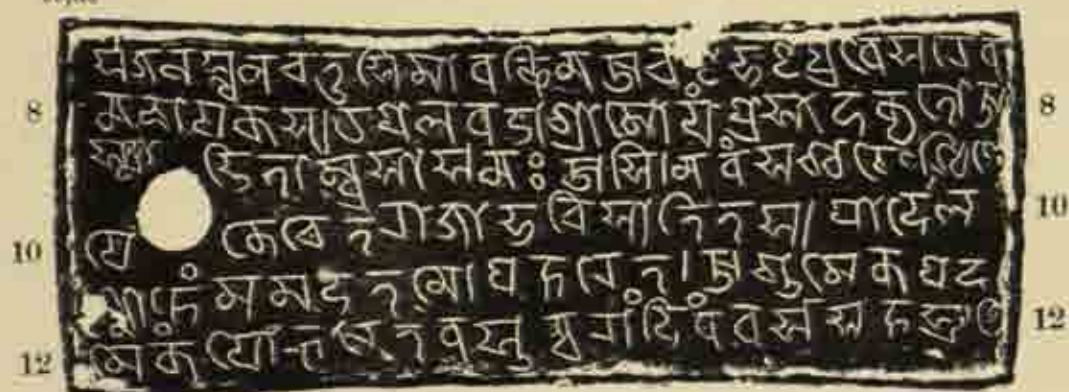
⁶ From ink impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

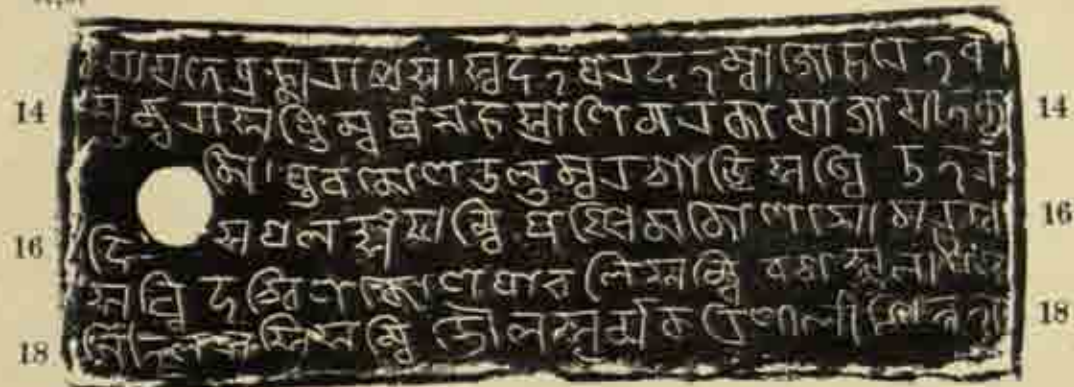
i.



ii, a.



ii, b.



Seal: Actual Size.

iii.



in bas-relief the figure of a warrior advancing to the proper left with a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right. Though the stone is exposed to the ravages of the weather, the inscription has not suffered any damage, since the letters, as is usually the case with such stones, are incised deeply.

The language of the record is **Tamiḻ** which does not call for any special remarks. A few words which occur in the epigraph, however, require explanation. In the Tamiḻ poem *Maduraikkāchi*, the word *kāṇḍi*¹ is used in the sense of a title given to experienced and capable ministers. The Tamiḻ *Nigḇaṇḇu* explains this term as 'an accountant'. In our record it is used as a title given to a warrior. The word *ṣṭu*² (l. 6) is used in the sense of 'having defeated'.

The inscription is dated in the 10th year of **Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman** and records the death of a soldier of **Vāparaiyar** while attacking the army of **Prithvigaṇḇaraiyar** stationed at **Kāvagḇūr** in **Miyāru-nāḇu**, a subdivision of **Paḇuvār-kōṭṭam**. This hero is distinguished in the record by the title 'who took Perunagar'. It may be pointed out here that Dr. Hultsch explained this title occurring in a slightly modified form, viz., '*Perunagar-agatakkōṇḇa-kāṇḍi*'³ as the chief of *Kōṇḇūr* of Perunagar-Ageram and took *Kōṇḇūr* as equivalent to *Kōṇḇakkārar*, a caste of fishermen. That this word is not used as a noun but as a verb qualifying 'Perunagar' will be evident from the present epigraph. The term has, therefore, to be interpreted as 'the *kāṇḍi* who took Perunagar-Ageram'.⁴

This inscription helps us to determine the position of Kampavarman in the genealogy of the later Pallavas. About 35 inscriptions of this king have so far been secured, mainly in the Conjeevaram and Seidapet taluks of the Chingleput District and Arkōṇam, Cheyyār, Guḇḇiyāttam, Vellore and Wandiwash taluks of the North Arcot District.⁵ These records which are dated from his 2nd⁶ to 32nd⁷ regnal years do not help us much in determining the exact period of his rule. Dr. Hultsch gave a definite lead in this direction by explaining the name of the temple of Nandi-Kampavarman⁸ occurring in a record from Sōḷapuram as having been so called after Kampa, the son of Nandi, and thus he postulated that Kampa must have been the son of Nandivarman III and the brother of Nripataṇḇavarman. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar made a further suggestion and stated that, Nandivarman III might have married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhāravarsha Dhruva and the name Kampavarman, just like Nripataṇḇa, might have been derived from Kambha, the maternal grandfather of Kampavarman.⁹ Since the genealogy furnished in the Velūrpāḷaiyam and Bāḷūr plates does not allow us to place him before Nripataṇḇa, and as he cannot be placed after Nripataṇḇa, Mr. Ayyar concluded that Kampavarman must have been a joint ruler with either Nripataṇḇa or Aparājita or with both.⁶

¹ Ll. 403-9.

² Compare '*Tellir-ṣṛimla Nanditarman*'. Generally in hero-stones, the nature of the death of the hero is also specified as '*ṣṛṇḇa paṭṭar*' (i.e., fell and died), *kōṇḇa paṭṭar* (i.e., killed and died), *mittu paṭṭar* (i.e., run and died), etc.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 180 and 183.

⁴ For a similar use of the word *kōṇḇa* cf. the terms '*Madirai-kōṇḇa Parakṛṣṇar*', '*Madirai-kōṇḇa Rājādēvar*', '*Kachchirum Taḇḷaiyam kōṇḇa Kappuradēva*', '*Madiraiyam Ṭamam kōṇḇa Rājādhirājadēva*', etc., occurring too frequently in inscriptions.

⁵ A stray record has also been found at Mallam in the Guḇḇur taluk of the Nellore District (No. 498 of 1908) and another at Olakkūr in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot District (No. 357 of 1909) adjoining the Wandiwash taluk.

⁶ No. 402 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁷ No. 144 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, p. 196. 'Nandikampa' figures also as the name of a village in the inscriptions at Paḷḷikōṇḇa in the North Arcot District, dated between Śaka 878 and 885 (Nos. 473 and 469 of 1925).

⁹ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 48-49.

This conclusion arrived at by Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar is confirmed by the present inscription as will be shown presently¹.

The name of the soldier who took Perunagar is not given in our record; but he may be identified with Akalañkattuvārāyar who figures with the same title, viz., 'who took Perunagar' in a record dated in the 26th year² of Nripatūnga, from Āmbūr in the North Arcot District, not far from Mēlpatti. This soldier, according to the present inscription, died in the 10th year of Kampavarman, while his son and nephew fell in a cattle raid in the 26th year of Nripatūnga.³ The question then to be settled is whether Akalañkattuvārāyar died prior to his son and nephew; in other words, whether the 10th year of Kampavarman was prior to the 26th, i.e., the last year of Nripatūnga. From the fact that the son and father died in different reigns, one point is clear that, the reigns of Nripatūnga and Kampavarman should have closely followed each other. If Akalañka had died earlier, Kampa should have been either a joint ruler with Nripatūnga or his contemporary ruling over a portion of the Pallava territory, because according to the Bāhūr plates, he could not be accommodated before Nripatūnga; but if, on the other hand, we suppose that Akalañka had died after his son, Kampa's rule should be placed immediately after that of Nripatūnga. The latter alternative is not possible, because we know that Nripatūnga was a contemporary of Varaguna⁴ (c. 862 A. D.) and that Aparājita lost his kingdom to the Chōlas about A. D. 888⁵ and that within this period of 26 years, both Kampa with a reign of 32 years and Aparājita with one of 18 years could not be accommodated.

One difficulty with regard to the contemporaneity theory is that inscriptions of both Nripatūnga and Kampa are found at Uttaramallūr, Kāvērippākkam and Tiruvorriyūr. That Kampa was an independent ruler and not a subordinate under Nripatūnga will be evident from the grants issued in his own name and regnal years. If Nripatūnga and Kampa were independent contemporary rulers, how could we have the inscriptions of both these rulers in identical villages? This would be possible if these kings were administering the whole of the Pallava dominions jointly or if the three villages mentioned above were on the border land where the overlordship of both the rulers was recognised.⁶

We may approach the contemporaneity theory from another standpoint. The Bāgas and the Western Gāgas were generally opposed to each other about this time, and their enmity ceased for a time by the marriage of Kundavaiyār, the daughter of Prithivīpati I with the Bāga King Bāgavidiyādharma. The fight at Kāvappūr mentioned in our inscription must then represent one of the series of fights that were being waged between the two dynasties. There were two Prithivīgargariyars about this time, one was the chief of Pañgalanāḍu and the other was Prithivīpati I, son of Sivamāra II. Since the former had died by the 8th year of Kampavarman,⁷ we may identify

¹ An attempt has recently been made to prove that Kampavarman was the son of Aparājita and that he ruled from A. D. 907-925 (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VI, pp. 224-5). The author of this theory connects a record of Kampa (No. 372 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical collection), wherein Nirañjana-guru figures as the donor, with another record of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kapparaḍiṅga (No. 181 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) which states that Chāturmūnana paṇḍita received initiation at the hands of Nirañjana-guru. The initial mistake of this theory lies in identifying the guru of Chāturmūnana, viz., Nirañjana with the Nirañjana of Kampavarman's time. The author himself admits that the successors of Chāturmūnana were known by the same name. On the same analogy the successors of Nirañjana might have been called after their guru and therefore, the two Nirañjanas mentioned above might be different persons. He ignores the implications of the name Nandi-Kampa. From palaeographical evidence also Kampa cannot be brought down to 10th century A. D.

² Above, Vol. IV, p. 182.

³ No. 309 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 49. Since the Pallava power ceased about this time, we find the Bāgas also who were hitherto subordinate to the Pallavas assuming independence and issuing records in their own name.

⁵ For a similar instance see page 45, *J. R. on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1920-21.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 193.

the *Pirudigāḍaraiyar* mentioned in our record with the latter. Dr. Hultsch has identified the *Bāḡavidyādihara* mentioned above with *Vikramāditya I*, who figures as a subordinate of *Nripātunga* in the latter's 24th year. This is the latest known date when the *Bāḡa* chief figures as a subordinate under the Pallavas. Soon after, *Vijayāditya II*, the son of the *Bāḡa* chief *Vikramāditya I* mentioned above, seems to have declared his independence, as his records are dated in Śaka years without mentioning any overlord. Since the *Bāḡa* chief figures as a subordinate of the Pallava king in the present inscription, this record may be placed prior to the 24th year of *Nripātunga* and it also seems probable that the 24th year of *Nripātunga* should have closely followed the 10th year of *Kampavarman* without any long interval in the middle.

Since a certain *Aparājita*, probably named after the king of that name, figures as the donor in the 10th year of *Kampavarman*¹ the latter might have been a contemporary of the Pallava king *Aparājita* also. *Kampavarman* might, therefore, have been a contemporary of both *Nripātunga* and *Aparājita*. His position may be said to be analogous to that of the *Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya* viceroys in the *Pāṇḍya* country in the 11th century A. D.

Regarding the position of the Pallava territory about this period, it may be stated that, during the time of *Nripātunga*, it extended from *Lāḷḡudi* and *Nārttāmālai* in the south to *Conjeeverum* and *Guḷimallam* in the north. *Nripātunga*'s father *Nandivarman III* was a subordinate of the *Pāṇḍya* king,² but in the time of *Nripātunga* the situation was reversed; *Varaguna II* appears as a subordinate of *Nripātunga* in his 18th year³; the *Chōḷas* had not by this time risen to the status of an independent power; the matrimonial alliance with the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* saved the Pallava empire from trouble from that quarter; and the *Gaṅgas*, i.e., *Prithvipati I* and his successors, and the *Bāḡas* were also subordinate to the Pallavas. *Nripātunga* was able to hold this empire intact, probably with the assistance of *Kampavarman* but towards the close of the reign of the former, we find the several neighbouring powers including the *Nolambas* rising to prominence with the result that the Pallava dominions diminished to such an extent as to embrace, in the time of *Aparājita*, the *Saidapet*, *Ponneri* and *Conjeeveram taluks* in the *Chingleput District* and portions of the *Tiruttani taluk* in the *Chittoor District*. This small territory was easily conquered by the rising *Chōḷas* under *Āditya I*.

The next point for consideration is that *Akaḷāḡkattuvaraiyar* figures in Pallava records as a soldier under both the *Gaṅga*⁴ and *Bāḡa* rulers thus indicating the subordinate position occupied by the two latter rulers under Pallava monarchy.

The *Bāḡa* ruler mentioned in our inscription is probably identical with *Vikramāditya Vāḡavidyādihara*, who also figures in the 24th year of *Nripātunga*. His warrior whom we have identified with *Akaḷāḡkattuvaraiyar* claims to have taken *Perunagar*, which is a village about 13 miles from *Conjeeveram* on the road to *Wandiwash*. From whom could he have taken *Perunagar*? The inscriptions of this village do not give us any clue. The *Gaṅga* king *Durvinita* claims victories over his enemies at *Andari*, *Alattūr*, *Pornāre* and *Pernagara*.⁵ The last mentioned village was probably identical with *Perunagar* mentioned in the present inscription. However, during the last year of *Nripātunga*, the *Nolambas* attacked the *Tondaimanāḍalam* region, especially the portion surrounding *Āmbūr*. Possibly it was from the *Nolambas* that the town of *Perunagar* was

¹ No. 42 of 1898 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² A. E. in *South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930-31, p. 28.

³ No. 389 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁴ (i.e.) *Prithvipati I*.

⁵ *Ep. Carr.* Vol. XII, Ins. 33; *ibid.*, Vol. IX, Dn. 88.

MELPATTI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA KAMPAYIKRAMAVARMAN.



captured by Akṣatthavarāyana. This view is strengthened by the fact that a Nolamba is said to have ruled as far as Kāśchī in a record from Hindapur, dated in Śaka 775 (A. D. 853).¹

The territorial division *Paṇḍur-kōṭṭam* was in *Togḍaimaḍalam* and it roughly comprised the modern Vellure and Guḍiyāttam taluks in the North Arcot District. It included the following *nāḍus*, viz., (1) *Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu*, (2) *Mugaḷa-nāḍu*, (3) *Peruntimiri-nāḍu*, (4) *Miyāḷu-nāḍu*, (5) *Mēl-Aḍaiyāḷu-nāḍu*, (6) *Karavāḷi-Āṇḍi-nāḍu* and (7) *Kāra-nāḍu*. *Miyāḷu-nāḍu* also known as *Miyāḷi-nāḍu* included the present Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District and the surrounding region. The village *Kāvayṅḡr* may be identified with the village of the same name in the Guḍiyāttam taluk.

TEXT.

- 1 Kō-Vīśiṭṭa Kampavīkkiramaparumar (76)
- 2 ṇḍa pattāvaḍu Paṇḍur-kōṭṭattu Miy[ā²]ru-nāṭṭu-kāḷa-
- 3 vaṅḡṛ³ Pīruḍiḡaḡaraiyar ḍaḍḍa mika Vāṇa-
- 4 [rai⁴yar] paḍaiyar Pe[ruṇa]ḡar-kkoṇḍa-kkāvāḍi⁵ noḍittu-
- 5 [v-ai⁶yar]
- 6 [e]ṇṇu
- 7 paṭṭār [i⁷]

TRANSLATION.

(During the) tenth year (of the reign of) the victorious Kampavīkkiramaparumar—(when) the army (of) Pīruḍi-Gaḡaraiyar (was) stationed (at) Kāvayṅḡr in Miyāḷu-nāḍu, (a subdivision of) Paṇḍur-kōṭṭam, the Kāvāḍi who took Perunagur (and) the soldier of Vāṇaraiyar, fell (after) attacking (and) defeating (the army of) the enemy.

No. 23.—A GRANT OF THE GURJARA KING JAYABHATA III: [KALACHURI] YEAR 486.

By G. V. ACHARYA, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

These two plates were received by the Prince of Wales Museum from the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society in 1929 when the Society's Collection was lent to that Museum. Their original find-spot is not known. Both the plates measure 12½" x 10", while the holes, 5" apart in each plate and meant for rings and the seals, are 1" in diameter. Neither the seals nor the rings are forthcoming. Both the plates are damaged at the top left hand corner and consequently some portions of the writing are lost. There are several small holes due to corrosion in the body of the plates also. Both of these are inscribed on the inner side only and their rims are thickened to protect the writing. There are 28 lines in the first and 33 in the second plate. The average size of the letters is ¼". The engraving is carefully done and there are very few mistakes. The characters are of the northern type and very much resemble those found on Valabhi

¹ No. 548 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² *Āṇḍi* is used in the locative sense.

³ The reading in the *Āṇḍi* record (above, Vol. IV, p. 182) is *Perunagur-aparāḷḡḡaḡa-āḷḡḡa*, but it must be corrected as *Perunagur-kkoṇḍa-āḷḡḡa*. The engraver seems to have unnecessarily added the letters *in* and *ra*. Such typographical errors are common in inscriptions.

plates. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting a few imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose.¹

The object of the plates is to record the grant of the village **Mannātha** situated in the **Bharukachchha-vishaya** to **Bhāṭṭa-Uchchada** son of **Ādityanāga**, a Brahmin of **Hṛtāvaka** class who had come out from the district (*śāhāra*) called **Lohgagakshapathaka**, who belonged to **Kaundinya-gotra** and was a student of **Vāji-Mādhyandina** branch of the **Yajur-Veda**. The grant was made for the performance of the five great sacrifices viz., **Bali**, **Chara**, **Vaisvadeva**, **Agnikhṛta** and **Atithi**. The donor of the grant was **Jayabhata** (III) of the **Gurjara** family of **Broach**.

The date of the grant is given at the end both in words and in figures as the **fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Āsvayuja of the year 488** (of the **Chōdi era**) corresponding to A. D. 736.

Satigulla, the son of **Ala**, is the scribe and **Dēyaka** is the *dātaka* of the grant. At the end there is the **sign manual** of **Śrī-Jayabhata**.

Of the three place names mentioned in the grant **Bharukachchha** stands for the present **Broach**. It is not possible to locate **Lohgagakshapathaka**, while as regards the village granted, in the absence of the details about the boundaries, we have to look up for the name of some modern village having greatest possible resemblance with the name **Mannātha**. I would suggest **Manāḍ** about a mile and a half north-east of **Mehegam** on the north bank of the river **Narbadā**.

The plates under consideration have great historical importance in that they conclusively decide the line of succession of the **Gurjara** princes, showing at the same time that the genealogy accepted so far stands in need of correction.

The genealogy framed by **Dr. Bhagwanlal** is given in *Bombay Gazetteer*² and is accepted by **Prof. Bhandarkar** in the revised list of inscriptions of Northern India³. The line of succession according to these scholars is as follows:—

Dadda I. K. 330.

Jayabhata I. (Vitarāga) K. 355.

Dadda II. (Prasāntarāga) K. 380, 385, 392.

Jayabhata II. K. 405.

Dadda III. (Bāhusahāya) K. 430.

Jayabhata III. K. 456, 485.

Three plates of **Dadda II** (*Prasāntarāga*) dated **Saka 400**, **415** and **417** have to be left out of consideration because they have been accepted as spurious.

The name of **Ahīrōla**, the son of **Jayabhata II** and father of **Jayabhata III**, is known to us for the first time from these plates, and we are now in a position to say that the **Nausāri plates**⁴ of **K. 456** are not of **Jayabhata III** as supposed by **Dr. Bhagwanlal**, but must be attributed to **Jayabhata II**. In the **Nausāri plates** the genealogy stops with **Jayabhata II** whose description agrees with that of the same ruler in the present record. In the 2nd plate of **Jayabhata III** dated **K. 485** unfortunately the earlier descriptive portion is lost but the description of **Jayabhata III** is exactly similar to that of the donor of the present grant, which starts from the middle of line 21. These facts conclusively prove that the **Nausāri plates** of **K. 456** are to be attributed to **Jayabhata II** and the incomplete grant (second plate) of **K. 456** and the present record both to

¹ (Certain other verses seem to occur in ll. 29-32.—Ed.)

² Above, Vol. XX, Appendix, pp. 161 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 113.

⁴ Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 114.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 77 ff.

Jayabhata III, son of Ahirōla and grandson of Jayabhata II. The order of succession, therefore, would stand thus:

Dadda I. K. 330, 346.

Jayabhata I. K. 355.

Dadda II. (Bāhusahāya) K. 380, 385, 392.

Jayabhata II. K. 405, 456.

Ahirōla.

Jayabhata III. K. 486.

While Dadda I and Jayabhata I are referred to with the simple honorific title *śrī*, Dadda II seems to have assumed more power and strength, as he is styled *Parama-Māhēśvara*, *Samadhigata-paścha-mahāśabda* and *Bāhusahāya*. The three remaining princes—Jayabhata II, Ahirōla and Jayabhata III—have each the additional epithet of *Mahāsāmāntādhipati*.

The epithet *Samadhigata-paścha-mahāśabda* has been differently translated by different scholars.¹ I always preferred to translate it as one who has obtained the prosperity and the privilege of five kinds of musical instruments and this meaning I am now in a position to support by a passage in *Mahāśūdasana Sūtanā*² where Kuśāvati, the capital of the great king Śūdasana is described as resounding with ten sorts of sounds (*dava-sadda*, Skt. *daka-sabda*) and these sounds are detailed as the sounds of elephants, horses, chariots, *bhēri*, *mutiṅga*, *vinā*, etc. In Pāli literature the expression *Paśchatāriya* is also used in a similar sense.³

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 [. satata-lakṣmī⁵] -nivāsa-bhūtē⁶ trīṣṭup-samīpa-bāriṇi dina-
nātha-vistārit-ānu(bhāvē) dvija-
- 2 [kul-ōpa]ṭṭeyamāna-vibhava-āśīni⁷ mahati mahārāja-Ka]rṇ-ā[nva]yē kamalākaka(ra)
iva rājaharṣaḥ prava(ba)la-(ka)li-kāla-
- 3 [vilāsit-ākulita⁸-vimāla-svabhāvō gambhīr-ō]-dāra-charita-vismāpita-sakala-lōkapāla-mā-
nasa(b pa)ram]ēśvara-āri-**Ha]rahadēv-ābhūbhūta-Va-**
- 4 [**labhī-pati**]-paritrāy-ōpa]jāta-bhramad-adabhira-ābhū-ābhira-vibhramā-yaśō-vitāna(h*) āri-
Daddas-taaya sū[nur-a-śaṅkit-ā⁹]-gata-prapay-
- 5 [jan-ōpabhukta-vibhava-sam]chay-ōpachīyamāna-ma[nō]-nirvṛtit - anēka - kaṭṭaka - vanā
(vanā)-samādōha-dāha-di[r]lita-pratāp-ānalō ni-
- 6 [ēta-nistṛiṣṭa(striṣṭa)-dhārā]-dārit-ārāti-kari-kumbha-mukta-muktāphala-chochhai-ōllasita-
yaśō-nāu(māu)k-āvaguṇhita-dig-va[ddhā]-vadana-sara-

¹ Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., of Annamalainagar has in his article "Further light on *Paśchamahāśabda*" read at the Seventh Oriental Conference held at Baroda summarised the views of the opposite schools and on the strength of Vijayanagara inscriptions has discarded the interpretation of Sir Aurel Stein and Sir Walter Elliot and supported the views of Dr. S. K. Ayyangar and Mr. Padmanath Bhattacharya.

² *Dīpa Nīlāya*, Vol. II, p. 170 (P. T. S. ed.). My attention to this reference was drawn by my nephew Mr. R. K. Acharya.

³ I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for kindly going through this article and suggesting additions and alterations.

⁴ From the original plates and photographs.

⁵ The text portions within the square brackets in the beginnings of the first fourteen lines have been supplied from the *Namūt Plates*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 77 ff.

⁶ There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

⁷ This is what the *Namūt Plates* actually read. To this is added the editor's note: "the sense requires us to correct this into *vilāsit-śaṅkitā*."

⁸ This portion has also been taken from the *Namūt Plates*.

- 7 [sija] śrī-**Jayabhaṭas**-tasya-ātma-jō mahāmuni-Manu-praṇīta-pravachan-ādhigama-vivēka-
sva-dharm-ānushṭhāna-[pravaṇḍ¹] [va]ṇṇ-āratna-
8 [vyavasth-śu]mālita-sakala-kālī-ka(kā)l-āvalāpāḥ pragayi-jana-maṇḍratna-vajaya²
vyūṭṭa-vibhava-sampādan-ā[pa]jñit-āśeja(śha)-
9 *pārtihiva-dān-ābhūna(mā)nō mada-vivāś-āśkaś-āśivartti-kupita-kari-nivāṭaṇa-prathita-
guru-ga-jādhirōḥaṇa-prabhāṇ³ vipa-
10 [i-pra]pāta-patita-nirapāti-āt-ādhyaudharāṇa-nikhila-lōka-viśra(śru)ta-par-ōpakāra-kā(ka)
raṇa-vyasanāḥ prāchya-pratichya-ādhirāja-vijjimbh-
11 [ta]-mahā-saṅgāṇa-narapati-sahaera-parivārit-āśka-gaḥ-ghaṭā-vighaṭana-prakṛita-bhūja-
vīrya-vikhyāta-**Bāhusabāy**-āpa-
12 [ra]-nām⁴ parama-māhāśvaraḥ samadhiḡata-paścha-mahā-śabda(h*) śrī-Daddana-
tasya ānura-āśka-samata-saṅghaṭṭa-ghana-ghaṭita-gaḥ-gha-
13 [tā]-pātana-paṭur-asahishṇu-vana-gahana-dāv-śalāś dīn-ānāth-ātura-subhita-svajana-
vanna⁵-kamudākara-kamudā-nisākar⁶ [Rhaḡ]-
14 [ra]hī-pravāha iva vipakṣa-kalōḥa-kahamū⁷ Śāntanur-iva samudbhūta-kā(ka)lakal-
āśva-mahā-vāhinī-patir-Ādi-Tha(Va)raha iva svā-bhūja-va(ba)ḥ-
15 patākram-ōddhṛta-dharā-dharā⁸ parama-māhāśvaraḥ samadhiḡata-paścha-mahā-
śabda(bdō) mahā-sāmant-ādhipati(h*) śrī-**Jayabhaṭas**-tasya sutah sandṛya-
16 darpp-ōday-ōttuṅ-ōttamāḡa-bhūpāla-mauli-mālā-chumbita-charaṇa-yugalaḥ sakal-ābhigā-
nuk-ādi-guṇ-ānūrūpa-m[ra]bbha[ra]-ma-
17 naś svayam-vṛtō rāja-lakṣaṇa⁹ kamud-īndu-didhiti-chakravāla-vimala-yaśaḥ-śekha-
rita-Mēru-śikharō ray-śōḡa-āgata-vara-vat-
18 nī-vāṇa-gha(tā)-kōṭi-kuddā(tā)ka-dōś-dāḡaḥ-chatur-vṛdy-ādhigam-ōpabandhi(b)ndhi(hi)ta-
prajñ-ātisaya-samyak-pravartita-nīti-mārg-ānu[ra]h[ra]ṇi(cāṇi)ta-
19 prakṛitā prakṛitika¹⁰ lyāp-āmyatvād-a-sprindhaḥ kalī-kālā-kālmā¹¹ sannibhita-yauvan-
ōpanat-ānanta-vishay-ōpabhōga-saukhyō
20 sahaja-śrūtayā vāśkrī(t-ēndri)ya-grāmaḥ śāś[ra]ḡya-prayōga-nipuṇaḥ śakti-
rā(trā)ḡ-ōpachita-mahimā¹² parama-māhāśvaraḥ sama-
21 [dh]igata-paścha-mahā-śabda(bdō) mahā-sāmant(ānt-ā)dhīpati(h*) śrī[ma]d-**A**hīrōlas-tasya
sakala-bhuvana-tilakasya-ātmajō nija-guṇa-gaṇa-māl-āśaḥ-

¹ This word is not clear in the present inscription. The corresponding reading in the Nausāri Plates is given which the editor has suggested to correct into *pramāḍ* or *pramāḍ*. *Pravāḍ*, however, fits better, and that has been adopted here.

² [Instead of *vajaya* read *vāḡaya*. The Nausāri Plates correctly read *vāḡaya*, but the given text contains *vajaya* which does not suit the sense. B. C. C.]

³ The position on the plate shows that there must have been a syllable or two before the word *pārtihiva*. The Nausāri Plates, however, contain nothing between *dāśa* and *pārtihiva*.

⁴ There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

⁵ Instead of *vanna* read *bandha*.

⁶ [With this compare the passage in Bāna's *Harsacharita* ('Niraya-vaṇa' Ponn, Bombay, 4th edition, p. 39) : . . . vipakṣa-kalōḥa-kahamū śhāntanur-iva samudbhūta-kā(ka)lakal-āśva-mahā-vāhinī-patir-Ādi-Tha(Va)raha iva svā-bhūja-va(ba)ḥ- B. C. C.]

⁷ The corresponding reading in the Nausāri Plates appears to be the same as in the present plates, though that portion is somewhat obscure there and has been read as *śāśkrīta-dhā(ruṇi)*.

⁸ The letter *p* in the conjunct syllable looks more like *ś*.

⁹ This *ś* appears like *ś*.

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- 36 Vāji[mā]llyā[n]di[na]-sābrahmachāri-H[ṣ]āvuka-brāhmaṇ-Ādityanāga - putra - bhāṭṭ-¹ Ōchcha-
dāya* va(ha)li²-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihō[tr-]jātithi-pa[ścha].-
- 37 vi(ma)hā[ya]jñ-ā[di]-kri[ya]-ō[ṣ]apra(rppa)ṇ - ārttha[m] śri-Bharukachchha - viśhay - āntarggata-
Mannātha-grāmaḥ s-ōdraśaḥ s-ōparikarāḥ sa-bhūtapā(vā)ta-pranyā-
(tyā)ya[h]
- 38 sa-dhānya-[hi]rany-ādāyaḥ sa-daś-āpara(rā)dhāḥ s-ōtpadyama(mā)na-viśhikāḥ a-chāṭa-
khaṭa-pravāyaḥ sarvya-rājakiyānām-s-basta-prakāḥ[ā]pa[ṇi].-
- 39 yaḥ pu(pā)rvva-pratta-dēva-brahma-vā(dā)ya-rahitāḥ(tō) bhūmiśchchhidra-nyēyēn-ā-
chanda(ndr-ārik-ārṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvata-sama-kālinaḥ putra-paulā(tr-ā)ṇvaya-
- 40 kram-ōpa[h]hōgyō=dy-Āsvayuja-ma(mā)s-ānu(mā)vāsyā[yaṁ*] ūdhakya-āntarggōṇa
ēra(bra)hma-dāyatvā[na*] pratipādito yā(ya)t(ō)-sy-ōchitayā pra(bra)hma-
- 41 dhā(dā)ya-sthityā bhūmja(bhūn)ja)taḥ kṛishataḥ kaksha(raha)yataḥ pratidīśatō vā na
kaiśchid-vya(vyā)[sē]dhō varittitavyam-s(ā)gāmi-bhadra-ōṣipatibhir-ayamaśmad-³
vadiśai-
- 42 [r-ā]nyair-vv-āyam-akmā(sma)d-dāyō-numantavyaḥ pa(pā)layitavyaś=cha | yaś=ch=
[ā]jñāma-tima(mi)ra=paṭa[l-ā*]vṛita-matir-āchchhindya(udā)d-āchchhindyama(mā)nakaḥ
c-ānumō(mō)dē[ta] sa
- 43 [pa]śchabhir-mukāpa(pā)śakāś-s-ō(s-ō)papa(pā)śakā(kai)=cha sahyukta[h*] aya(ayā)d-
ityukta[ā]=cha bhagavatā Vēdavyūśena | Śhāshṭi-varaha-sahasra(śrā)ṇi
svarggō ti-
- 44 [shṭi]atī bhūm(i)daḥ [i*] āchchhētā ch-ānuma[ntā] cha tsev[ē](tāny-ō)ya narakē vasēta(i)
[i*] Vindly-āṭav[i*]ā(āh-ā)ṭōyāṁ śushka-kō[ara-vāśinaḥ] [i*] kṛishp-āhayaō hi
- 45 [jā*]yantō bh[ū]m(i)-dāyam haranti yō || Vā(ha)huhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rā[ajbh]h[i*]
Sagar-ādibh[i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya [ta]dā phalaḥ(lam) [i*]
- 46 Agnō-apatyāḥ prathamāḥ suvarṇatā bhūr-Vvaishṇavi Su(Śū)rya-utās=ch s[ā](gā)vaḥ
[i*] lōka-trayaḥ ta(tā)ṁ bhavēd-dhi dattatā⁴ yaḥ kānchanam gāu-cha [mahitō]
- 47 cha dadyāta(t) [i*] Yān-īha dattāni purā narēndrāḥ(drair-)dānāni dharmam-ānchā(rtha)-
yāśas-karṇi | nīrbhūta(kṛa)-ma(mā)lya-pratima(mā)ni tāni kō nāma s-
- 48 dhuh punaś-dadita || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yā(ya)tnādrat(d-ra)kha Yudhi-
ch(ha)shṭi[ra] | mahim mahimatām śrēṣṭha dānēch-chhrēyō-nu[pa(pā)lanam-iti(nam
[i*]ti)] [i*]
- 49 Bhāṭṭa-śri-[Dē]ya[ka-dūtakaḥ*] || Sathvatsara-śata-chatuṣṭayē śhaḍ-aśīty-adhikē⁵
Āsvayuja-bahula-paṇchadaśy[āṇi . . .]
- 50 Sathva 400 80 ā Āsvayuja va 10 5 likhitaḥ-ch-aītan-mayā va(ba)la(lā)dhikṛit-Ālla-anta-
mahābala(lā)dhikṛita-]

¹[On the photograph the reading looks like bhāṭṭ-āchchhōpa, — B. C. C.]

²There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

³The syllable śrā has a peculiar shape. It looks more like śā, though tā again has a different form as is seen in the very next word atithi.

⁴Read *ayāyama=udak. On top of the syllables dhōpā there is a sign of an uncertain letter.

⁵The two syllables yama are superfluous. Read -ōṣipatīśvamaśmad.

⁶[The Kāvi grant reads: Śrīkaṇṭhōpaka-dūtakaḥ. The reading in the present inscription is not certain. It can also be: Bhāṭṭa-Śrīkaṇṭhōpaka-dūtakaḥ. — B. C. C.]

51. [Saṃgullā]ma ||

Sva-hastō mama śrī-Jayabhaṭasya ||

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-4) In the great lineage of the great king Karna—which became the (perpetual) abode (of Lakṣmī) ; which allayed the misery (caused by) desires ; whose glory was wide-spread like that of the sun (and) which possessed (wealth that supported families) of Brahmins—(there lived) like a swan in the lotus-pond, the illustrious **Dadda**, whose (pure temper was not agitated by the freaks) of the mighty Kali age ; who, by his grave and noble conduct struck the minds of all kings (or *dīkṣū*) with wonder (and) over whom there hung with the grace of a rolling mass of white clouds, a canopy of glory gained by (protecting the lord of Valabhi) who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious **Harṣadēva**.

(Ll. 4-7) His son (was) the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa** whose mental happiness increased as his atoms of (wealth were enjoyed) by needy men coming (to him) without fear ; the fire of whose valour was fierce enough to burn up numbers of inimical families ; (and) who veiled the lotus-like faces of the women who were the quarters with the cloth of (his) white glory that shone out in the guise of the pearls coming out of the temples of the elephants of (his) enemies, rent open by the (edge of (his) sharp sword).

(Ll. 7-12) His son (was) the illustrious **Dadda**, who was devoted to the performance of his own religious duties with discrimination due to his (right) understanding of the treatises composed by the great sage Maṇu ; who had rooted out all the arrogance of the Kali age by (the proper management) of the (four) castes (*varṇa*) and stages (*āśrama*) (of life) ; who removed the pride of charity of all (other) kings by giving (lit. acquiring) wealth that was beyond the hopes of the supplicants ; whose valour in mounting mighty elephants was rendered famous by holding in check infuriated elephants which were lost to all control through rut and which rebelled against the goad ; whose habit of benevolence was famous among all people through (his) assisting hundreds of kings who were afflicted by misery ; who was well known by his other name of **Bāhusabhya** through the strength of (his) arm, that was displayed in tearing through innumerable troops of elephants surrounded by thousands of kings in the great wars waged with the great kings of the east and of the west ; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds.

(Ll. 12-15) His son (was) the illustrious **Jayabhaṭa** who was clever in tearing through the troops of elephants thickly arranged in the clash of numerous battles ; who was a very forest fire to the intolerant (i.e., his opponents) ; who was a friend of the poor, the destitute and the sick ; who was a full moon to the lotus-pond (in the state) of relations and friends ; who like the stream of (the river) Bhūgīratī was able to agitate his enemies (or rocks) ; who like Śāntanu was the lord of a great army (or of the great river) full of a humming noise ; who like the Primeval Boar held the earth raised by the might of his own arm ; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and who was a *Mahāśmantādhipati*.

(Ll. 15-23) His son (was) the illustrious **Ahīrōla**, whose feet were kissed by garlands on the crests of kings with their heads lofty on account of the rising pride of their valour ; who was chosen by Rājalakṣmī (Royal splendour) of her own accord with her heart full of love for all his attractive virtues ; whose glory, white like the mass of light of the full-moon, crowned the peak of (the mount) Mēru ; whose bar-like (i.e., strong) arm was capable of crushing crores of troops of elephants belonging to his great enemies met in the battle field ; who had pleased the subjects by properly chalking out the paths of morality through (his) surpassing wisdom which was increased by (his)

mastery over four-fold learning; who, being naturally of benevolent disposition, was not stained by the blackness (i.e., the wicked influence) of the Kali age; who had his senses controlled owing to (his) natural apathy towards the pleasures of countless objects (of enjoyment) attendant upon the approaching youth; who was well-versed in the employment of the six expedients; whose greatness was enhanced by (his) three *śaktis*; who was a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and who was a *Mahāśāntādhīpati*.

(LL 21-53) He—who was the ornament of the whole world—son, Śrī-Jayabhāṭa, who is adorned by the garland (in the form of) the collection of his own virtues; whose lotus-like feet are saluted by numerous great kings; who has the whole earth brightened with the lime-wash (in the form) of his glory, which is as white as the *kunda*, the moon and the white *śindurāra* flower; who has consumed the misfortune of the whole world by the fire (in the form) of his great prowess; who has expelled the multitude of all enemies by the torrents of his irresistible arrows; who is clever in destroying the troops of elephants running about in the best of battles; who is shining (on account) of the breaking of the multitude of lofty horses capricious(1) and dancing in the unsteady battlefield; whose right shoulder has been darkened by the collection of the maws (issuing) out of the sword which looked like having projecting teeth on account of the pearls (sticking to it) which had fallen from the (temples) of elephants violently split by him; who like a lotus-pool manifests various auspicious marks (as the lotus-pool has many cranes) but is not wicked (or with a muddy bottom); who like the moon is endowed with all the fine arts (as the moon has digits) but is not a repository of vices (as the moon is the "night-maker"); who like the sea has caused the hostile kings to come in (i.e., submit to) (as the sea has given shelter to wingless mountains) but is not afflicted with diseases (as the sea is full of crocodiles); who like Nārāyaṇa has destroyed his foes (as Nārāyaṇa is an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa); who like Hara has secured all prosperity (as Śiva has his body besmeared with ashes) but is not surrounded by dissolute people (or serpents); who resembles the new moon, since whilst the splendour of his body is increasing he causes the people to worship with folded hands on account of the lightness of the taxation (*alpa-kara*) just as the new moon when she is on the increase and sheds slender rays (*alpa-kara*) still causes the people to salute; who by the edge of his sword quieted the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi (who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Pandits of the whole world and giving them the fruits of their wishes) is praised in songs by the whole crowds of the wives of the gods; whose lotus-feet are reddened by the rays of the crest jewels of hundred of princes; who has obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and is a *Mahāśāntādhīpati*;

(LL 33-40) being in the best of health, informs all princes, feudal chiefs, district officers and *Mahottaras* in charge of *śāhīra* and villages: Be it known to you that, for the increase of merit and glory of (my) parents and of myself, both in this and the next world, the village Mannātha, lying within the district of Bhurukachchha, together with the *adwaga* and *sparikara* and *Bhūta-Vāra-pratyāgo*, with its income in grain and gold, with (the proceeds of fines for) the ten faults, with the right to forced labour, not to be entered by *chāḥa* and *dhātā*, not to be meddled with by any royal officer, exclusive of former grants made to gods and Brahmins, according to *dhāmsicchedhāra*-*nyāya*, to continue as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and the mountains endure (and) to be enjoyed in succession by sons and grandsons, has, to-day on the new moon of the month of Āśvayuja, been given by me as a *brahmadāya* with libations of water, for the

¹ [Here the author has followed the translation given by Bühler, which was based on his imperfect reading of the text. I would translate this passage as: 'he is the very cloud (in the form of) Jayabhāṭa who has fearfully extinguished the fire (in the state) of Tājīhas who had caused plenty of suffering to numerous people, in the city of the Lord of Valabhi with the water of the edge of his sword; who is praised, etc. See above p. 151 n. 7—Ed.]

purpose of performing the five great sacrifices, viz., *Bali, Chara, Vaikuntika, Agnikhātra*, and *Atithi*, to Bhaṭṭa Uchchaṭṭa¹, who came from the district of Lāṅgatakalakṣapathaka, who is of Kaundinya *gōtra*, who belongs to the community of Trāividya Brahmins, who is a student of the Vāji-Mādhyandina (*sākhā*) and who is the son of Ādityanāga, a Hṣṭāvaka Brāhmin.

(LL 40-43) Wherefore no one should behave so as to obstruct him when enjoying (2), cultivating (3), causing (4) to be cultivated or entrusting (5) to any one else in accordance with the proper conditions of a *brahmadāya*. (And) this our gift should be assented to and preserved by future good kings whether of our own lineage or others. And he shall incur the guilt of five great sins together with the minor sins who, having his mind obscured by the thick darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (this grant) or assent to its confiscation.

(LL 43-48) [Here follow six of the customary verses.]

(LL 49-51) The illustrious *bhaṭṭa* Dāyaka is the *dāteka*.

In the year four hundred increased by eighty-six on the 15th day of the dark half of Āśvayuja (the year 400.80.6 Āśvayuja, va 10 5) this has been written by me, the *Mahābalādhipriya* Saṅgalla, the son of the *Balādhipriya* Allā.

(This is) the sign manual of me, Śrī-Jayabhaṭa.

No. 24.—MALLASARUL COPPER-PLATE OF VIJAYASENA.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate comes from Mallasarul,² a village about a mile and a half from the north bank of the Dāmodar river, within the jurisdiction of Galsi Police Station of the Burdwan District, Bengal. It was discovered in 1929 by Dr. Surendhar Roy in course of re-excavation of an old tank adjoining his house and was subsequently presented by him to the Vaidya-Sāhitya-Parishat of Calcutta. The decipherment of the text inscribed on the plate was entrusted to the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstri, but due to his continuous ill health he could not take it up seriously and the copper-plate, which remained unpublished, attracted little attention after his death. Recently I approached the Sāhitya-Parishat for permission to edit the record, which was very kindly accorded, and the original plate together with a tentative and incomplete transcript, prepared partly by the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya and partly by Mr. Chintāharan Chakravarti, M.A., was handed over to me. An article in Bengali giving a preliminary account of the plate has been contributed by me to the quarterly journal of the Sāhitya-Parishat. But considering the importance of the record I have thought it desirable to edit the same with fuller details in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

This is a single sheet of copper, measuring 10 4" long by 6 5" broad, which is inscribed on both faces lengthwise. A circular seal about 3 5" in diameter is soldered on the left side of the plate. It bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed deity with a *chakra* in the background representing perhaps the 'Wheel of Law.' Below the figure occurs in raised letters the legend (*Mahārāja-Vijayaśaṅkara*, i.e., 'Of the Mahārāja Vijayaseṇa,' which is partly defaced. The plate contains 25 lines of writing; of these fifteen lines are engraved on the obverse and ten on the reverse. The engraver has not been able to follow the draft with uniform accuracy: there are slips and lapses at a number of places, which have been duly pointed out in the

¹ [See above p. 152, n. 1.—Ed.]

² The place is marked as 'Sital' in Survey of India map No. 73 M. 11 (1" to a mile scale) of 1929-30, and as 'Mallasarul' in the Map of the District of Burdwan.

text. The uneven surface of the reverse side, showing a number of fissures, must have made the engraver's task somewhat difficult. In several instances he has been obliged to leave blank space in the middle of a line and re-engrave a letter or letters, as in the last line, after the blank space. The plate is cracked at the upper left corner and some slices appear to have been cut away from here, as also from the lower left corner. As a result of the damage, which happened probably when the plate was being dug out, several letters are lost from the commencement of lines 1-3 and 14-15.

The characters belong to the Eastern variety of the 'Gupta alphabet', representing a further stage of development as compared to those of the copper-plates of Bengal dating from the 5th century A.D. Palaeographically, it resembles the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpachandra¹ which are referable to the 6th century. As pointed out below, the approximate age of the plate can be determined also from its internal evidence. As regards the forms of individual letters, noteworthy are *m*, *y*, *śā* and *ṣ*, and the conjuncts *śch*, *m*, *lp* and *lm*. The letter *y* shows a curl on the left with opening on the outer side. This particular form of the letter has been found by Hoernle also in the Bower Manuscript,² and it appears in the Faridpur plates, the Gunaighar plate of Vainyagupta (A.D. 507)³ and in the latest one (A.D. 543-44)⁴ of the Dāmōdarpur plates. The letter *h* has the lower portion of its curve shaped like a hook, turned to the right. It differs from the *h* occurring in the Baigram,⁵ Pāhārpur⁶ and Dāmōdarpur⁷ plates in which the curve is much shorter and is turned to the left. Attention may also be drawn to the use of the peculiar medial *ē*, consisting of the *ē*-stroke on top of consonant and the hook-like *ā*-stroke added to its stem below. The record contains examples of the final *t* and *m* and the numeral signs for 3, 7, 8 and 20.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two verses in *Āryā* metre at the beginning and eight other verses relating to land grant, the document is composed in prose throughout. The superfluous addition of the suffix *ka* in *śūlaka* (l. 12) is a well-known feature of the records of the Gupta period. The word *vāraṅgita*, in *asmad-vāraṅgitaḥ* (l. 12), which probably refers to a class of officers, is of lexical importance.⁸ As regards orthography, mention may be made of the doubling of a consonant either preceding a subscript *r* or following a superscript *r*, the use of the dental nasal in *vaṇṣa* (l. 17), and of the same nasal instead of *ṣ*, once in *daṇḍa* (l. 1). The sign for *ḍ* occurs only in a single instance in *brāhmaṇya* (l. 16), but everywhere else in the record the sign for *ṣ* has been employed for *ḍ*. This orthographical distinction between *ḍ* and *ṣ*, as is well known, gradually became obsolete after the Gupta period.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 103 ff.

² *Introduction to the Bower Manuscript* (Reprint, Bombay 1914), p. 46.

³ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, 1936, pp. 45 ff.

⁴ *Ahere*, Vol. XV, pp. 141 ff. and Vol. XVII, p. 193.

⁵ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, pp. 78 ff.

⁶ *Ahere*, Vol. XX, pp. 59 ff.

⁷ *Ahere*, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.

⁸ The primary meaning of *vāra* is 'a woman's turn' or 'proper piece', and *vāraṅgita* would mean 'one appointed in turn' or 'one appointed in a place'. In the Ghugrahati plate of Samīchārāditya certain persons are said to have been appointed *śūlaka* (*śūlaka-Nagandha-Kāśa-dāta-kulśākhya-grahapāṇi*) in connection with the land granted. Also in a Faridpur plate of the time of Gōpachandra we have *Vishagādhitaraṇa-śūlaka-grahapāṇi*, i.e., 'having appointed, through the Vishagādhitaraṇa, śūlakas who are acquainted with administrative affairs'. The word *śūlaka* has been taken by Pargiter to mean 'a referee' or 'an arbitrator' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 205, n. 49; in the above passage I read *jāṇ* for *śūlaka* of Pargiter). Evidently the word *vāraṅgita* is used in a similar sense in the present record. In line 12, this class of officers are supposed to carry out the appointment of the price of the land at the Pūṣṭi.

The record opens with an eulogy of the god Lōkanātha,¹ of *Dharma*, and of the saints (*santa*), i.e., the Buddhist Saṅgha. In line 2 of the inscription occurs the name of a paramount sovereign (*Mahārājādhirāja*), the first two letters of which can be clearly read as *Gōpa*. The remaining portion of the name, appearing at the beginning of line 3, evidently consisted of two letters which are only partially preserved. It is clear, however, that the last letter of the name was a conjunct with subscript *r* as a component. The lower portion of the third letter has the shape of a triangle with an acute angle pointing downwards, from which it is evident that this is a fragment of the letter *cha*. Moreover, the name must have been in the locative case, in conformity with the present participle form *prāsādi* that immediately follows. Under the circumstances I feel no hesitation in restoring the passage as *Gōpachandīḥ prāsādi*, i.e., 'during the reign of Gōpachandra.'

In lines 3-5, honour is shown to a number of officers who are mentioned by their respective designation and not by name, viz., *Kārttikīṭika*, *Kumārāmāya*, *Chandōddharāṇika*, *Uparika*, *Andasāṅika*, *Āgrahāṇika*, *Aṅgasthāṇika*, *Bhōgapatika*, *Vishayapati*, *Tadāyuktika*, *Hiranyasūmadāyika*, *Pattalaka*, *Aśvuthika* and officers entrusted with *dēvadrōṇi* (i.e., procession or abhūtion of images). As these officers are mentioned immediately after *Varddhamaṇa-bhaktāu* there is no doubt they were the various functionaries of the provincial administration directly concerned with the affairs of this *bhakti*. The enumeration of the officers is followed by a list of the Elders (*mahattaras*) and other important persons concerned with the present grant, viz., *mahattara* Himadatta, an *agrahāra* of Ardhakaraka; *mahattara* Suvarṇavāsaka of Nirvṇitavātaka; *mahattara* Dharmavāmin, an *agrahāra* of Kapasthavātaka; the *mahattaras* Shashphidatta and Śridatta, *agrahārins* of Vajravallaka; *Bhūṭa* Vāmanavāmin, an *agrahāra* of Kōṭṭavāra; *Mahidatta* and *Rājyadatta*, *agrahārins* of Gōdhagrāma; *Jivavāmin* of Sālmavātaka; *Khādgi*-Hari of Vakkattaka; *Khādgi*-Gōika of Madhuvātaka; *Khādgi*-Bhadranandin of Kharḍajōṛikā; and *Vāmanāyaka* Hari and others of Vinḍhyapuri.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land during the reign of King Gōpachandra by *Mahārāja Vijayasēna*, to a Brahmin named *Vatsaavāmin* of the Kaundinya *gotra*, belonging to the Babrupiṇa *sikhā* of the Rīgveda, to enable him to perform the 'five great sacrificial rites'.² The land granted measured eight *kulyavāpas*³ in area and was situated in the village of *Vāttragarttā* within the *Vakkattaka vūḥi* of the *Varddhamaṇa bhakti*. It was bounded on the east and south by Gōdhagrāma, on the north by the Vajravallaka *agrahāra* and on the west in part by Āmragarttikā. The plot was duly marked out by pegs (*kilaka*),⁴ a system that finds a parallel in the land survey of modern times.

The transaction took place in the following manner: Vijayasēna approached the Elders (*mahattaras*) and other notabilities of the neighbouring villages and also the Court of the *Vitāi* (*vīṭhy-āṭhikarāṇa*), expressing his desire to purchase, in the customary way, eight *kulyavāpas* of land for the aforesaid purpose. The *Vitāi* Court and the Elders enquired into the matter and signified their approval, considering that 'a sixth part of the religious merit will accrue to the *Paramamahattāraka*, i.e., the King, and they themselves, as the protectors of the gift, will also have fame and prosperity'. The necessary amount of money in *śiṅḍas* was then duly paid at the *Vitāi* Court by Vijayasēna to cover the price of the land, which was divided by the *Vāra* officers⁵ and the gift was made subject to the express condition that the usual dues in respect of the land

¹ The figure on the seal of the copper-plate may be a representation of Lōkanātha, although it is too indistinct to admit of a definite identification.

² These comprise the five daily rites, viz., *havi*, *chāra*, *satimāṇa*, *agnihōtra* and *śikṣā*.

³ The area is specified in figure also in l. 24 (*śulka* 8).

⁴ The pegs are said to have borne the device of *śamā-dāśa-māṭā*, i.e., 'a string of lotus seeds'.

⁵ See above, p. 156, n. 8.

would be borne by him and credited to the revenues of the *Vitāi*. Having in this manner obtained the right of ownership, he next transferred it to the donee Vatsarvāmī by means of a copper-plate charter. In this transaction a person named Subhadatta acted as the *Dātaka*, the *Sādhā-vigrahita* Bhōgachandra prepared the draft, while the *Pustapāla* Jayadīsa was responsible for getting the copper-plate "beaten" (*tāpta*), by which evidently the process of engraving, that is to say the technical part of it, is to be understood. The date is given as the year, i.e., the regnal year, 3, the month of Śrāvāṇa, the 27th day.

Mahārājādhirāja Gōpachandra, the reigning king, should be identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* of the same name mentioned in one of the Faridpur copper-plates. *Mahārāja Vijayasēna*, the donor, whose name appears on the seal and also in lines 8 and 13, and who must have been a vassal chief of Gōpachandra, should be identified with the *Mahārāja, Mahāśāstaka* Vijayasēna, the *Dātaka* of the Gunaighar plate of Vainyagupta (A.D. 507). The present charter therefore may be placed in the first half of the sixth century, a conclusion, we have already seen, is borne out by the palaeography of the inscription. It appears that Vijayasēna served both under Vainyagupta and Gōpachandra, at different dates; but it is difficult to say which of the two kings was the earlier. It is likely, however, that as Vijayasēna issued the present charter under his own seal, he occupied a more dignified position under Gōpachandra and this would probably indicate a point of time later than A.D. 507, in which year he was associated as a *Dātaka* with Vainyagupta's Gunaighar plate. It should be noted also that although Vainyagupta, his overlord, was at this date enjoying some sort of independent status, he styled himself only as *Mahārāja*, and not as *Mahārājādhirāja*. Vainyagupta, as his name would suggest, might have been related to the Guptas of Magadha. Gōpachandra on the other hand was probably a member of a local family. That he had the status of a paramount sovereign is certain. As we already know, this king, like Dharmāditya of the Faridpur plates who enjoyed a similar status, had placed one of his chiefs in charge of a territory in Eastern Bengal. From the evidence of this record it now appears that Gōpachandra had under him also the Vardhamāna *bhukti*, answering to the present Burdwan Division. He appears therefore to have owned a fairly extensive territory. By the middle of the sixth century, or a little earlier, Bengal seems to have been lost to the Guptas of Magadha and local princes had established their independence. They probably retained this position until the rise of the Emperor Harshavardhana. One of the Faridpur plates (the Ghugrahati plate) mentions another independent king of Bengal named Samāchāradēva. The script of this plate is definitely later than that of the plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpachandra. Hence he should be placed after them, that is either at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the seventh century.

Some remarks are called for regarding the identification of the localities mentioned in the copper-plate. Most of them appear to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Vetrageritā within Vakkattaka *vīṭāi*, a part of which was granted to the donee. *Vetrageritā* itself cannot be located with certainty. But *Gōdhagrāma* may be identical with Gūhagrām on the Dāmodar, to the south-east of Mallasāra where the plate has been found. *Amrageritika* may be modern Ambahuli (also called Sīmānā), to the south of Mallasāra. *Khaṇḍajōtikā* is perhaps Khāṇḍajuli between Mallasāra and Gūhagrām, while *Sālmali* may be Mallasāra itself. The name of the *vīṭāi* Vakkattaka seems to have survived in Baktā, a place immediately to the east of Gūhagrām.

The Vakkattaka *vīṭāi*, representing a part of the Vardhamāna *bhukti*, included a strip of the country along the north bank of the Dāmodar river. Another *vīṭāi* of the same *bhukti* was known during the *Sēna* period as Svalpa-dakṣiṇa-*vīṭāi*, which lay along the Bhāgirathī river in the north-

eastern corner of the Burdwan District.¹ In the unpublished Nālandā plate of Dharmapāla a *vīṭī* in *Gayā-rāṣṭra* is described as *Jambūnadi-vīṭī*, i.e., 'the *vīṭī* on the Jambū river'. Again in a grant of the Gupta period from Monghyr District there is reference to a *Nanda-vīṭī*, the name being recognizable in 'Nandapur', the headspot of the grant, situated on the Ganges.² From these scattered references it would appear as if the term *vīṭī* was applied in ancient times to a tract of land immediately bordering on a river.

The expression *vīṭy-adhikaraṇa*, i.e., the *Vīṭī* Court (l. 8) is interesting. A similar expression *adhishikṣa-ādihikaraṇa* is used in reference to the town or district of Kōṭivarsha in the Dānādarpur copper-plates, where it seems to denote 'the City Court'. The persons mentioned in lines 5-8 immediately before *vīṭy-adhikaraṇa*, among whom are *mahattaras*, i.e., Elders, and *agrahāṇins*, i.e., 'holders of *agrahāṇas*', were probably the heads of administration of the *vīṭī*. In connection with *vīṭy-adhikaraṇa* we may compare the expression *Savarṇa-vīṭy-adhikṛta*, i.e., 'one who is in charge of the administration of *Savarṇa-vīṭī*' occurring in the Ghograhati plate of Samādhāradēva.

TEXT.³

Obverse.

- 1 (L5)kanūthah⁴ yaḥ pamsān sukṛta-karma-phala-hētaḥ [1*] satya-
tapānaya-mūrtiḥ-lōka-dvaya-sādhano dharmah [|| 1*] Tad-anu jita-danika(mba)-
lōka jaya-
- 2 [mī*]... para-tut-ārthah⁵ [2*] nīrma[stāṛ]ḥ sa-charitaḥ para-lōka-jigishavaḥ santah
[|| 2*] pṛithivī Prithu-iva(Prithuvar) prathita-pratīpa-naya-sauryy[ā] Mahārājadhira-
jā-Gōpa-
- 3 [chandrō] prathit tad-anujñaptāyām pūya-ṣṭtara-janapad-ādhyātmā[ā] satata-
dharmma-kriyā-variddhamānāyām Varddhamāna-bhuktan pūjyān-varttamān-āgasthi-
tata⁶ karttākrutika-ku-
- 4 mārāmāya-ch[an]j[ā]dīharanik-ōparik-andragik-āgrahārik-aupasthānika-bhōgapatika-visha-
yapati-tada(dā)yuktaka-hiragyasāmudāyika-pattalak-āvasathika-dēvadromi-samva(mba)-
- 5 ddb-ādib-vīdhivat-sampūjya Vakkattaka-vīthi-samva(mba)ddh-Ārddhakarak-āgrahāṇa-
mahattara-Himadattaḥ Nirvṛtavātākya-mahattara-Sa[va*]raṇayasa[ā] Kapistha-
vāpak-āgrah[ā]ṇa-
- 6 mahattara-Dharmavāmi(mi) Vajavallak-āgrahāṇa-mahattara-Shaṣṭhidatta-Śrīdattau Kōṭi-
javir-āgrahāṇa-bhaṭṭa-Vāmanasvāmi(mi) Gōdhagrām-āgrahāṇa-Mahidatta-Rājya-
- 7 dattau Śālmavātākya-Jivasvāmi(mi) Vakkattākya-khāḍgi-Harib Madhuvātākya-
khāḍgi-Gōṭika(ba) Khandajōṭikēya-khāḍgi-Bhadranandi(nā) Vindhyapurēya-vāsanāyaka-

¹ Majumdar, *Inscr. of Bengal*, p. 71.

² Above, p. 51.

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 76. Mr. Bhattacharya renders it as 'master of the bullion market' which cannot be accepted.

⁴ From the original copper-plate.

⁵ About eight letters are missing at the beginning of this line.

⁶ Some letters are missing also here, of which two has been tentatively restored.

⁷ For this restoration see remarks above p. 157.

⁸ The second *sa* is superfluous and should be omitted.

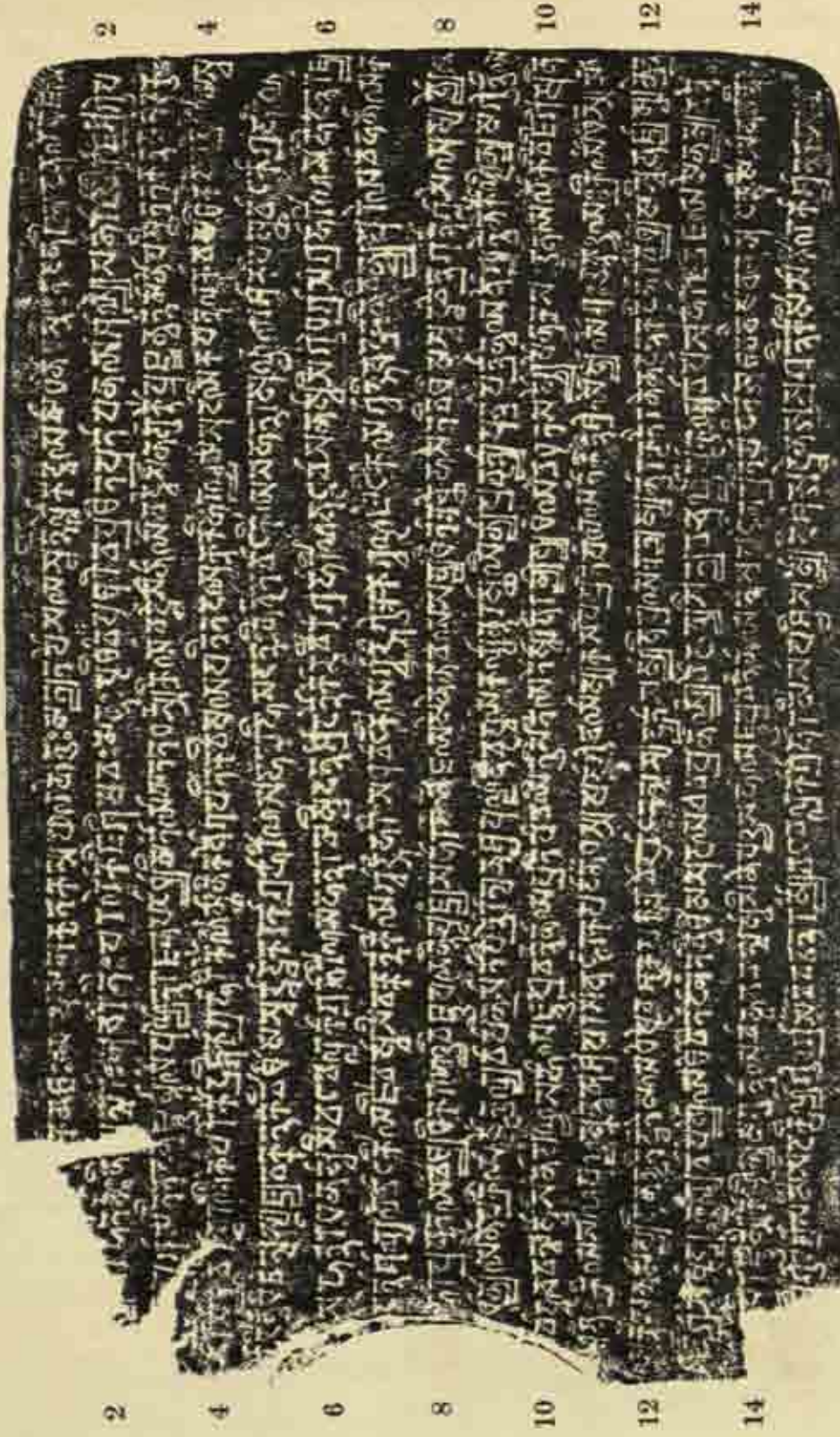
- 8 Hari-prabhu(bhri)layō vīthy-adhikarāṇ-cha vijñāpayanti [*] pūjya¹Mahārāja-
Vijayasēnēna vāyam-abhyarthitā ichchāhā(ya)m-ēta(d*)-vīthi-samva(mba)dāha-
Vēttaragarttā-grāmē yushmabhyō ya-
- 9 thā-nyāya(yō)n-ōpakriy-āshṭau kulyavāpēn mātā-pittir-ātmanas-cha puṇy-
ābhivṛiddhaya² kalpāntara-atkāyinyā pravṛittyā putra-pautr-āvaya-bhōgyatvēna
Kaundinya-sagōttrāya
- 10 Vā(Bā)hvyicha-Vatsasvāminō(nō) pañcha-mahā-yajña-pravarttanāya pratipāva(da)yi-
tam-iti [*] yatō-smābhū-asy-ābhyartha(na*)ly-āvadhitam-asy-āshō(śahō)-nukramah³
ubhaya-lōka-vijñāshu(bhū)(bhū)
- 11 [sā]dhubhiḥ kriyamāṇa-puṇya-skandhōshu śrī-Paramā(ma)bhojjāraka-pa(pā)dānān
dharmma-chaḍ-bhāgō cha yō⁴-smākam-āpi pratipāyatām kirtti-śrēyōbhyaḥ
yōgaḥ [*] uktaḥ-cha [*] Yaḥ kriyām dharmma-sath-
- 12 yuktān manas-āpy-abhinandati [*] [va*]rddhatō sa yath-āsh-ēva⁵ ānka-
paksha iv-ōdurāt [3*] tat-sampadyatām-asy-ābhīprāya ity-asman(d)-vām-
kṛitān-anēna dattaka-dinārā(n*) vīthyaṁ samvibhajy-āsmān(d)-Vēttar-
garitā-grāmē-shābhyāḥ kulyavāpēbhyō yath-ōchitam dānam ta(d)-vīthi-sam-
daya ēva prānāryya⁶ vōdhasvyam-ity-avachūrṇy-āshṭau kulyavāpā Mahārāja-
Vijayasēnasya dattō(dattāḥ)
- 14 ...pi⁷ rūjū-āmai Kaundinya-sagōttrāya Vā(Bā)hvyicha-Vatsasvāminē pañcha-
mahā-yajña-pravarttanāya tāmra-pra(pā)ttēna pratipādītā⁸ atha cha⁹ ch-
śishūn chaturāhu dīkahu¹⁰ sīmā bhavanti pō-
- 15 (rvasyām dīai) Gōdhagrāma-sīmā dakṣiṇyāḥ(pasyām) Gōdhagrāmā(ma) [ē]-
va uttaraasyām Vajavallak-āgrahāra-sīmā pāchinasyām(māyām) dīai arddhāna
Āmragaritikā-sīmā kīlakā-ch-āttra kama(l-ā)-

Reverse.

- 16 kaha-māl-āśritā(tā-)-chaturāhu dīkahu¹¹ nyastā bhavanty-ēvam-āshān kṛita-
sīm-āśkānām-asya brāhmaṇasya pañcha-mahā-yajña-pravarttanān-ōpabhuṅjānasya
na
- 17 kōnachid-ētaḍ-vanājen¹²-ānyatamēna vā eva(pāpy(ēva)p-āpy)-āvā(bā)dhā hasta-
prakhēpō vā [ā]jryyaḥ [*] ēvam-avadhītē yō-tha karōti sa vadhyāḥ
pañchabbir-mma-
- 18 hāpātakaḥ ē-ōpapātakaḥ sahyuktaḥ syād-āpi cha[*] N-āya dēvā na
pitarō haviḥ pīṇān samāpmyaḥ [*] [chhi]na-mastaka-vat-tālaḥ apra-

¹ Read pūjya.² [Correct reading seems to be -asy-āś-ōsh-nukramah.—Ed.]³ [Intimidat reading is dharmma-chaḍ-bhāg-ōpachyō; pa in the last word has apparently been inadver-
tently omitted by the scribe.—Ed.]⁴ [On the plate the reading seems to be padā-āshō cha. But the reading yath-āsh(cha) cha may have been
intended.—Ed.]⁵ Read pūnāpya.⁶ Not more than three letters are missing. Probable restoration anā-āpi.⁷ Read pratipādītā/ta.⁸ This cha is superfluous and should be omitted from text.⁹ Read chatur-dīkahu or chaturdīkha dīkahu.¹⁰ Read yashajna.

Obverse.



16

18

20

22

24

16

18

20

22

24



- 19 tishyahā patihyati [14*] bhūmi-dān-āpaharaṇa-pratipālana-guṇa-dōsa(sha)-vyañjakāh
āreḥāh ślōkā bhavanu [1*] śhaśhīh varṇa-sahasrāni
- 20 svarggō mandati bhūmidah [1*] ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva
marokṣe vasēt [15*] āspṣṭayanti pīṭarāh pravalganti pītāmāh [1*]
bhūmidō-
- 21 sman(t)-kulē jātaḥ sa naḥ santārayishyati [16*] Yat-kūchin(t)-kurutō
pāpān narō lōbha-samā(ṃ)avitaḥ [1*] api gō-charmna-mātrēṇa bhūmi-
dānēna śudhyati [17*] Pō-
- 22 rva-datiām dvijātibhyō yat(n)ād-raksha Yuddhēsthira [1*] bhūmīn bhūmi-
[ma*]tām śrāṣṭha dānāch-chūreṇō-nupālanaḥ [18*] Iyam rāja-śatair-ddatā
diyātē cha punaḥ
- 23 punaḥ [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [19*] Taḍit-
taraṅga-va(ha)hulām śriyaḥ matvā cha marttyānūh [1*] na dharmna-
sthitaya-
- 24 a-sad(bhih)(dbhir-)yuktā lōkē vilōpitum [20*] kalya 8 dūtakaḥ Sabhadattō
likhitam sādhipigrahika-Bhōgachandrēṇa
- 25 tāpitām paṭāpāla-Jayadāsēna [1*] samvvat(samvat) 3 Śrāva dī 20 7

No. 25.—TANDIKONDA GRANT OF AMMARAJA II.

BY BHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO, B.A., B.L., RAJAHMUNDRY.

This interesting inscription is engraved on a set of four copper-plates, which was secured by the Rev. Dr. Isaac Cannaday in 1915, while he was at Sattenapalli, Guntūr District, and forwarded to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, in the early part of the same year. It is marked as C. P. No. 11 of 1914-15.* From the incomplete nature of the text, the writing appears to have continued on the fifth plate which, however, along with the seal and the ring that held these plates together, was lost and never afterwards traced. Dr. Cannaday informs me in the course of his letters, that while he was on tour on Mission work in Sattenapalli taluk during the cold season of 1914-15 and camping at a place called Oruvakallu, he was told by the local catechist that one Chulaka Satyānandam, a Christian of Mādiga extraction, had found, while digging for old earth (pālī-manna) with which to construct house walls, a set of copper plates and that he was considerably disturbed over that matter. It appears that the fifth plate and perhaps the seal and the ring, too, were melted down by that man; and Dr. Cannaday who learnt everything about the discovery, allayed the fears of the man and secured the remaining plates for the Department. The place of the discovery of these plates is near the huge granite boulder or rock which is nearly 250 feet high and which is situated to the west of the village Oruvakallu.† The plates were found in a good state of preservation; and I now edit the inscription on them from the excellent estampages kindly sent to me by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti at my request.

Each of these four plates measures roughly 11 inches by 5 inches. Except for the first plate which contains writing on the inner side alone the remaining three plates are engraved on both

* Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914-15, pp. 381 f.

† In the rock at Oruvakallu there is a cave and in it is a goddess called Gāḍgā. A large village seems to have flourished round the rock at one time and there are ruins and mounds scattered round the locality.

for its own purpose. It was evidently for these reasons that Ammarāja II proceeded against Kṛṣṇa III in the direction of Kalinga, when the latter invaded his territories. The expedition would have lasted at least a year if not two, and doubtless it ended in a colossal victory for the lord of Vāṅgi. Ammarāja II who was apparently stricken with the sorrows of his people on account of the devastating war with the enemies of his country, would have made the charity recorded in the subjoined inscription under the advice or inducement of his *guru* (preceptor), immediately after his victorious return to the kingdom.¹ Thus the date mentioned in the grant, Śaka 880, corresponding to A.D. 958-9, may be reasonably assumed to be the date of the grant, and would fall in the thirteenth year of the king's reign. If this is correct the expedition against Kṛṣṇa III in the direction of Kalinga, after the eleventh year and the charity recorded in the present edict, would show that by the date of the subjoined grant, king Ammarāja II had returned to his kingdom after successful conclusion of a great war against his enemies, the Rāshtrakūṭas and their allies. Verse 15 also seems to refer to such a great victory.

The inscription informs us that in the city of Vijayavāṭi, i.e., the modern town of Berwāda, king Vijayāditya Narēndramrigarāja, the ornament of the race of Chālukyas (*Chālukya-kula-tilaka*), the asylum of the universe (*Samastabhuvanaśraya*) built a temple called Samastabhuvanaśraya and established in it the image of Umā-Mahādeva. To that deity, on the occasion of *Uttarāyṇa*, king Ammarāja II made a grant for the increase of prosperity, long life and freedom from disease of his people,² for repairs to the temple, for offering *havi*, *saindhava* and music to the god, and for a *satra* (free feeding house.)

The object of the grant is the village Tāṇḍikonda, situated in Guḍla-Kandārvvādī-talaya, together with three other villages Ammalapāṇḍi, Gollapāṇḍi and Āsuvulaparra. Ammarāja granted these four villages, having made them all a *dānabhōga*, with the exemption of all taxes, with the libation of water, as a humble gift to the deity, for the good of his people.³ The boundaries of the aforesaid village (Tāṇḍikonda) along with the other three villages, are: on the east Tāṇḍēru, a stream; on the south-east Gāralagunta; on the south a *bēru* tree situated to the north of the village Lāmu; on the south-west, Oddagunta; on the west a tank called Chayita; on the north-west a tank known as Rāmasamudra; on the north (a heap of boulders called) Enuka-rāla and on the north-east, Rāgaḍagunta.

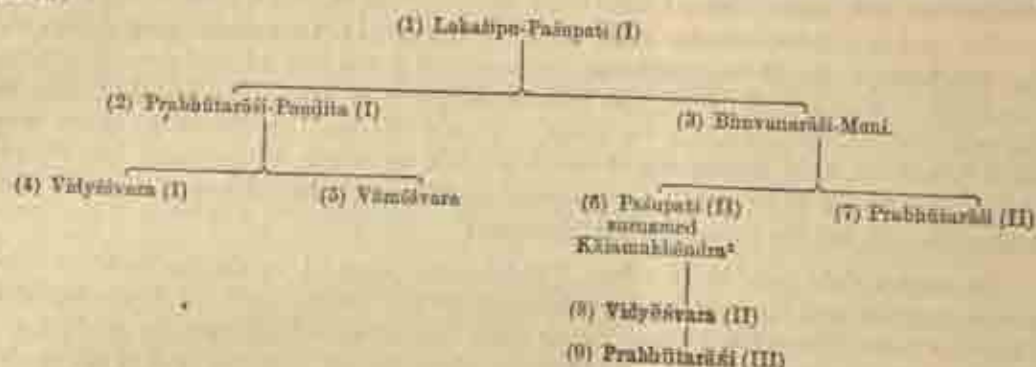
The second part of the inscription which begins with a verse in line 51, is devoted to the description of the spiritual lineage of Kālamukha Saiva saints, who were held in great veneration in Āndhradēśa, and who were also the religious preceptors of the kings of the land. It states that in every age saints like Lakuli and others took upon themselves the forms of Rudra, i.e., Śiva, and became self-incarnate in this world for blessing the righteous men. It is said that they were self-born, of their own free will for the purpose of preaching and setting up the path of the *dharma*, meaning the Saiva doctrine. In the lineage of these ascetics, arose the Kālamukhas, who looked to the Śruti (Vēda) for their guidance. They were worshipped by the kings of various lands and belonged to Siddha-Parishad (which was a division of the Kālamukha sect).

In the lineage of these Kālamukhas, who inhabited the ancient and celebrated temples of Śiva like Amaravataśvara, was born Lakasipu-Paśupati (or Lakasipu who was a Pāśupati), who was well versed in all the *śāstras*. He nourished his holy-body by living on pure water, greens, milk, fruits and roots. His disciple was Prabhūtarāśi-Paṇḍita who was an incarnation of *dharma* itself. He had two disciples, Vidyāśvara and Vāmāśvara. Prabhūtarāśi-Paṇḍita

¹ [See p. 4 on p. 162—Ed.]

had a brother¹ named **Bhuvanarāsi-Muni**, who had also two pupils, named **Paśupati (II)** and **Prabhūtarāsi (II)**. The former bore a secondary name **Kālamukhendra**, "the lord of the Kālamukhas", and the epithet *Parahita-nyasani* (i.e., one who was devoted to the well-being of others)². His (Kālamukhendra's) pupil was **Vidyāśvara II** who was virtually an ocean of learning. His spiritual son or disciple was **Prabhūtarāsi (III)**, who was like *yusurāja* or best-apparent to the spiritual kingdom of which **Vidyāśvara (II)** was the supreme head. **Prabhūtarāsi III** rendered help to mankind in so many ways that his fame spread far and wide. He was not merely **Prabhūtarāsi** in name; he was so in fact, in deed and conduct. In the immediate presence and under the directions of his *guru*, he built a *dēvatula* and a *maṭha* consisting of three storeys, and beautified the places with coloured paintings. He obtained from king **Ammarāja II** for the aforesaid purposes three villages, and a thousand she-goats.

The following is the pedigree of the spiritual family of the **Kālamukhas**, described in the record:—



The inscription then states that the donor of the grant was king **Ammarāja II**, the composer of the inscription was the king's preceptor **Vidyāśvara (II)** and that the *āśāpati* (executor) was **Kālakamāyaka**. After this the record breaks off rather abruptly in the middle of a sentence which doubtless continued on the fifth plate which is now missing. The half sentence repeats, however, the grant of she-goats and provision for white-washing, running the feeding-house and for offering *naivedhya* to the deity.

The *Centra Praśasti*³ as well as the *Parāśara Agni* and *Vāya* mention four pupils of **Lakuli**, viz., **Kuṣika**, **Oṅgrya**, **Kaurusha** and **Maitrēya**, in the order of their precedence. These four disciples of **Lakuli** became according to the *Centra Praśasti* (vv. 16-17), the founders of the four lines of Śaiva ascetics or schools amongst the **Pāśupatas**. But the subjoined inscription does not refer to any one of the four disciples of **Lakuli**, but merely states that the **Kālamukhas** were born as self-incarnates in the lineage of great saints beginning with the great sage **Lakuli** and others. It is not clear, therefore, whether the lineage of the **Kālamukhas** of the **Āndhra** country were descendants of any one of the four well-known disciples of **Lakuli**. The **Kālamukha-Pāśupatas** of the **Āndhra** country were guided by the precepts of the *Śruti* or the *Vēdas*, and lived in monasteries attached to great Śaiva temples like **Amaravāṭīśvara** at **Amarāvati**. The present record, however, is not the earliest epigraphical reference to the **Kālamukhas** of the **Pāśupata** school and to its division called **Simha-Parishad**, in the **Deccan** and the south. We have an earlier reference to this

¹ It is not clear whether **Prabhūtarāsi-Paṇḍita** and **Bhuvanarāsi-Muni** were spiritual or lay brothers.

² [It appears to me that **Kālamukhendra** was the surname or title of **Prabhūtarāsi (II)** and not of **Paśupati** and that **Paśupati**, the guru of **Vidyāśvara II**, was **Prabhūtarāsi's** disciple and not identical with the latter's colleague of the same name (i.e., **Paśupati II**).—S. L. R.]

³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.

sect of Śaivas in a copper-plate grant of A.D. 810 from Mysore.¹ The earliest reference to the Kālamukha Śaivas in the Tamil country seems to be contained in the Koḷumbāḷūr inscription of prince Vikramakēśarin² which mentions a certain Mallikārjuna who was the disciple of two teachers named Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi. The inscription further states that "having built three shrines (*śrīmān*) in his own name and in the name of his two wives, he, i.e., Vikramakēśarin, set up Mahēśvara (Śiva) and presented a big *maṭha* (*brihan-maṭha*) to Mallikārjuna, who was the chief ascetic of the Kālamukha (sect), with eleven villages for feeding fifty ascetics of the same sect (here called *asita-ektra*)."³ The approximate period of these shrines is determined partly by the alphabet of the inscription referred to and partly by the reference to Virapāṇḍya who was among the enemies overcome by Vikramakēśarin. Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya thinks that Vikramakēśarin must have flourished roughly about the first half or middle of the tenth century A.D.⁴ Thus the two preceptors of Mallikārjuna would have lived almost about the same period or more probably slightly later than that and would have been contemporaries of king Amma II of Āndhra country. The name Vidyārāśi is very much similar to Vidyēśvara of the subjoined record, who is stated to be the repository of various kinds of learning. For these reasons, therefore, it might be that Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi mentioned in the Koḷumbāḷūr inscription were identical with Vidyēśvara and his disciple Prabhūtarāśi referred to in the subjoined record.⁵ If this identification be correct, then we may believe that disciples of Vidyēśvara and Prabhūtarāśi went to the south, i.e. Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries and preached the doctrines of Kālamukha-Pāsupata Śaivism, converted the rulers of the country wherever they went and established monasteries for their ascetics.

The Kālamukhas spread themselves also at an earlier period into the Kanarese country. From Morigere in Hadagalli taluk, Bellary District, come two interesting inscriptions, engraved on two slabs set up in the verandah of the temple of Uddi-Basavappa, of the time of Āhavamalla-Śmāśvara I.⁶ Both of them are dated in Śaka 907, on the Kārttika *poursaṃdeśi*, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, the corresponding English date being Monday, 28th October, A.D. 1045. These inscriptions state that there existed in that part of the Kanarese country a community of Śaiva ascetics who belonged to the Lakulīśa-Pāsupata sect and to the school of Simha-pariśo (*pariśad*). Another school of the same sect, perhaps of later origin, was Śakti-pariśo (*pariśad*) to which belonged *Mūvara-kōṣṭha-santati* of the Parvat-āmnāya, whose teachers also had a strong pontifical seat at Baḷagāmi.⁷

The Kālamukhas, as has been shown above, spread themselves into far south and the Pāṇḍyan country. An inscription from the shrine of Kālanāthasvāmin at Paḷḷimadāṃ, hamlet of Tiruch-chnji, Rāmnād District, refers to a *maṭha* of the *Mahāvratins*.⁸ These Mahāvratins, according to Dr. B. G. Bhandarkar, were the followers of the great *vrata* 'a vow of religious devotion and observance in general', and denoted the ancient sect of Śaivas called Kāpālikas or Kālamukhas.⁹ With due respect for the learned scholar, it seems to me that Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas

¹ *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1914, p. 29. I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao for this information.

² No. 129 of 1907 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ *Ibid.*, *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1908, p. 73, para. 88.

⁴ For the date of Vikramakēśarin and the Koḷumbāḷūr inscription also see the remarks by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-12.

⁵ [The conjecture seems to be far-fetched. There is not enough similarity in the names to suggest the identity of the two sets of teachers.—Ed.]

⁶ Nos. 441 and 443 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 221 ff.

⁸ No. 423 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁹ *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 115.

were not identical sects and that their tenets differed largely. The matter is an important one and requires further elucidation and study.

Of the places mentioned in the record Tāḍikōṇḍa, Lāmu and Gollapāṇḍi alone can be identified to-day. Tāḍikōṇḍa is the modern village of Tāḍikōṇḍa in the Guṇṭūr taluk of the Guṇṭūr District and is situated at a distance of about eight miles to the north of the head-quarters of the district. Among the boundaries of Tāḍikōṇḍa, it may be observed that the two tanks Chayita-tatāka and Bhīmasamudra are still existing. Bhīmasamudra is a huge tank on the bank of which there is a large mound called *Bhīmalāṅgamu-dibba*, where there are extensive ruins of a Śiva temple. Chayita-tatāka seems to be the ancient name of a huge tank which occupies an area of about three or four square miles adjoining the village. It is the source of irrigation for an extensive area in the vicinity. Lāmu is situated two miles to the south of Tāḍikōṇḍa. There is a village Gollapāṇḍi on the northern bank of the Kṛishṇā river near Berwāda in Kistna District, about twelve miles to the north of Tāḍikōṇḍa; and it may be identified with the Gollapāṇḍi of the subjoined grant. The remaining villages Ammalapāṇḍi and Asuvulaparru can not be traced in that locality. It is probable that Anamarlapāṇḍi-agraḥāra, twelve miles to the south-east of Tāḍikōṇḍa, was the Ammalapāṇḍi of the grant. Perhaps Asuvulaparru stood on the other side of the river in Berwāda taluk. Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya was the ancient name of the tract of country lying on the southern bank of the river round the celebrated place Amarāvati which was noted for its beautiful temples and *chaityas*, of Amaravāṭīśvara and Buddha, respectively. Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi means "Kaṇḍēruvāḍi of the temples" for the term *guḍla* means "of the temples".¹ Apparently that part of Kaṇḍēruvāḍi acquired the name Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya from its temples at Amarāvati, its chief town. The district Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya seems to have acquired its name from the ancient township Kaṇḍēru or the modern Kaṇḍēru, a village in the Guṇṭūr taluk, which must have been a very important place in former times. Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya² seems to have been sub-divided into three or four small districts, viz., Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya, Uttara-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya,³ Imani-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya⁴ and Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya. Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya comprised apparently the whole of Guṇṭūr taluk, the eastern portion of Sattenapalli and the northern parts of Tenālī taluk. The central portion of Guṇṭūr together with the south-eastern part of Sattenapalli taluk was called Uttara-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya. Guḍla-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya was the name for the northern portion of Guṇṭūr and eastern part of Sattenapalli taluks; and Imani-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi or Imani-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya comprised the northern portion of Tenālī taluk.

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 श्री[१*] "वीरगोशकराजानाम्" स्थापदनखन्दमाः [१*] देवात्मिकसर्वं शं वः
2 क्रियाकार्ये हि कारयन् ॥ [१*] स्वस्ति [१*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तुयमानमान-

¹ The term *guḍla* is the archaic genitive form of *gudh*. The modern form is *gudla*, the medieval *g* having given place to the Dravidian *l*.

² S. I. L., Vol. I, Nos. 36 and 37; above, Vol. XVIII, p. 253.

³ Above, Vol. V, p. 127; C. P. No. 1 of App. A to the *Modern Epigraphical Report* for 1912-13.

⁴ S. I. L., Vol. IV, No. 691.

⁵ From the excellent ink-impressions supplied to me by Mr. N. P. Chakravarti.

⁶ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Read "श्रीमतां".

⁸ Read "स्वस्ति".

- 3 व्यसमोवाणां चारोतिमुवाणां कोशिकीवरप्रसादसुखराज्यानाम्नातुमन्यपरिपाकित-
 4 नां स्वाभिमतमनपादातुध्यातानां मगवद्वारायणप्रसादममासादितव[१*]-
 5 प्रसादलाभ्यनेत्रणचणकमीकृतारातिमच्छलानामयमेधावसुखमानप-
 6 विचोक्ततपयुवां चालुक्मानां कुलमलंकरिषोस्त्वयान्यववहमेन्द्र-
 7 स्य भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्धनरूपतिरदशवर्षाणि ।^१ त्रैमीदेशमपाकयत् ॥
 8 तदाभ्यजो जयसिंहस्त्वयस्त्रिंशत्(तं) ॥ तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्धनो नमः ॥ त-
 9 क्षुत्तुम्भैगियुवराजः पंचविंशतिं [१*] तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्वयोदयः ॥ तदव-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 रजः कोकिलिष्यस्मासान् ॥ तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धनस्तमुवाच सप्त-
 विंशतम् ॥ तत्पु-
 11 त्रो विजयादित्यभट्टारकोप्यष्टादश ॥ तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्धनस्यष्टविंशतम् ॥^२ तत्पु-
 त्रुर्भा-
 12 तुभासो रणविगणनया नौलक्ष्यकालयानां ॥^३ मयामारामकाणां सललितरम-
 चोत्त-
 13 पदां सत्यदानां(नाम) [१*] कृत्वा प्रोत्तुंगमष्टोत्तरयत्तमभुतावीरवीरपुत्राचत्वा-
 14 रिंशत्समां(माः) आं जननुतविजयादित्यनामा नरेन्द्रः ॥ [२*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुव-
 15 र्धनोऽष्टवर्षम् । तत्पुत्रो गुणगांकविजयादित्यचतुष्टवा-
 16 रिंशतम् । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यनरपाकजः चालुक्कभीमभूपस्त्रिंशतम् [१*]
 17 तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यो द्विषदित्यनरपाकजः [१*] स यस्मासानसौ साक्षादिन्द्रो भोगिन भू-
 18 मिपः ॥ [३*] तत्पुत्रस्तुरग्वराजस्तसवर्षाणि । तत्पितामहो(ह)गुणगांकविजयादित्या-
 नुजयु-
 19 इमस्माकजः तासाधिपो मासमेकम् । तं बुधि विनिश्चय चालुक्कभीमाकजो
 विक्रमा-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 20 दित्यः चरिनिकरतिमिरदिनकरः द्विजदीनानायकसुरेकादशमासान् । ततश्चाल-
 पराजय-
 21 स्तुत्तुस्तुतवाक्त्रुभुः । बुद्धमहधराधीशस्तसवर्षाण्यपाहुवम् ॥ [४*] निर्विज्या-
 र्ज्जनसन्धि-

* Punctuation mark here is unnecessary.

* Metre: Śrughdhari.

* Mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

* Metre: Jambhūḍā.

* Metre: Śāṅgāyātrīṭīṭī.

- 22 भी जगपदात्तविर्गमख्योदतान्दायादाविनमानुसीनमगणाक्राशान्विधायितरान् [1*]
 23 यजोवोर्जितनाकमन्त्रनृपतेभ्याता कनौयान्भुव भोभो भीमपराक्रमसमभुनक्ष्व-
 24 सरान्वादय ॥ [५*] 'तस्य महेश्वरमूर्तिर्(स्ति)रुमासमानाकृतेः ।' कुमारभः [1*] लोक-
 25 महादेव्याः खलु यक्षमभवदम्भराजाख्यः ॥ [६*] 'जलजातपञ्चामरक-
 26 लमां कुयल्लक्षणां करपरणतलः [1*] लसदाजान्वलं वितभुजयुगपरिघो गिरीन्द-
 27 सानुरक्तः ॥ [७*] 'विदितधराधिपवियो विविधायुधकोविदो विलोनारिकुलः ।
 करितुरगानम-
 28 कुयलो हरचरणाभोजयुगलमधुपः श्रीमान् ॥ [८*] कविगायककल्पतरुः' विज-
 सुनिदी-
 29 गान्धवन्भुजनसुरभिः [1*] याचक[ग*]णचिन्तामणिरिवनीयमणिर्ह्योप्रमदसा
 धुमभिः^१ ॥ [८*]

Third Plate : First Side.

- 30 'नमवसुवसुसंख्यान्दे शकसमये मार्याशोर्षमासिस्मिन् [1*] क्षणचयोदशदि-
 31 ने भूगुप्तरे मैचनचत्रे ॥ [१०*] 'धनुषि रवौ घटलम्ने द्वादशवर्षे तु जन्मनः
 पटम् । 'यो-
 32 धारदयगिरीन्द्रो रविमिव खोजानुरागाय ॥ [११*] 'यस्मिन्मासति' वृषती परि-
 पञ्चाने-
 33 क[सस्य*]संपञ्चाख्यो । सततपयोधेनुरभीर्निरोतिरपरुस्मिरस्तचोरो देशः ॥ [१२*]
 'यस्मिन्मजति स्मिति-
 34 ये 'यस्यद्यानावलोकनार्थं भीताः । तद्दिग्देशाधीशा दिशन्ति मणिकानकहृदयगजे-
 35 न्द्रपतति' ॥ [१३*] 'यो रूपेण मनोज्ञं विभवेन महेन्द्रमहिमकरमुखमद्वसा
 36 ॥ (1) [हरमरिपुर[द*]हनेन 'न्यकुर्वन्भाति विततदिगवनिर्कोर्तिः ॥ [१४*] स
 सकलरिपुनृपतिमकु-

^१ Metre: *Arjā*.

^२ Mark of punctuation is needless here.

^३ Metre: *Arjāgā*.

^४ Read 'नरविज'.

^५ Read 'द्वय' (The first half of this verse is in the *Arjā* metre and the second in the *Arjāgā*).

^६ Read 'लोभापुदय'.

^७ Read 'यस्मिन्मा'.

^८ Read 'हरि'.

^९ 'पदाली' is the reading suggested by Dr. Hultzsch (above, Vol. XII, p. 83 note). But the present record shows that the correct reading is *pratiṣṭhā*.

^{१०} Read 'सकुर्वन्'.

ii, a.

10 10
 12 12
 14 14
 16 16
 18 18

ii, b.

20 20
 22 22
 24 24
 26 26
 28 28

iii, a.

30 30
 32 32
 34 34
 36 36
 38 38

iii.b.

40
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44
46
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42
44
46
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iv.a.

50
52
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50
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54
56
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iv.b.

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60
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64
66
68

- 37 टटटघटितमणिकिरणमणमधुकरनिकरपरिचुवितचरणसरभिरुहयुगलोऽ-
 38 युगलोचनपदकमलविलसन्प्रपायमानो मानोन्नतो नतोऽतश्चमस्तु-
 39 धनाश्रययौविजयादित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परममहारकः परम-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 40 माहेश्वरः ॥ शुद्धकण्ठेर्ध्वाडिविषयनिवासिनो राट्टकूटप्रमुखान्कटुविनः स-
 41 माहूयेलमाप्तापयति विदितमस्तु वः ॥ विजयवाद्यां चातुक्ककुलति-
 42 कसमस्तुभुवनाश्रयविजयादित्यनरेन्द्रमहाराजप्रतिष्ठापिताय समस्त-
 43 भुवनाश्रयनामदेवालयनिवासाय समामहेश्वराय उत्तरायणनिमि-
 44 त्त अक्षदेशसन्तत्वायुरारोग्यैश्वर्याभिषेक्यत्वे तद्देवालयश्च-
 45 ण्डस्फुटितनवकर्मवलिनिवेद्यातोयसचप्रवर्त्तनार्थं च ॥¹ अथ-
 46 वृत्तितया आलूनविशीर्णं पुनर्णवीकर्त्तुं सर्वकरपरिहारेण देव[भो]गो[ज]
 47 त्वोदकपूर्वं ताण्डिकोण्डनामग्रामः अश्वत्थपूण्डगोत्रपूण्डिवासुतुलपञ्चिना-
 48 मादिसमेतोऽभिर्हत्त इति ॥ अथ समाम[1*]दिकस्यावधयः² ॥ पूर्वतः तू-
 49 ण्डेऽपि ॥ आग्नेयतः गारलगुण्ड ॥ दक्षिणतः[3*] सामुन युत्तरंतुन वृत्तगु ॥
 नैर(र्ह)त्य(त)तः

Fourth Plate; First side.

- 50 श्रीगुण्ड ॥ पश्चिमतः चयितनामतटाकम् ॥ वायव्यतः भीमसमुद्रना-
 51 मतटाकम् ॥³ उत्तरतः एनुकट्टीगु ॥ ईशानतः रेगडुगुण्ड ॥ युगे युगे
 52 श्रीजतकद्रुमूर्त्तयो सुनीश्वराः श्रीलङ्कलीश्वरादयः ॥(1) बभूवुरवानुद्योतसच्चानाः⁴
 53 स्वयंभुवो धर्मपथप्रदर्शिनः ॥[1१५*] तदन्वये कालमुखाश्चुतिमुखाश्चयंभुवो भुवि
 54 भूयतामभिवन्द्याः[5*] तस्मिंश्चपर्वदस्ते स्थानस्वास्थाधिपतय इह चित्त-
 55 रिताः ॥ तेषाममरवटेश्वराद्यनेकपुराणदेवायतननिवासि[ना] कालमुखा-
 56 नां सन्ततौ ॥ लज्जशिपुर्विखिलागमपारदक् पश्यपतिश्रुतिपोषि पतिश्रुयः ॥(1) सज-
 57 लश्राकपयःफलमूलकैर्विहितधर्मशरीरविवर्धनः ॥[1१६*] यस्तन्मनेश्वरः[6*] प्रभूत-
 राशिर्धाम
 58 पण्डितस्नाच्चाङ्गश्रावतारः [1*] तस्मिंश्चो विश्वेश्वरयामेश्वरौ ॥ तथमूतराशि-
 आलभुवनरा-

¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

² [The reading is incorrectly यस्तन्मनेश्वरौ —N. L. R.]

³ Could चयित be a corrupt form of चय ?

⁴ Metre: Vashantika.

⁵ Metre: Drutavilambita.

- 59 शिमुनेश्वर्यो प्रभुपतिः[*] प्रभूतराशिः । कालमुखेन्द्राद्यपरनामा ।¹ तच्छि-
ष्याः प्रभुपति-पर-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 60 हितचमत्तो । तच्छिष्यो यच्च विद्याविद्येश्वरो नाम कर्तुमन्यत्कविजं [*]
सर्वविद्यास्तसा-
61 धत्ते यथावृनि मष्टावृधिः ॥[१७*] तत्कीर्तिलक्ष्योर्व्वराज एकोप्यनेकलोकोपक-
तावनेक [1*] न
62 नामतः केवलमर्थतय प्रभूतराशिः प्रभुराशितानाम् [1१८*] स स्वकीयगुरु-
सन्निधौ [1*] शिला-
63 मयं देवकुलं व्य(म)ठं च विभूमिजं विचितमव कृत्वा । ग्रामचयं चेषम-
जासह-
64 सं प्रभूतराशिर्जमते व्य भूपात् ॥[१८*] व्योपरि न केनचिद्वाधा कर्त्तव्या
यः करो-
65 ति स पंचभिर्महापातकैर्लिप्यते । उक्तं च । 'स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो
हरेत स-
66 सुन्दराम् । अष्टिर्व्वैमहस्रानि' विद्यायां ज्ञायते ज्ञिसिः ॥[२०*] 'वहुभिर्व्विद्युधा
दत्ता बहु-
67 भिद्यानुपालिता । यस्य यस्य वदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥[२१*]
'शासनस्य त्रि(ये)
68 चास्य दाता स्यादव्यभूमिपः [1*] विद्येश्वरो गुरुः कर्त्ताश्वभिः कटकनायकः ॥[२२*]
अस्य सम-
69 स्यभुवदायव्यास्यदेवाकस्य दीपसुधाकर्मास्यनिर्व्वेद्यनिर्मितस्यजास-

* Presumpting mark seems to be needless here.

* Metre : Anushtubh.

* Metre : Upanish.

* Read अष्टिर्व्वैमहस्रानि.

* The inscription breaks off here abruptly; it is possible that it continued on the missing plate.

No. 26.—A NOTE ON THE DATES OF UCHCHAKALPA KINGS.

By PROF. V. V. MITRAM, M.A., NAGPUR.

There have been in all seven copper-plate inscriptions of the kings of the Uchchakalpa family discovered so far in Central India, from which we can make out the following genealogy :—

Oghadēva	-m.	Kumārādēvi
Kumārādēva	-m.	Jayasvāminī.
Jayasvāmin	-m.	Rāmadēvi.
Vyāghra	-m.	Ajñitādēvi.
Jayanātha	-m.	Murugadēvi.
Śarvanātha		(known dates : 174, 177)

(known dates : 191, 193, 197 and 211)

The last two kings, whose copper-plates have been discovered, use the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter in dating their records, but do not specify any era to which their dates are to be referred. Nor do they, except in one case, which will be discussed below, contain any astronomical details that can be tested by calculation. The Bhumarā pillar inscription states, however, that Śarvanātha was a contemporary of *Mahārāja* Hastin, who must be identified with the Hastin of the Parivrājaka family, many of whose records have also been found in Central India and who was, therefore, ruling over the contiguous territory. From the copper-plates of the latter and his son Saṁkshobha we get the following genealogy :—

Dēvādhyā
Prahastijana.
Dāmōdara.
Hastin
(known dates : 156, 163, 191 and 198)
Saṁkshobha.
(known dates : 192 and 209)

In these plates also the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter is used for dating. The expression *Gupta-
vriṣa-rājya-lūkṭa* which occurs in all of them clearly indicates that their dates must be referred to the Gupta era, the epoch of which has been determined to be A.D. 319-320. As the kings of the Uchchakalpa family were the neighbours of those of the Parivrājaka family who use the Gupta era in dating their records, the presumption is that the dates of the former also are in the Gupta era. It is, however, urged on the other hand, that the fact that the Uchchakalpa kings, unlike their contemporaries and neighbours, the kings of the Parivrājaka family, do not specify any era in dating their records, goes to show that they used some other era. Again, the circumstance that the Bhumarā pillar inscription, which is as much a record of the Parivrājaka king Hastin as of the Uchchakalpa Śarvanātha, does not, contrary to the practice observed in other records of the Parivrājaka kings, specify any era, points to the same conclusion; for the *Mahārāja* Hastin and Śarvanātha, being feudatories of two rival dynasties, could not agree as to which of the two rival eras should be used in a joint record; and compromised the matter by quoting only the year of the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter, as a method of reckoning which could hurt the dignity of neither of them.¹ Now the only era, to which the dates of the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 225.

Uchchakalpa kings could be referred, is the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, the epoch of which has been determined by Kielhorn to be A.D. 248-9. On this supposition we find that the known dates of Śarvanātha range from A.D. 439-40 to A.D. 462-3, while those of Hastin (which clearly refer to the Gupta era) are from A.D. 475-6 to A.D. 517-8. The Betul plates of Śaṅkhaśekhara again show that he succeeded his father in the next year G.E. 199 or A.D. 518-9. As the Kalachuri era was started 72 years before the Gupta era, we shall have to take the latest known date of Śarvanātha and the earliest of Hastin and see which year between the two would correspond to the Mahāmāgha *saṃvatsara* mentioned in their joint record. As stated above, the last known date of Śarvanātha would correspond to A.D. 462 (on the basis that it refers to the Kalachuri era), while the earliest known date of Hastin is A.D. 475. There would, thus, be a difference of 13 years between these two dates. The only year in this interval which could have been Mahāmāgha *saṃvatsara* is that corresponding to A.D. 472, but according to the calculation of Sh. B. Dikshit the Mahāmāgha *saṃvatsara* in that cycle was omitted.¹ We must, therefore, take the next Mahāmāgha *saṃvatsara* which commenced in A.D. 484. This no doubt falls in the reign of Hastin, but is 22 years later than the last known date of Śarvanātha. Now Śarvanātha is known to have ruled for at least 23 years before his last date, viz., A.D. 462-3 and the possibility that his reign commenced earlier than 439-40 is not altogether excluded; for, the last known date of his father Jayanātha is A.D. 425-6, i.e., 14 years earlier.² We shall, therefore, have to suppose that Śarvanātha reigned for more than 46 years (A.D. 439-484)—perhaps 50 or even 55 years. Such a long reign is improbable, though not impossible.

If, on the other hand, the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings also are referred to the Gupta era, Śarvanātha becomes a contemporary of Hastin, in the closing years of the latter's reign (G. E. 191 to 198). There was of course no Mahāmāgha *saṃvatsara* in this period but there was one only two years before, in G. E. 189. As the year 191 is not the date of Śarvanātha's accession, which, as shown above, may have taken place a few years earlier, Śarvanātha will, on this supposition, have a reign of at least 26 years—which does not appear improbable.

There are some other considerations also which rule out the theory that the Uchchakalpa dates refer to the Kalachuri era:—

(1) If we except these doubtful cases of Uchchakalpa dates, there is not a single record of Central India dated in the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, earlier than A.D. 973.³ All the earlier dates in this era come from Gujarāt and Thāpā District in Bombay.⁴ R. B. Hiralal's theory⁵ that the Traikūṭakas, whom he identifies with the Kalachuris, were the founders of the era and the Trikūṭa, from which they hailed, is modern Satpura is untenable; for not a single record of the Traikūṭakas has been found in Central India and what little evidence is available about the identity of Trikūṭa points to its location in Western India.⁶

(2) Vyāghra, the grand-father of the Uchchakalpa king Śarvanātha, appears on paleographical evidence to be identical with the Vyāghradēva of Nachnā and Ganj⁷ inscriptions, who was a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Prithivishēna II, as shown by Dubreuil⁸ and Dikshit.⁹ The Bālāghāṭ

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 228.

² *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 121.

³ Chamirala Inscription of Prabodhiva, dated K. 724, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 148 ff.

⁴ See Nos. 1199-1221 in Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*.

⁵ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. IX, pp. 283 ff.

⁶ Kalidasa places Trikūṭa on the Western coast. See *Rajataranginī*, Canto IV, verses 58-60.

⁷ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 233 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 12 ff.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, pp. 103 ff.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 362.

plates of Prithivishēṇa II state that the king of Mālwa was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēṇa¹ and there is no difficulty in supposing that Prithivishēṇa's authority was recognized in Central India towards the close of the fifth century A.D. As for the difficulty pointed out by Aiyangar² (who identifies the Vyāghradēva of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions with the Vyāghrarāja defeated by Samudragupta), viz., how could Jayanātha and Śarvanātha, who, on the above supposition, were feudatories of the Vākātakas, date their records in the Gupta era, it may be noted that the Vākātakas never founded any era and do not seem to have insisted on their feudatories specifically mentioning their suzerainty in their records. The Traikūṭakas³ and kings of Śarabhapura⁴ who were evidently their feudatories do not mention any suzerain power in their charters. It is not again true that the use of a particular era signifies acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the power that founded it. The Kalachuri-Chēdi era is, for instance, found used by the Sēndrakas and the Chālukyas of Gujārāt though they were not then the feudatories of the Traikūṭakas, Ābhīras, Kalachuris, or any other power that may have founded it. The fact of the matter seems to be that the earlier Uchchakalpas were feudatories of the Guptas and used the Gupta era in dating their records. Vyāghra who flourished about A.D. 475, seems to be the first Uchchakalpa who transferred his allegiance to the Vākātakas. His successors Jayanātha and Śarvanātha continued to use the Gupta era, which was well established in the country, though they were no feudatories of the Guptas. The expression *Gupta-krīpa-rājya-bhūktā* which occurs in the records of the Parivrajakas indicates not so much the Gupta era as the sovereignty of the Guptas. Hence, we find it omitted in the records of the Uchchakalpa *Mahārājas*. Śarvanātha might have objected to the use of the expression in the joint record on the Bhūmrā pillar, which, therefore, does not contain it. As for the omission of the date, it must have been thought unnecessary in an inscription on a boundary pillar when the particular year was clearly specified.

(3) Nearly all the scholars who have recently written on the subject have accepted the view that the Uchchakalpa records are dated in the Gupta era. Kielhorn, though he gives these dates under the Kalachuri era, was not certain about the matter.⁵ Fleet seems to have long wavered between the two alternatives. While editing the Uchchakalpa records in the *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 117 ff. he held the view that they were dated in the Gupta era. When later on he came to write the introduction⁶ he felt inclined to the other view, which he affirmed subsequently in his article in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, pp. 227 ff. In his last article on the subject,⁷ he finally adopted the view that the Uchchakalpa dates must be referred to the Gupta era. Dhrenil,⁸ G. S. Ojha,⁹ Haldar¹⁰ and Dikshit¹¹ who had occasion to write on the subject have subscribed to the same view. S. K. Aiyangar, though he does not accept the identification of the Uchchakalpa Vyāghra with Vyāghradēva who caused the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions to be incised, finds no difficulty in referring the Uchchakalpa dates to the Gupta era. The only dissentient is D. R. Bhan-

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 271.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, p. 224.

³ Cf. the inscription No. 3 in the Ajanta cave XVI (*A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.).

⁴ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 22.

⁵ In the *Supplement to his List of Inscriptions of Northern India* (above, Vol. VIII) he expressed his opinion that the inscriptions of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa are dated, very probably, according to the Gupta era.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introduction pp. 8-10, 119, 121.

⁷ *J. E. A. S.*, 1905, p. 506.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, p. 103.

⁹ *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1922-23*, p. 2.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 128.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 125-26.

darkar who points out the difficulty¹ that if the year of the *Schāwal* plates is taken as the Gupta year, the month *Āshāḍha* should be intercalary, but in none of the years 509, 510, 511 and 512, which might be taken to correspond to G. E. 191, was it so. "Perhaps in this date", says Prof. Bhandarkar, "*śāśa-nandya-uttarā* is intended for *śāśa-nandya-uttarā*, which is not unlikely as we know that when there are two or more identical letters or words, one or more are inadvertently omitted by the writer or engraver. This date 189, if referred to the Gupta era, becomes equivalent to A.D. 507 or 508, but even then there was no intercalary *Āshāḍha* in 506, 507, 508 or 509. On the other hand, if we refer 189 to the Kalachuri era, we obtain A.D. 437 as its English equivalent. And we do find an intercalary month of *Āshāḍha* in A.D. 437."² The difficulty pointed out by Bhandarkar is more apparent than real; for as Dikshit has shown³ the month intercalated in the Gupta year 191, ' (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Srāvaṇa*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betal plates of *Saukshobha*'. An authority for such a custom has again been recently pointed out.⁴ No valid objection, therefore, remains to the view that the dates of the *Uchchakalpa* are in the Gupta era.

(4) The drafting of the *Uchchakalpa* records and the symbol on their seals indicate that the *Uchchakalpas* rose after the Guptas. In the genealogical portions of their inscriptions we find the same form used as in the Gupta records.⁵ Unfortunately nearly all the seals of the *Uchchakalpa* plates are lost; but from the one specimen that has been described by Fleet⁶ it seems that the *Uchchakalpa* kings formed their seals on the model of those of the Guptas. There is too much resemblance noticeable between the records of the *Uchchakalpas* and those of the Early Kalachuris.

The foregoing discussion will show that the view that the *Uchchakalpa* dates refer to the Gupta era is the probable one in the present state of our knowledge.

No. 27.—THE VAILUR INSCRIPTION OF KOPPERUNJINGADEVA.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription⁷ is engraved on a rock above a natural reservoir of water to the south of the village of *Vailūr* in the Wandiwash taluq. of the North Arcot District. The letters are incised boldly and the record is in a good state of preservation.

¹ See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 159, n. 2.

² Even this view is not free from difficulties. According to the epoch which suits early Kalachuri dates the English equivalent for the present date occurring in *Āshāḍha* would be expected to fall in A.D. 438 or 439. According to the epoch which suits later Kalachuri dates it should fall in A.D. 438, if the year is taken as expired as is usually the case. If the year is taken as current, it will of course fall in A.D. 437, but such cases are exceptional, apart from the fact that the epoch determined by Kielhorn does not suit early dates.

³ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 125.

⁴ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 682.

⁵ See for instance that the names of the emperors are mentioned along with those of the ruling princes in the *Uchchakalpa* plates as in the Mathura Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 23), the Bidad Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I (*Ibid.* p. 42), etc.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 125.

⁷ No. 418 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ This village is different from *Vāyālūr* in the Chingleput District, wherein the inscription of the Pallava king *Rajasthila* is found. It is, however, spelt as *Vāyālūr* in the *A. N. on Epigraphy* for 1922, but its present name is *Vailūr* as given above.

The record is in Tamil language and consists of a prose passage followed by five verses extolling the greatness of the later Pallava chief Kōpperuŷjġgadēva. In engraving the epigraph, each line of the verse is not metrically arranged, but the stanzas themselves are divided by punctuation marks. The verses employed are: *Panniruŷrkkūḷi-neḷlāḷiriyā viruttam* (v. 1), *Nērikai-veḷa* (v. 2), *Kālī viruttam* (v. 3) and *Eḷuŷrkkūḷi-neḷlāḷiriyā viruttam* (vv. 4 and 5). The record is free from any admixture of Grantha letters except *Smṛti* ṛi (l. 1) and the letters *ri* in Tirubuvana (l. 16) and *ri* in ārai (l. 16). The use of the word ārai in this inscription requires some explanation: It is derived from the Sanskrit word *āra* through the Prākṛit form *āra* meaning 'command' or 'order'. The Tamil lexicon *Piṅgala-Nighaṇṭu* renders the word as 'sign' or 'insignia of authority' and the word seems to have been used in this sense here since no order is conveyed in the inscription. Analogous to the word *Sakkachōḷiyān ārai*, some inscriptions of this period conclude with the words *Pallavaraiyān* (or *Vallavaraiyān*) *attiyān*,¹ *Avaninulaludaiyār ārai*,² *Triḷuvannamulaludaiyār ārai*,³ etc. A record from Araganjallūr⁴ ends with the words '*idarkku māra lonṇarān Sakkannāyānār ārai*', i.e., 'he (who) says contrary to this (shall be a transgressor of) the authority (of) Sakkannāyānār,' and from a record at Tiruvāḍipuram⁵ we learn that such transgression was treated as a cognisable offence by the assembly.

The few verbal errors found in the record are corrected in foot-notes under the text.

The main theme of the epigraph is to celebrate a unique event in South Indian history, viz., the capture and imprisonment of the Chōḷa sovereign along with his ministers and the annexation of a portion of the Chōḷa territory by the Pallava chief Kōpperuŷjġga. This is expressed in the prose passage commencing the record. The name of the Chōḷa sovereign whom Kōpperuŷjġga imprisoned as also that of the poet⁶ who composed the verses is not given. The verses themselves reveal that the poet has limited himself to facts without indulging in any far-fetched imagery.

The concluding words of the present inscription indicate that the verses had been approved by the hero⁷ of the theme.

The first verse extols the greatness and prowess of Kōpperuŷjġgadēva in accomplishing the imprisonment of the Chōḷa king along with his ministers and annexing the Chōḷa territory, and further, it refers to his encounter with Hoysala warriors, his vast army, his favourite deity in the Golden Hall at Chidambaram and to his love for and patronage of Tamil literature. The second verse warns other kings not to oppose this chief but to submit themselves quietly by paying tribute, considering the fate of the Chōḷa king. The next verse, after referring to the exploits of this ruler in stamping the insignia of his banner on the breast and shoulders of powerful kings, refers to the languor of the Chōḷa sovereign in prison. The last two verses are addressed directly to the king describing the state of his lady-love⁸ during his absence on a campaign against the Chōḷa king.

¹ Nos. 204, 206 and 245 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 152 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ No. 157 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No. 193 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 156 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1922*, p. 96, the name of the poet is taken as Sōkka-Sōyan. Sōkka-Sōyan was the name of Kōpperuŷjġgadēva and not of the poet.

⁷ Kōpperuŷjġga appears to have been a poet himself judging from the title *Kuḷi-sirukāḷaṇṇa* applied to him in a record from Tirupatī in the Chittoor District.

⁸ Reference to love affairs in martial themes is peculiar to Tamil poetry. This subject is treated at length in the *Tollappiyom*.

The record comes from a village close to **Tellāru** where **Kōpperuñjiṅga** claims to have defeated the **Chōḷa** monarch. The reason for engraving the inscription in a place about twelve miles from the scene of action is not clear. **Tellāru** is remembered in South Indian history in connection with the **Pallava** monarch **Nandivarman III**, who assumed the title '**Tellāgerinda-Nandi**' to perpetuate his victory over his enemies in this place. Our poet seems to have been conversant with *Nandikkalambayam*, a poetical work recounting the exploits of **Pallava Nandivarman**, wherein the victory at **Tellāru** is frequently mentioned. Some of the titles given to **Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva** in our inscription such as *Avanināriyana*, king of *Mallai*, lord of *Tenḍai*, lord of the land watered by the *Kūśeri*, patron of *Tamiḷ literature*, etc., are found applied to **Nandivarman** in the *Kalambayam* mentioned above.

The identity of **Kōpperuñjiṅga** mentioned in our record must first be established. As early as 1906,¹ the late Mr. Venkayya suggested that "there must have been two or more chiefs with the name **Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva**". The late Mr. Krishna Sastri also accepted the existence of two **Kāḍava** kings of this name and identified the later one with **Kāḍava-Kumāra** who is stated in the *Tiruvannāmalai* record² to have driven the **Telūgar** to the north so that they may perish in the north;³ but his further identification⁴ of the same chief with **Peruñjiṅga** who captured and confined the **Chōḷa** king at **Sēndamaṅgalam** is not borne out by the latest discovery, as will be shown presently. **Sewell**⁵ also accepted with caution the lead given by his predecessors and distinguished two chiefs of the name **Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva**. But recently an opinion⁶ has been expressed against the theory of two **Kōpperuñjiṅgas** and postulating only one king of the name in the period A.D. 1229 to 1278. This interval really becomes still wider because **Kōpperuñjiṅga** is mentioned in inscriptions as early as the 35th year of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III**⁷ corresponding to A.D. 1213. The acceptance of two **Kōpperuñjiṅgas** so far rested on mere inference, but an important discovery made recently at **Villiyānūr** in the French territory when I went there at the request of Prof. **Dubreuil** of **Pondicherry**, settles this question conclusively.

A record in this village, dated in the 6th year of **Sakalabhinuvaranachakravartigaḷ** **Avanīyāḷap-piṇḍār Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva** refers to the audit of temple accounts by **Perumaṅgalam-Uḍaiyār Uḍaiyapperumāl** alias **Kāḷuvettigaḷ** for the period commencing from the 37th year of **Tribhuvana-vīradēva**, i.e. **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III** down to the 11th year of (another) **Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva** **Alagi-yūḍiyar**. Since this inscription⁸ which is dated in the 6th year of **Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva** refers to the 11th year of (another) **Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva**, it is evident that there must have been two **Kōpperuñjiṅgas** and that the earlier had at least a reign of 11 years. Probably the last year of the reign of the first **Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva** was the 11th, because we know that he made an attempt to supplant the **Chōḷa** king by imprisoning him at **Sēndamaṅgalam** in A.D. 1232 and that from A.D. 1243⁹, another **Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva** counted his reign. Thus the **Villiyānūr** inscription establishes beyond doubt the existence of two **Kōpperuñjiṅgas**, the first commencing his reign, probably from A.D. 1232 and the second from A.D. 1243. **Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva I** was probably a vassal of the **Chōḷa** king or a semi-independent chief from at least the 37th year of **Tribhuvana-vīradēva**,

¹ *A. R. in Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1906, p. 63.

² No. 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ *A. R. in Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1913, pp. 126-27.

⁴ *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, pp. 144 and 375.

⁵ *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 164, n. 4 and Prof. *Krishnaswami Sengupta Commemorative Volume*, pp. 212-14.

⁶ No. 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ All the dates in this record are expressed in words so that there is no doubt about their correct reading.

⁸ No. 38 of 1890 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

i.e., A.D. 1215 to A.D. 1232. The king mentioned in our inscription may, therefore, be identified with Köpperunjingadēva I.

The earlier Köpperunjingadēva has left a few inscriptions at Tiruvannāmalai¹, in one of which he is given the titles *Nāṇḍakumalla*, *Mallai-Kōṇḍan* and *Bharatam-calla*². The southern gōpura of the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram was constructed by him³. The officer Śōja-kōṇ seems to have served under him at Chidambaram⁴. He is distinctly called *Alagiyaśīyan* in the Villiyānūr inscription mentioned above and may be identified with *Jiya-Mahipati* of the Tripurāntakam inscription⁵.

We shall next determine who the Chōḷa king was that was defeated at Tellāra. The contemporaries of Köpperunjingadēva I. on the Chōḷa throne were Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III and Rājarāja III, of whom the first lived till A.D. 1217⁶ and the second commenced his reign in A.D. 1216⁷. For the present enquiry, Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III may be omitted, because our record mentions the defeat of the Hoysaḷas who came to the assistance of the Chōḷas only in the time of Hoysaḷa Vira-Narasimha II who ascended the throne in A.D. 1220, by which time, however, Kulōttunga-Chōḷa III had died. The Chōḷa king mentioned in the present record must, therefore, be Rājarāja III, as may also be inferred from the Tiruvēndipuram inscription⁸.

The last mentioned record gives a detailed account of the attempt of Köpperunjingadēva to subvert the power of his overlord the Chōḷa emperor. It states that Köpperunjingadēva captured the Chōḷa monarch at Śēndamaṅgalam. Our inscription, however, specifies the place where the Chōḷa king was first defeated and thus links the two incidents by mentioning them together. The Vailūr and the Tiruvēndipuram records,⁹ therefore, appear to be complementary to each other. If so, Rājarāja III. must have been imprisoned only once and not twice as has hitherto been supposed by some scholars¹⁰.

The fact that the Tiruvēndipuram record refers to the complete annihilation of the Pallava forces by the Hoysaḷas, from which Köpperunjinga could not have easily recovered, would indicate that the Tellāra battle was probably fought prior to the Śēndamaṅgalam incident. The latter event may be placed in A.D. 1233 corresponding to the 16th year of Rājarāja III¹¹. By this time Köpperunjinga had consolidated his position and his territory is referred to as 'Köpperunjinga-dēvam' in the Tiruvēndipuram record. From the accession of Rājarāja III, Köpperunjinga never figured as his subordinate¹². As early as A.D. 1222 Hoysaḷa Vira-Narasimha is said to be marching towards Śrīraṅgam in the Chōḷa country¹³. Two years later (i.e., A.D. 1224), we find that Vira-

¹ Nos. 480, 500, 512 and 513 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ No. 286 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No. 483 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 197 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No. 282 of 1900 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ No. 367 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 167-68.

⁹ Nos. 413 of 1922 and 142 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

¹⁰ A. R. on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1923, p. 97.

¹¹ From the mere mention of Köpperunjinga in a record from Vpiddhāchalam in the South Arcot District (No. 156 of 1900 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) dated in the 14th year of Rājarāja III, it has been supposed that the former was a Chōḷa vassal till A.D. 1229. This inscription mentions as donor an *aprabhā*, *maḍali* of Köpperunjinga which fact need not establish the subordination of this chief to the Chōḷas. Similarly, a brother of an officer of Köpperunjinga figures as donor in the 30th year of Rājarāja III (i.e., A.D. 1246 (No. 504 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) when Köpperunjinga had openly declared his independence.

¹² Ep. Car., Vol. VI, Cm. 56.

Narasimha was called 'the establisher of the Chōla kingdom' and a Kādava is said to have been his opponent¹. The battle of Uratt² where the Kādava (Kōpperuñjīga) was wounded in the 7th year of the reign of Rājārāja III, corresponding to A.D. 1223, was also fought in the period when Vira-Narasimha came to the assistance of the Chōla monarch. The second war of Māgarvarman Sundara-Pādya I. with the Chōla is placed in this period³. From the beginning of Rājārāja III's reign, therefore, Kōpperuñjīga was a source of danger to the Chōla empire and when the latter was able in A.D. 1232 to effect his *coup de théâtre* by imprisoning the Chōla king after defeating him at Tellāra, he signified the event by assuming the role of a monarch counting his accession from this date. Evidently to perpetuate his victory at Tellāra, the *uḷḷu* comprising this village was called **Simhapuruda-valanādu**⁴ i.e., the *valanādu* where Simha (Kōpperuñjīga) fought.

For a clear understanding of the present record a knowledge of the political situation in the Chōla country about this time is necessary. The Chōla empire which had been assiduously built up by Rājārāja I. and his successors showed signs of decay in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Even during the early years of Kulōttunga-Chōla III, this empire was intact, but real trouble began towards the close of his reign. The Pādya under Māgarvarman Sundara-Pādya I. began to assert themselves, with the result that the Chōla country was taken by the conqueror and soon after restored, as a matter of grace, to Kulōttunga-Chōla III. In the historical introduction to his inscriptions beginning with the words '*pā-muruga tiruvadanaiyaru*' etc., Māgarvarman Sundara-Pādya I. claims to have invested with a crown the Chōla king's son i.e., Rājārāja III, who sometimes later began to protest against his submission by refusing tribute to the Pādya king, who thereupon immediately chastised⁵ him. In this plight Rājārāja III appealed for help to the Hoysala monarch Narasimha II who forthwith despatched a contingent of forces into the Chōla country. When Rājārāja III was pushed north by the Pādya forces, Kōpperuñjīga should, as suggested by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar⁶, have joined issue with the Pādya and defeated the Chōla monarch at Tellāra. The timely assistance of the Hoysalas saved the Chōla empire for a time, but it introduced a new power into the politics of the Tamil country. Having come, the Hoysalas took deep root in the Chōla country by making Kappagūr their capital and building fortifications right along the south bank of the river Kāvēri⁷. Later on they shifted their capital further up to Tiruvannāmalai when their original capital Dvārasamudra was devastated by Malik Kāfir.

In our record Kōpperuñjīga is called a **Kādava**. The earliest reference to this term is found in the Vēlvikur grant of Jatila-Parāntaka-Nedunjadaiyan who is stated therein to have defeated the Kādava king at Pennāgadam on the north bank of the river Kāvēri. In Tamil literature the term *Kādava* along with *Tondaiyar* and *Kāḷveṭṭi* is invariably used to denote the Pallava. A Kādava king, who is styled a Pallava, is said in the *Periappattāṇam* to have built a temple of Siva called Guṇadaravitcharam at Tiruvadi in the South Arcot District. The Tamil poem *Vāṇmasāḷai-ull* mentions a Kādava as the ruler of Gingee in the same district⁸. The Kādavas, therefore, appear to have been in power in this district, but who exactly these chiefs were and what their

¹ *Flan. Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 307; in this record Narasimha is said to be 'a very Jasārdana (Viṣṇu) in destroying the demon Kāḷabha in the form of the Kādava king'.

² No. 271 of 1804 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. This battle was fought against the Kādava by the Yādava Chief Vira Narasimha who was a contemporary of the Hoysala Vira-Narasimha II.

³ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 44.

⁴ No. 382 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 45 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁷ No. 514 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ *Jad. Ann.*, Vol. XXII, p. 143.

relationship was to the main branch of the Pallavas, may be inferred from the descriptive labels of the sculptures found in the Vaikunṭa-Parṁai temple at Canjeeveram. Here we find that the kings of the collateral branch of the Pallavas which descended from Bhimavarman, the brother of Sidhavarman, were actually called Kāḍava. These appear to have been in power over a distant part of the Pallava empire, since, according to the labels mentioned above, Pallavamalla had to go a long distance 'crossing several mountains and impassable forests' to reach Kāñchi. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by that of the Chōlas, the descendants of the former, under the name Kāḍava, Tōḍaimān etc.¹, seem to have drifted away from Kāñchi towards the South and employed themselves as officers under the Chōla monarchs. In the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II, we find the Kāḍavas figuring as police officers collecting *pāḍikkal* rent in the region now covered by the South Arcot District². Gradually they strengthened their power by influential marriages³ and by forming compacts⁴ with neighbouring chiefs for collective action to safeguard and protect their interests. The most important of these chiefs in the 13th century was Kōpperuñjāḍava, the hero of our record. He is first mentioned in an inscription of the 35th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III, *i.e.*, A.D. 1213⁵ and the title *Kāḍalar-Tambōḍa*⁶ indicates his early position in the state. He had seen the weakness of the Chōla empire exposed by Mājavarmān Sundara-Pāḍya I, who took the Chōla country and presented it back to King Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. The time was, therefore, opportune for Kōpperuñjāḍava to assert his independence. So he tried a few years later to supplant the Chōla monarch and failed in the attempt owing to the interference of the Hoysalas. He was, however, able to secede from the Chōla empire and establish an independent kingdom comprising the present South Arcot, Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. If the Chōla was only an 'Emperor of three worlds' (Tribhuvanachakravartin), his rival Kōpperuñjāḍava styled himself an 'Emperor of all the worlds' (Sakalabhuvanachakravartin).

In the *Cambridge History of India*⁷, this chief is identified with 'the son and successor of the Pallava chieftain who was responsible for turning the Ceylonese out of the Pāḍya country in the war of the Pāḍya succession'. There is, however, no evidence to support this statement. In fact, such a view is untenable because, the two generals who took a leading part in this war *viz.*, Kulōttuṅga Tirumchirrambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambal *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ and Vēḍavanam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammayappan Appaṇ Pallavarāyaṇ belonged respectively to Kulatūr⁸ (Chingleput District) and Palaiyūr⁹ (near Madras), whereas Kōpperuñjāḍava was a native of Kōḍal in Tirumangalūr¹⁰ in the South Arcot District.

The kingdom established by Kōpperuñjāḍava I. hardly lasted for half a century, and after Kōpperuñjāḍava II, it fell an easy prey to the Pāḍyas when they extended their power into Tōḍaimaṇḍalam. Though a rebel, Kōpperuñjāḍava is recognised as a ruler in a number of later records, and in one of them found at Kāḷṭṭumayārkoḷ in the South Arcot District, his successor Kōpperuñjāḍava II is placed between Rājārāja III and Sundara-Pāḍya¹¹.

¹ Some of the Sambavarāya Chieftains also called themselves Pallavas. Rājārājaṇa Sambavarāyaṇ was known as Śrīyaṇ Pallavaṇ (No. 428 of 1922). These chiefs, like the Kāḍavas, had the title 'Alappirandāṇ', Alappiya Śrīyaṇ, Aruṇārāyaṇa, etc.

² Nos. 157 of 1909, 45 and 46 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ Nos. 203 of 1905, 490 of 1900, 112 of 1912 and 435 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ Nos. 310 of 1907, 435 of 1913, 234 of 1919, 487 of 1921 and 56 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 437 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No. 490 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ Nos. 72 of 1924 and 2 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ Vol. III, p. 482.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 188.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 88.

¹¹ No. 83 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

¹² No. 570 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

Köpperuñjāga's devotion to the God at Chidambaram and his patronage of Tamil literature alluded to in our inscription are also mentioned in other records of this chief. The title *Rajakal Tambirāṇ*¹ was also assumed by Maṅavarman Vikrama-Pādya who calls himself 'the consuming fire to the Kālahaka' (i.e., Kājava). The name Sokkachchayan, i.e., Alagiyalayan found in our inscription applied to the Chief, was given to the southern *gōpura* of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram which was built by him and also to other places in this village² which probably owed their existence to him.

Of the places mentioned in the present inscription, **Tallāru** may be identified with the village of the same name in the North Arcot District. The identification of **Pippi** is not certain, but judging from the title *Peṇṇāṇḍi-nāḷe*³ applied to Köpperuñjāga, it seems to refer to the river *Peṇṇai* which flows through the South Arcot District. **Puḡār** is the modern Kāviriṭṭāṇam in the Tanjore District. **Kappi** is the name of the river that flowed in ancient times near Cape Comorin. The town **Mallai** is Mahābalipuram in the Chingleput District.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī[?]. Sakalabuvapachchakaravatti Śrī-Köpperuñjāgaṇ Śōḷaṇai-tTallārril
- 2 veṇṇu sakala parichchinnamāṇ-koṇḍu Śōḷaṇai-chchiraiy-iṭṭu vaittu Śōṇāḍu-koṇḍa
- 3 A-
- 4 laḡiyaśīyaṇ. Pogṇi-nāḷaṇum-urimaiyum amaicheharum-iruppāḍ-uṇ ḡṇai-kōṭṭam []
- 5 p[?]rupp-ira-
- 6 ṇḍ-ēṇa va[?]r[?]nda tō[?]vaḡiyāṇ-koṇḍāḍu Śōṇāḍu[] Kappi Kāviri Bagirati
- 7 nuṇ p[?]riyā teṇḍuḡai vāvi[]
- 8 kēval magṇavar tiraiyudāṇ-ṇaḡṇuvāḍ-uṇ peram-tiruvāḷai [] veṇṇiḷāḍa⁴ pōr-
- 9 kKappāḍar veṇṇiḷā-
- 6 pporudāḍ-uṇ peruṇ-chēṇai vīḷaṇḡu ṣemponṇ-ambalakkūttu tō(y) virumbiya
- 7 dēvāram[] Pippit[?]vāla
- 7 Avaginēṇāyaṇ p[?]ṇa ṣentamij vāḷa-ppiranda Kāḍava Köpperuñjāga nuṇ⁵
- 8 perumai yār puḡavar[?]y[?] I*
- 8 Tiraiy-iṭṭu-ṇṇuṇḡai tev-vēṇḍar ṣempon[] tiraiy-iṭṭa Pāmpuḡār-chChōḷaṇ ḡṇai-
- 9 kiḷanda[] kōṭṭandaṇai nuṇai-
- 9 nuṇ Köpperuñjāgaṇ kamaḷa[?]māṭṭāḍ-kāḍai āvanda nā[?] & [] [2*] Mū-ivaṇ koḷi
- 10 viḷai-vēṇḍar māṇḡṇu[] tōḷiṇ-
- 10 n-t[?]ṭiya Tōḷḍaimagṇavar[] vā[] venṇiḷu Śirai-vajavan tūḡiya[] nāḷṇum
- periyad-ṇ-nāḷena-p[?]ṇamāḷa⁶ [3*]

¹ A. E. on Epigraphy, Madras for 1914, para. 21; also ib. 1917, p. 127. This title was also assumed by Maṅavarman Kulakikṣara (A. E. on Epigraphy, Madras for 1919, p. 83) and by another king in Kollam 761 (No. 66 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection). The Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇadevarāya also had this title (No. 435 of 1913). In the variant form *Rajakalambagaṇ*, Hoysala Saṇḍēvara or his son Rāmanātha used it (A. E. on Epigraphy, Madras for 1910, p. 119).

² Nos. 107 of 1905, 295 of 1921, 487 of 1902, etc., of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ No. 236 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ Read tō[?].

⁵ Read veṇṇiḷāḍa.

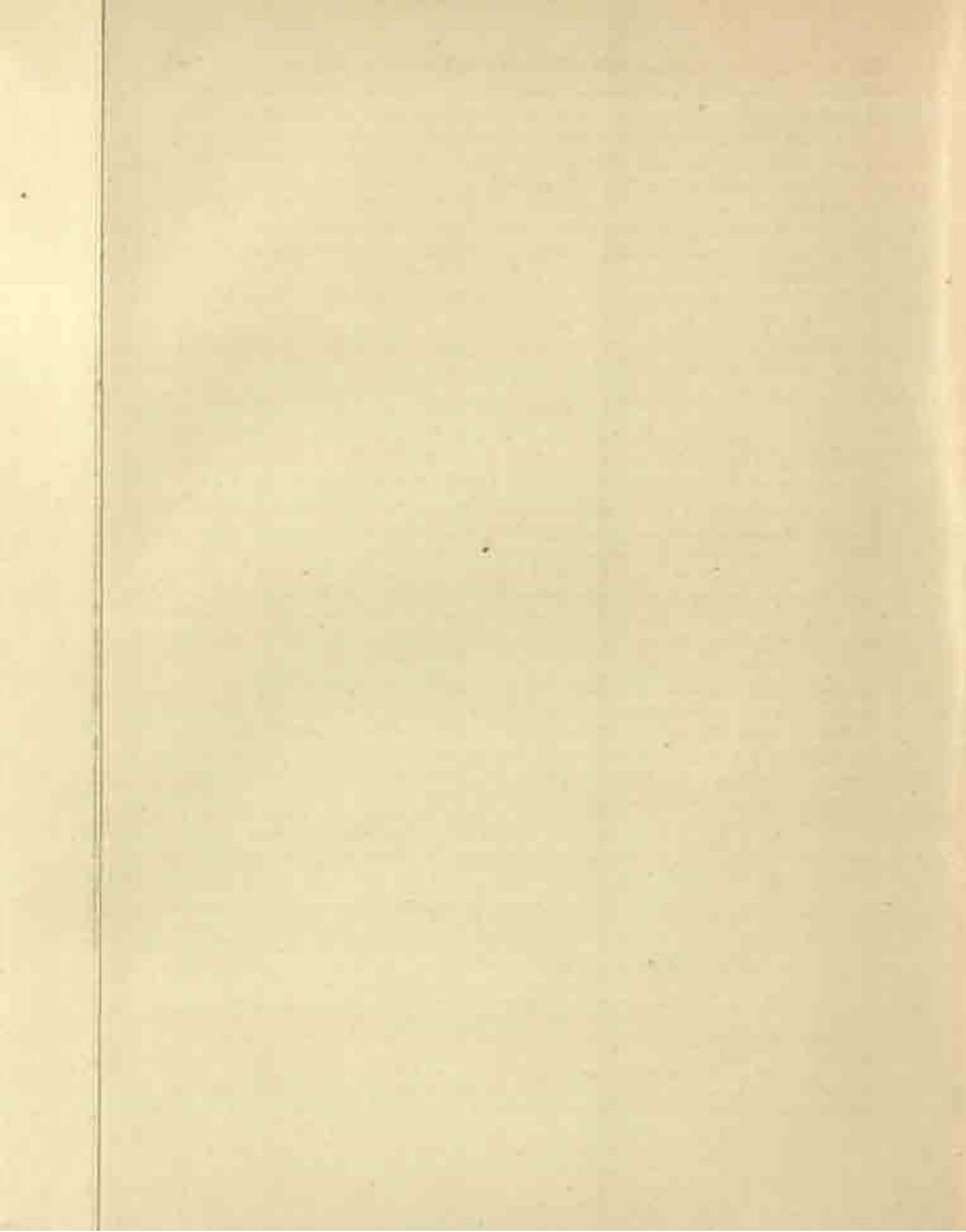
⁶ Read n[?].

⁷ The letter *ṣ* is corrected from *ś*.

⁸ Read p[?]ṇamāḷa.

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- 11 Arai-kadalip-issaiyudanēy-andar veyiñam pa^(1*)[li]lai ōvi kavara¹ audi-mālai[⁽²⁾]
niraimadiyi-nīlave[⁽³⁾]gu-peruppu-ppa⁽⁴⁾-
12 [3] nērilai nīng-ārruval[5] Nirupatuñgā[⁽⁵⁾] pirai porida kaṇa-makara-kimpuri [va]ṇ-
kō[⁽⁶⁾]tu-pperuñka[⁽⁷⁾]aru²-ch[Chō]ṇaiyūm-ama³-
13 echeṇaiyūm pūḍittu-ch[⁽⁸⁾] chīṇaiyil-iḍa-kka[⁽⁹⁾]uru² viḍu mīṇḍaṇ Ṣiyā Tiri[buval]-
nattirāṣṣāḷka[⁽¹⁰⁾] Tamhirāṇḍa[⁽¹¹⁾] [4*] Oru nāḷum veḷiyā.⁴
14 ḍa ne[⁽¹²⁾]ṭiya kaṇḍu-āḷiyēṇa[⁽¹³⁾] uḷḍu-vara ulagiṭ-puṇ-kaṇ[⁽¹⁴⁾] maruṇmālai yidu
muṇṇō vandatēṇḍāl vaḍandar² yiva[⁽¹⁵⁾]ārruval[5]
15 Mallai-vēndē[⁽¹⁶⁾] porumālai-muḍi-araṇar kaṇḍu[mādar] pōrriṣaiyūm Buvanama[⁽¹⁷⁾]ḍu-
ḷaiyār tāṇuṇ[⁽¹⁸⁾] tirumāḍum puṇar
16 [pu]yattu [m]iḷḍuṇ Ṣiyā Tiri[⁽¹⁹⁾]bu[va]nattirāṣṣāḷka[⁽²⁰⁾] Tamhirāṇḍa[⁽²¹⁾] [5*] iḍu Ṣokkachi-
chīyaṇ āṇai² a.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-3) Hail! Prosperity! *Sakalabuvanaśchakkaravattī*, (the) prosperous Köpperuñ-
jiṇḍaṇ Aḷagiyaṣiyan. (who) conquered the Chōḷa king at Tāḷāru, deprived (him) of all (royal)
insignia, (and after) imprisoning the Chōḷa (king), took the Chōḷa country.

(Ll. 3-7) Protector of Pūḍi, Avaninārāyaṇa, Kāḍava born to protect (and) foster Śen-
Tamil, Köpperuñjiṇḍa! Who can extol thy greatness! Your prison-house is the abode of
the lord of Pōṇṇi,² (his) wife (and of his) ministers; by the growing valour of (your) shoulders
(which) resemble two mountains the Chōḷa country was acquired; (the rivers) Kaṇṇi, Kāviri
(and) Bagirattī are your favourite reservoirs (ever having) billows of clear water; ruling chiefs
(carrying) tributes (wait) pining (at) your beautiful big gates; your invincible army fought with
the warlike Kaṇṇaḍar who knew no retreat; the dancing (god) in the shining Golden Hall is your
beloved deity.

(Ll. 8-9) (Oh! kings!) Lave paying (off your) tribute, remembering (well) the prison-
house wherein lay—on the day when the ends of the lotus-like eyes of Köpperuñjiṇḍa became red
—the Chōḷa (lord) of Puḍār (to whom) the enemy kings paid (their) tributes in gold.

(Ll. 9-10) Let the day when the lord of Toṇḍai² conquered (with his) sword the haughty
kings and painted the (insignia of his) harness on their chests and shoulders, be hailed a greater
day than the one when the Vaḷava was sent to droop in prison³.

¹ With *andar veyiñam paḷḷai sei kavara*, compare *aray veyiṇ mallaigam ṭṭakal lēṇṇō tēḷi* in *Ayichōki-
peruvannu* of the *Śūlappadiyāraṇ*. *Andar* may be taken with either *vēy* (date) or *āṇḍai* (inf). *Andai* is a kind
of animal note.

² Read *ḷaiyā*.

³ Read *amū*.

⁴ Read *viḍyā*.

⁵ Read *maṇḍalai*.

⁶ The letter *ti* in *tiri* is engraved in Grantha.

⁷ The letter *ḍ* in *ḍai* is engraved in Grantha.

⁸ The Chōḷa king is called *Pōṇḍaravannu* in *Śāṇḍa Dīpikavāṇ*.

⁹ *cf.* the epithet "*Toṇḍamannay*" who won the sacred Toṇḍai-nūḷu through the strength of (his) shoulders" applied to Pallavaṇḍi alias Kāḷavarāyār in the ASI record (No. 296 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical col-
lection).

¹⁰ The word *tāṇḍiya* is generally used in inscriptions in the sense of "sent to a long sleep i.e., death". But since
the Chōḷa king was released from prison by Hoysala Vīra Narasimha II about 1232 A.D. and actually ruled there-
after, for about 25 years, the word *tāṇḍiya* is here rendered as "sent to droop".

(ll. 11-13) Oh ! **Nripatunga**, lord of the kings of the three worlds, powerful **Śiṣya** (lion) (who) despatched elephants to capture and put in prison the **Chōla** (emperor) (with his) ministers (riding on a) huge elephant (whose) powerful tusks vying with the crescent, (were adorned with) heavy *maṭara*¹ and *kimpara*² (jewels) ! (Consider how your) lady-love could endure (in your absence) the heat(?) of the full-moon in the evening (when her ears were) filled with the sounds of the roaring ocean resonant with the musical note emanating from the divine flute.

(ll. 13-16) Oh ! **lord of Mallai**, powerful **Śiṣya** (lion), lord of the kings of the three worlds, of arms espoused³ by **Bluvanamañjudaīyār** (i.e., the goddess of Earth) (who is) praised by the queens of kings wearing crowns with wreaths of garlands and by Prosperity (i.e., the goddess of Wealth) ! (Consider also) whether this *maṇḍai* (i.e., your lady-love) could (further) bear (in separation) the unending tedious night being prolonged like a *yuga* (especially when) preceded by a chain of bewilderments brought on by the troubles of this world.

This (is the) order of **Sokkaachchīya**.

No. 28.—SANGUR INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA-MAHARAYA : SAKA 1329.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone tablet set up near the village gate at **Sangūr** in the Haveri Taluk of the Dhārwar District. The record is published here for the first time, from the estampages secured by me in 1932-33.¹ The writing covers an area of 2' 2" by 7" and the size of each letter is approximately 1" in height. The top of the stone bears the sculpture, in bold relief, of a hero seated on horse-back, which closely resembles the one found at Hoas-Kummaṭa near Anegondi.² The hero has a dagger hanging at his waist and holds a drawn sword in his right hand. This is evidently the image of Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēva mentioned in line 6 of the inscription.

The characters are **Kannada** of the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. and do not call for any comment except that *ḍ* in *prthḍ* (l. 1) and *Rāmanāth* (l. 6) is marked with a vertical stroke at the bottom to denote aspiration as in the modern script. **Orthography** is generally free from errors. In line 4 *śiṣyādhipati* is written through mistake by the engraver for *śiṣyādhipati*. The language of the inscription is Kannada prose throughout.

The inscription opens with the description of the **Vijayanagara** king **Dēvarāya I**, son of **Harihara-Mahārāja**, who is given the Western Chalukya epithets *Samaratbhuvanādīraya*, *Prithvīśālābha*, *Mahārājādhipā*, *Rājaparamēśvara* and *Satyāśraya-kula-tīlaka*. It then states that the statue of **Kumāra-Rāmanātha** was installed by **Mādarasa**, son of *Sauśīlīpati* **Saṅgama** and grandson of **Raichaveggade** who was the *likuttara-śiṣyādhipati* and a devout servant of **Kampilarāja**, at **Chadāpura** included in **Chandragutti-nāṇu** which belonged to **Gōveya-rāja**. The consecration of the image is stated to have been performed on

¹ *Maṭara*, which usually signifies an alligator or crocodile is a conventional beast like the European dragon, commonly found in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist decorative art in India and Greater India.

² The Tamil lexicon *Chōḷamāni-Nippana* defines *kimpara* as an ornamental band fixed to the tusks of a royal elephant.

Here the Pallava chief with his consorts **Bhuvanamañjudaīyār** and **Tirumāda** is compared to **Vaṣṭu** with his consorts **Blūdēvi** and **Siddēvi**.

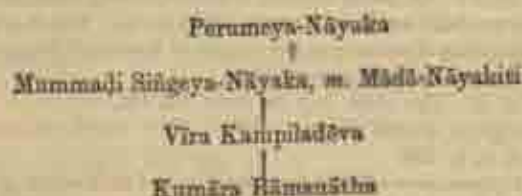
³ R. K. No. 173 of 1932-33.

⁴ His photograph is given in *Qart. Journ. Myth. Soc.*, Vol. XX, between pages 266 and 267.

Sunday, the 10th day of the bright half of Āśvayuja in the cyclic year Sarvvajit which fell in the Śaka year 1329. The details of the date regularly correspond to Sunday, 11th September, A. D. 1407, i. e. t. 23.

The inscription is important in more respects than one. Firstly, this is a rare epigraphical instance of the Vijayanagara period which attributes the epithets of the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇa to king Devarāya. It is not possible to understand the exact significance of this departure since we are not in possession of any evidence connecting politically or otherwise with the Western Chālukyas, the Vijayanagara kings of the Sangama dynasty who rose into power nearly one hundred and fifty years after the downfall of the former. It may, however, be suggested that the locality where the inscription is found was full strongly with the tradition that the Vijayanagara kings were the rightful successors of the Imperial Chālukyas inasmuch as they held the entire Chālukya territory, or the composer of the record had access to some political document of the Chālukyas and inadvertently copied its preamble while describing the king. It is, however, hazardous to surmise any blood relationship between the two families from a solitary record like the present one.

Secondly, the present record is the **first epigraph** so far known which bears a reference to **Baichaveggude** the minister of **Kaṁpilarāya** and furnishes two generations after him, viz., his son *Śaṅkha* **Śaṅkha** and grandson **Mādarasa**. These officers are known to us for the first time, though **Baichav** **Daṇḍav** figures as a minister of **Kaṁpilādēva** in the Kannada works *Paradāraśvara-Rāmāna-charita* and *Kuṁdra-Rāmānātha Sāṅgatyā* of the 16th and 17th centuries A.D.¹ It further lends epigraphical confirmation to the authenticity of **Kuṁdra Rāmānātha** who is not mentioned in the accounts of the foreign travellers of this period, though his relationship with **Kaṁpilarāya** is not disclosed in the record. The Kannada works mentioned above supply us the information that he was the son of **Kaṁpila**, waged successful wars against the Hoysala, Tarmakka and Talaṅga kings during the life time of his father and at last was killed in a battle with the Tarmakka at **Kuṁdra**. An undated inscription² in a Śiva temple in **Hemakūṭa** at **Hampi** records that **Vira Kaṁpilādēva**, son of **Mummaḍi Siṅgeya-Nāyaka** constructed the Śiva temple and set up the *lingas* therein in memory of his mother **Mādā-Nāya** **Ḍiti**, **Siṅgeya-Nāyaka** and **Perumeya-Nāyaka**. **Perumeya-Nāyaka**'s relationship to **Siṅgeya** is not stated in the record, though from the way in which he is mentioned, he appears to be **Siṅgeya**'s father. It is not improbable that **Siṅgeya-Nāyaka** installed the *lingas* for the merit of his father and grandfather. If this suggestion proves to be correct, one more generation would be added to the genealogy of **Kaṁpila** which, from the records known so far, is given below :



¹ For further historical details gathered from these works, see the articles entitled *Studies in Vijayanagara History* and *King Kaṁpila and Kuṁdra Rāmānātha* by Mr. M. H. Rama Sharma in *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XX and Supplement to it pp. 1-18 and Dr. N. V. Ramapayya's *Kaṁpila and Vijayanagara*.

² No. 223 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. In *The Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 305, No. 325 evidently refers to this inscription. The cyclic year *Śarvva* mentioned there is evidently a mistake as no cyclic or Śaka year is quoted in it. This mistake has crept into the writings of Mr. Rama Sharma and Dr. Ramapayya.

So far, only two dates namely A.D. 1280¹ and 1282² are known for Mummaḍi Siṅgeya-Nāyaka who, on the former date, defeated and killed Yādava Rāmadēva's subordinate Mahāpradāsa Chāruḍarasa when the latter had invaded Doravadi in Kurugūdu-nāḍu. From a hero-stone at Lakshmīśvar³, it is learnt that Dāme-Nāyaka, son of Mahādēvarāya despatched a general Sa. . . Rāgeya who was stationed at Huligere, to Kummata against Mummaḍi Siṅgeya-Nāyaka in the 17th year of the reign of Yādava Rāmachandra corresponding to A.D. 1287-88. It may be noted that this is the **first epigraphical reference to Kummata** which is the same as Crynamata of Nuniz. Kummata must have been, as the capital of this chief, situated in Doravadi-nāḍu over which he was ruling. It has been rightly identified with Kumbra-Rāmāna Kummata situated at a distance of about eight miles from Anegondi.⁴ It is clear from the above account that the rebellion raised by Mummaḍi Siṅgeya in defiance of the suzerain power at Dēvagiri was quelled on two occasions by the Yādavas, by despatching a force to the very heart of his chiefdom. The insurrection being thus subdued, Siṅgeya himself was probably made to acknowledge the Yādava overlordship. We find his son Kampiladēva, also called Kharḍaya-Rāya,⁵ figuring as a subordinate of Yādava Rāmachandra in A.D. 1300 and renewing the gift of Hariharapura which had been formerly granted to Brahmans by king Kṛṣṇa-Kandhāra. Since the Huligere country was held by the viceroys appointed by Rāmadēva in A.D. 1287-88⁶ and 1295-96⁷ and since portions of the Chitaldrug District, especially Dāvānagere, were held by this king till at least A.D. 1300, it is evident that Mummaḍi Siṅgeya's chiefdom did not extend beyond Doravadi and never included the Nolaṁbavēḍi province⁸ after the killing of Vira-Chāruḍarasa mentioned above. It is not unlikely that after the death of Mummaḍi-Siṅgeya, Vira-Kampila was entrusted with the government of the country extending up to the northern border of the Hoysala kingdom, so that he might not only stem the Hoysala invasion on the Yādava kingdom but also acquire new territory by making fresh conquests in the enemy's country. Kampila is accordingly seen fighting with the Hoysala-subordinates in the latter's territory in A.D. 1303⁹ and 1325¹⁰, and Hoysala Ballāḷa (III) opposing Kaṭṭi¹¹ in Doravadi in A.D. 1320¹² and marching against Siruguppe¹³ where Kampila met him with a big force and probably killed his general Chamba-Daṇḍanāyaka. When the Yādava power was weakened by the invasion of Malik Kafur, Kampila might possibly have declared independence in the ensuing political chaos.

In one of the inscriptions of Lakshmīśvar,¹⁴ reference is made to the death of Kampila and Siḍḍa Bomma in a military campaign from Dīḷḷi. The inscription is unfortunately not dated:

¹ *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. VII, Channarayana 24.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Hiriya 86. In the published text of this record, however, the name Siṅgeya is not fully preserved.

³ *B. E.* No. 23 of 1935-36.

⁴ *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 5 ff. Mr. Rama Sharma, depending upon a note in *Channarayana-parvata* thinks that the fortress of Kummata was built newly by Kampila (*ibid.*, p. 11). This is not tenable as the Lakshmīśvar inscription of A.D. 1287-88 mentions Kummata as the capital of Mummaḍi Siṅgeya. Kampila might, however, have strengthened the fortification by fresh constructions.

⁵ *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 26; *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1921, No. 131.

⁶ The Lakshmīśvar inscription quoted above.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part B, p. 539.

⁸ See Dr. Ramanayya's *Vijayanagara—the Origin of the City and the Empire*, p. 81. He holds that Mummaḍi Siṅgeya's territory included the Nolaṁbavēḍi province. But from *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 26, 59, 81, etc., it is evident that this was held by the Yādavas.

⁹ *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. XI, Hojalkere 106. The name of the chief is given in the published text as Kamdilladēva, which may be a wrong reading for Kampiladēva.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Tipura 24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 19.

¹² *Mys. A. R.* 1925, No. 121.

¹³ *B. E.* No. 21 of 1935-36.

but it may be assigned on paleographical grounds to the first half of the 14th century A.D. According to the Muhammadan historians, Kāmpila was slain by Kūwājā Jahān, the leader of the Muhammadan army in A.D. 1327.¹ The *Kumāra-Rāmanātha Sāṅgatyā* gives a graphic account of the fight between the forces of Kāmpila and of the Turukha king at Kūmmaṭa and states that Kumāra-Rāmanātha's head was cut off from his body and despatched to Dillī. The fact that his statue is set up at Saṅgūr in the Hāvēri taluk indicates that Kāmpila's sway was recognised in that part of the country, which was probably under the enjoyment of his minister Baichaveggade and continued to be held in his family for at least two generations more. In fact, in another² inscription, at Saṅgūr, of the reign of Dēvarāya I. and dated in the Saka year 1334, mention is made, among the ancestors of a local chief (name lost), of a certain Baichaveggade as the *Kāṇṇṇṇṇi* (chief guard or officer) of Saṅgūra, included in the Eighteen-Kāmpaṇa province of Gutti. It is just possible that this Baichaveggade is identical with the minister of Kāmpila.³ It is not known what circumstances actuated Mādarasa to set up the image of Rāmanātha after a lapse of 80 years from the latter's death.

Among the places mentioned in the record, *Gōveya-rājya* and *Chandragutti-nāḍu* are too well-known to require identification. *Chāṅgāpura* is the modern Saṅgūr where the inscription is found.

TEXT.⁴

1 Svasti (!) Samastabhuvanāśraya Śrī-pruṭipriṭhivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamāvara Satyā-

2 śraya-kuṇ'a-tīlakā iri-Virapratāpa Harihara-Mahārājya Kumāra Dēvarāya-

3 ra soka(kha)ḍim rājya-geyuttiddallu (!) Gōveya-rājyakke saha(va) Chāṅdra-
guttiya-nāḍu/agaṇa

4 Chāṅgāpuradalu Kāmpilarāya Bāhattaravinōgādhipati⁵ pati-kāryya-dharmā-
5 dharamum-appa Bayichaveggadeya matama Sēnādhipati Saṅgamaṇa Kumāra

Mādarasa

6 Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēvara pratishṭheya Śaka-varsha 1329 naya Sarvva[?]itu
samvatsarada A-

7 ēvayuja suddha 10 Ādityavāradaḷu māḍisida[ru][!] Maṅga[a] mahāśrī

8 Śrī Śrī Śrī Śrī ||

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 3) Hail ! When Dēvarāya, an *asylum* of the whole world, the illustrious *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamāvara*, an ornament of the family of Satyāśraya and son of Virapratāpa Harihara-Mahārāja was ruling in happiness,

(Ll. 4 to 8) Mādarasa son of the *Sēnādhipati* Saṅgama and grandson of Baichaveggade who was the devout servant and *Bāhattaravinōgādhipati* of Kāmpilarāja set up (the image of) Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēva at Chāṅgāpura in Chāṅdragutti-nāḍu belonging to Gōveya-rājya, on Sunday, 10th (day) of the bright half of Āvayuja of the (cyclic) year Sarvvaḷit (falling in) the Śaka year 1329.

¹ See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 140.

² E. K. No. 170 of 1922-33.

³ It is now held by some scholars that the first Vijayanagara dynasty grew out of the wreck of the kingdom of Kāmpila (Q. J. M. S., Vol. XX). For different views on the subject, see Dr. Ramaswamy's thesis *Vijayanagara—the Origin of the City and the Empire* where previous opinions also are summarised. See also Dr. Salstons's article, *Theories concerning the Origin of Vijayanagara* in the *Vijayanagara Six-centenary Commemorative Volume* (1936), pp. 139 ff.

⁴ From ink impressions.

⁵ Read *-niyōgādhipati*.

NO. 29.—FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN UDDALLADEVI:
V. S. 1294.

By M. M. NIGAR, M.A., SARNAATH MUSEUM, BENARES.

The inscription was secured by Mr. B. M. Vyas from Nagod State,¹ Central India, for the Allahabad Municipal Museum wherein it is now preserved, and was kindly placed at my disposal by him together with an estampage for editing it. I am here publishing it for the first time.²

The Inscription is incised on a rectangular block of buff-coloured sandstone measuring 18½" by 12½" and is broken at the top. Consequently, some of the opening lines of the record have been lost; what may have been their exact number cannot be ascertained.

The writing which is in 22 lines covers a space of 18½" by 12½" and is in a fairly good state of preservation excepting some letters of the last four lines which are only partly preserved. The opening and concluding letters of some of the lines are also much worn out. The letters are cut shallow and being much corroded at places present some difficulty in decipherment. Their average size is ½". The characters belong to the Northern variety of alphabets of the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. They resemble modern Nagari, the exceptions being the letters *cā*, *ro* (l. 8), *j* (l. 12); *sa* (l. 16), etc. The language is Sanskrit and up to the first half of line 12 it is in verse and thereafter in prose. The orthography is regular and calls for no remarks.

The epigraph refers itself to the time of one Uddalladēvi, the chief queen of the illustrious Mahamandadēva, and the daughter of the illustrious Mahāśānta Bhārabadēva of the Rāshtrakūṭa(kūṭa) family. Mahamanda was a feudatory of the illustrious Āḍakkamalla who seems to have belonged to the Gahadavāla family. It records the erection of a shrine for the illustrious Vindhyāvara Siva on [Thursday], the Damanaka Chaturdaśī, Śamvat 1294, corresponding to Thursday, 12th March, A.D. 1237. To judge from the description of the temple it seems to have been an imposing structure. The eulogy was composed by the learned, the illustrious Sukhākara.

Line 2 of the extant record eulogizes some lady but it is not certain who she is as the major part of the verse has been lost. Supposing she be Uddalladēvi, even then, owing to the lacunae in the epigraph it is not possible to ascertain the exact relation between her and the illustrious Lakṣmana of ll. 3-4 and the overlord Dharmadēva³ of l. 5.

The inscription shows that even after the extermination of the Imperial Branch of the Gahadavāla of Kannauj by the Muslims, local chiefs of the same dynasty were in existence in various parts of Central India and Rājputāna. One such chief was Āḍakkamalla and that he was of some importance is clear from the mention of Mahamanda as his feudatory.

King Hariśchandra (c. A.D. 1197-1200)⁴, the last known ruler of this dynasty, meeting his final defeat in A.D. 1226 at the hands of Iltutmish, fled with his family towards Farrukhābād

¹ Mr. A. Ghosh mentions Man (U. P.) as its *indrapati*, which is denied by the discoverer. [Mr. Vyas told me that he had got the inscription from Unchahra in Nagod State.—Ed.]

² A note on this inscription has appeared in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, July 1933, Vol. VIII, Pt. 4, pp. 21-23, by A. Ghosh, M.A., who is referred to in the notes below as A. G.

³ [According to the context Śānta Dharmadēva belonged to the mother's family of Lakṣmana and was probably his maternal uncle.—Ed.]

⁴ Though A.D. 1200 is the last date hitherto known of Hariśchandra from his Maachishar Grant (above, Vol. X, p. 56), it appears that his power lingered in the more inaccessible parts of Kannauj up to A.D. 1226 when it was finally captured by Iltutmish. Dr. H. C. Ray seems to be correct in his assumption that the battle of Chandwar gave to Muslims 'only the possession of the more important cities and strongholds: the countryside beyond the reach of the Muslim posts still continued to be under Hindu rule' (*Dynamic History of N. I.*, Vol. I, p. 547).

(U. P.) from where after a short time his son's son Sihāji is said to have gone to Mārwar and with the assistance of the Brahmins of that place to have established a principality of his own after defeating the Muhammadan marauders of Multan.¹ Tod also records that * in S. 1208 (A.D. 1212), eighteen years subsequent to the overthrow of Kanauj, Sihaji and Setnam, grandsons of his last monarch, abandoned the land of their birth, and with two hundred retainers, the wreck of their vassalage, journeyed westward to the desert.....'.² His date regarding the final overthrow of Kanauj and the exact relation of Sastrām and Sihāji may be accepted with a grain of salt, nevertheless the fact that Sihāji moved towards Mārwar remains unquestioned.

Mahamandadēya, who was certainly a Hindu ruler, adopted this Muslim-like name³, obviously to please the sensibilities of his Muslim overlord (Hutunish or Queen Razia) of Delhi. This is by no means a solitary instance of the assumption of a Muhammadan name by a Hindu ruler. We also know that a Chauhan king of Rajpathambhor (c. A.D. 1283-1301) called himself Hamamra (हमौरभूपतिरविबदंत भूतधाया) * which is a Muslim name⁴ and was used by certain Sultans of Delhi on their coins.⁵

TEXT.

- 1
- 2 न गुणेन भान्ति सुवने सर्वे [त]या न्यकृतास्तथा — — — — —
- 3 स्वविचलं राज्यं प्रगाधवद्धतम्⁷ ॥ [१*] सामन्तराजतिलकः प्र[वि]तः प्र[वि]-
- 4 त्वां यौलक्ष्मणी [— — —]⁸ लक्ष्मणतुल्यकीर्तिः । यन्मालपत्र इह रा[ज]-
- 5 कचक्रवर्त्ता यादार्थतः खलु तथा स च धर्मदेव⁹ ॥ [२*] यौविन्ध्य-
- 6 श्वरगुलिनोद्धततरः सुखावलीशोभितः प्रासादोय[मने]-
- 7 कभट[स्त्र]चितो¹⁰ नानापताकावितः । य[स्त्र]ङ्गेण दिवस्त्रया ग]-
- 8 तिहरो विन्ध्यो रवेरुदितो व्याजाद्य(धो) [ध्व]जपंक्तिपातित[नति]-
- 9 र्धो(र्धो)तो गुरोर्ध्वकृतः¹¹ ॥ [३*] प्रासादोयं तथाकारि यौविन्ध्येश-
- 10 रध्वजंटेः । पुत्रपौत्रादिसम्यत्वं(त्वं) विद्वान्तराणाय च¹² ॥ [४*]

¹ *Rao's Pratihar Bhadrās in Bijaypur* (in Hindi), Vol. III, pp. 114-115 and 118-119.

² *Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (ed. Crooke), Vol. II, p. 940.

³ *Bhandarkar, List of Inscriptions of N. India*, No. 682 wherein Muhammad bin Tughlaq has been called Mahamandis Siki.

⁴ *Alauddin*, Vol. XIX, p. 20, l. 8. [This was also the name borne by a ruler of Chitor. — Ed.]

⁵ *Badrin inscription of Lakhanpala*, above, Vol. I, p. 62, n. 5, and *Mahoba inscription*, *ibid.*, p. 221.

⁶ *S. Lane-Poole: Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in British Museum*. Coins Nos. 9, 24-26, 32-33, 38-42, 51-52, 62-66, 70-72 and 95-98.

⁷ *Metro: Śāntilakṣaṇaśloka*.

⁸ Three syllables have been left out probably by the engraver through oversight.

⁹ A. G. reads *Varuṣadēva*. *Metro: Varuṣadēva*.

¹⁰ May be [स्त्र]चितो in which case the translation of धर्मदेव[स्त्र]चितो would be 'made of or containing much gold'.

¹¹ *Metro: Anuśloka*.

- 11 प्रगस्तिरचनाशक्ते पण्डितः श्रीसुखाकरः । सुजनाञ्जिमरोज-
 12 स्मरजोरञ्चितमुर्ध्निर्जः¹ ॥ [५^{*}] इति श्रीकन्यकुलदेवगोष्ठतया रा[ष्ट्रा(इ)]-
 13 कुल(कुट)वंशप्रदीपमहासामन्तराजश्रीभरद्देवसुतया श्रीम-
 14 इन्द्रवालकुलकमलविकासनमहस्रांशु² श्रीचा[ण्ड]मल-
 15 सासान्तशरणागतवज्रपञ्चर³ श्रीमन्महमन्ददेवपट्ट[रा]-
 16 श्य श्रीउद्भटदेव्या स्वकुलैकविंशतिपुरुषसंतारणार्धमा[त्मनः]
 17 परमनिःश्रेयसप्राप्तौ पुत्रपौत्रादिसम्पत्तौ संव[त्][रा-
 18 णा] द्वादशमतेषु चतुर्थवत्सधिकेषु दमनकचतुर्दश्या⁴ [गु-
 19 र⁵]वारे श्रीविन्ध्येश्वरदेवस्य स्वप्ना [पा⁶]-
 20 सादीये⁷ कारितः प्रतिष्ठापितश्च ॥ वा
 21 रिणा पण्डितश्रीसुखाकरेण प्रगस्ति[लिखिता⁸]
 22 [दि⁹]तमस्तु सर्वस्य स

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) all being eclipsed by her in merit, do not shine in the world, may rule [her] firm and unique kingdom.

(Verse 2) The illustrious Lakshmana, the ornament (lit. mark on the forehead) of the great feudatory chiefs, is renowned on the earth (and) possesses a fame like that of Lakshmana on whose mother's side (was born) in this world the foremost of the *Rājās* who was justly (called) Dharmadēva.

(Verse 3) This temple of the illustrious Vindhyāśvara Śūlin (lit. the trident-holder, lord of the Vindhya) is beautified by series of pillars, is carved with many auspicious (scenes) and is endowed with many banners. It stands as the very Vindhya (mountain) with its summit touching the sky and obstructing the movement of the sun (*has*), taking fright at the command of the preceptor (i.e., the sage Agastya) [has bent down] under the semblance of the series of banners.

(Verse 4) This temple of Śiva, the illustrious Vindhyāśvara, has been caused to be erected by her for the prosperity of (*her*) sons, sons' sons, etc., as well as for the deliverance of (*her*) forefathers.

(Verse 5) The learned, the illustrious Sukhākara whose hair is tinged by the pollen of the lotus flowers that are the fest of good-men, affected the composition of [this] eulogy.

¹ Meter: *Anuṣṭup*.

² Cf. 'महेश्वरदीप' of Copper-plate Grant of Viśvarūpaśena of Bengal. *J. H. Q.* Vol. II, p. 84.

³ Cf. 'कुलकमलविकासमकर' *Ibid.*, and 'श्रीधर्मराजदेवकुलकमलदीप' of Hāthi plates of Dhārāvāra. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 193, l. 3.

⁴ Cf. *J. H. Q.*, Vol. II, p. 84, l. 3 and *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 329.

⁵ 'दमनकचतुर्दशी' is the particular चतुर्दशी falling in the bright half of Chaitra. See बुद्धिकौमुद (Bou. ed.) p. 23. Also see S. K. Pillai's *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 60.

(Lines 12-20) Thus this temple of the illustrious God Vindhyāvara has been caused to be erected and consecrated on {Thursday}, the Dumaśka Chaturdaśī, in the {Vikrama} **Saṁvat 1294**, for the deliverance of twenty-one generations of her own family, for the attainment of the supreme bliss for herself and for the prosperity of {her} sons, sons' sons, etc., by the illustrious **Uddalādēvi**, born in the country of Śrī-Kaṇyakubja, daughter of the illustrious **Bharahadēva**, the prince of the *Mahāsāmantas* and a lamp to the family of the *Rāshtrakūṭas* {*kūṭas*} and the chief queen of the illustrious **Mahamandadēva**, who was a cage of adamant to those seeking refuge {in him} and a feudatory of the illustrious *Āḍakkamalla*, the very sun causing to bloom the lotus of the illustrious family of the *Gaḥadavālas*.

(Line 21) The eulogy [was composed] by the learned, the illustrious *Sakhākara*.....

(Line 22) Let there be welfare to all.

No. 30.—SANGUR INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA MAHADEVARAYA : SAKA 1186.

By R. S. PANCHAMURTI, M.A., MADRAS.

Sangūr which is variously called as *Saṅgavūra*, *Saṅgūr*, *Chaṅgūra* and *Chaṅgāpura* in the inscriptions of the place, is situated at a distance of about 8 miles south west of *Hāvēri* on the road to *Sira* in the North Kanara District. The inscription¹ edited below is engraved on the Nandi pillar standing near the temple of *Virabhadra* in the village. It covers an area of 3' 7" by 1' 4" and contains sixty-six lines of writing. The size of each letter is approximately between $\frac{3}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The characters are medieval Kannada of the 13th century A. D. to which the record belongs. The secondary forms of *g*, *v* and *m* are used in *deśa* (l. 48), *vaśaḥ* (ll. 63 and 64) and *madura* (l. 61). It is noteworthy that the record indicates the aspiration of *ṣh*, *ṭh* and *ḍh* in *praṇḍa* (l. 24), *taḥya* (l. 31) and *nidhāna* (l. 31) by a vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter. In respect of orthography it may be remarked that vowel *i* is wrongly used in the body of the word *koṇḍavula* (l. 55) and the *anusvara* is employed superfluously in some cases before conjunct consonants as in *paṇḍya* (ll. 9, 17), *hiraṇya* (l. 44); *b* is used for *v* in *dharma-byayya* (l. 38), *arḥa* (l. 42), *pūrbakam* (l. 44), etc.; the consonants coming after a *rēpha* are doubled as in *śāṭṭya* (l. 6), *urvi parvi* (l. 4), *dharma* (l. 38), *Malikārjuna* (l. 9), *varti* (l. 39), etc.; dental *s* is used in place of *ś* throughout the record which may be due to the influence of Kannada phonetics on Sanskrit vocabulary. *Ṣ* is used for *śh* in *pariśa* (l. 26) and *Paśya* (l. 43), etc.

Excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 1-3 and 57-58, the whole record is in prose. Lines 4-19 and 45-57 comprising the two *vaśanas* of *Siddharāma* and lines 59 to 66 giving the specification of certain estates to be enjoyed by private persons are in **Kannada**, while the description of the king and the minister and the grant portion (ll. 19-44) are in **Sanskrit**. In respect of the Sanskrit language, it may be noted that its vocabulary is influenced by the Kannada phonology as for example *paṇḍya* for *paṇḍya* (l. 26), *labudha* for *labdha* (l. 33), etc.; the insertion of the Kannada word *nya* in the date portion in Sanskrit (ll. 42-43) may also be noted. The language of the two *vaśanas* is rhythmic, elegant and simple Kannada. There are, however, several redundant expressions used perhaps for the sake of alliteration and balance as e.g., *anbāna āna mātā mātā pitra* (ll. 13 and 50), *vaśayadōḥya vōḥya* (l. 45f.), *chaturāśrayada nāḥya* (l. 48), *bēya śigāraṇa* (ll. 16 and 53).

¹ D. E. No. 172 of 1932-33.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of the Yādava king Mahādēva who began to rule in A. D. 1260. It introduces his minister Dēvarāja whose pedigree for three generations is given as follows: Chāvundarasa was born in the family of Vasishṭha and was a devotee of Śiva. To him was born Amitarasa who begot Dēvamantriśa. This Dēvamantriśa is described as having obtained a great boon from god Sōmanāthadēva and as protecting the southern region at the command of king Mahādēva. The record states that the Mahāpradhāna Dēvarāja visited Sonnalige-nagara which had been formerly the residence of the saint Siddharāma and feeling himself purified at the sight of the god Kapilasiddha-Mallikārjunadēva there, made a gift of the village Chaṅgōr included in Bāsūra-*cishoga* together with a right over all treasure-troves, etc., and with various incomes accruing from fines and *sūktas*, to provide for worship and offerings to the deity and for the expenses of renovation of the temple, maintenance of the poor and the orphans and for conducting several charities such as water-sheds and daily oblations. Lines 59-68 contain a stipulation that certain estates and incomes of the village specified therein must be enjoyed by the *Gaudas*, *Hṛṣṭakāras* and Chaudarasa, the *Hoggaḍe* of the temple (*dēvara manḍa*).

The record is dated on the day of *arddhōdaya* in *Pushya* of the cyclic year *Raktākṣin* falling in the Śaka year 1186. *Ardhōdaya* is an astronomical combination of "Śravaṇa", *Vṛat-pāta* and Sunday on the new moon day of *Pushya*.¹ These details coincided in the year quoted in the record and regularly corresponded to Sunday, 18th January, A.D. 1265 on which day the *nakṣatra* Śravaṇa ended at 788 of the day.

The chief interest of the record lies in the fact that it contains two *vacanas* (ll. 4-19 and 45-57) of saint Siddharāmanātha who is one of the famous *vachanakāras* of the Virasaiva sect. *Vachanagāṇa* in Kannada literature denotes a particular class of works embodying sayings of great saints, particularly of the Lingāyat sect, who flourished in and after the 12th century A. D. From the *Siddharāmapurāṇa* of Rāghavāṅka (A. D. 1160), it is learnt that Siddharāma constructed a tank at Sonnalige, installed therein several *Līṅgas* and defeated a mendicant Karpasa in disputation, who had borne the biruda *Tidyāśamudra*.² Other Virasaiva works add that he received *śikṣā* from Chennabasava, the sister's son of Basava who flourished in about A. D. 1160. Prabhūḍeva alias Allama (A. D. 1160) is also credited with having taught the Śaiva doctrines to Siddharāma.³

The first of the two *vacanas* is reproduced in an inscription from Sorab⁴ which records the gift of a village by a local chief Birama for the benefit of the temple of Kapilasiddha-Mallikār-

¹ S. K. Pillai's *Indian Sakamuris*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 64.

² *Karnāṭaka Kāvicharita*, Vol. I (Revised Edition), p. 183.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 180. For further details regarding the life and works of this saint, see *ibid.*, under Siddharāma.

⁴ Mr. Murgaiya Jangina, a leading Lingāyat gentleman of Bagalkot (Bijapur District), whom I had addressed, has kindly communicated to me the following information on Siddharāma: Siddharāma was born at Sonnalige, one of the sixteen hamlets of the modern Sholapur. A stone image of this saint still exists there. Close to the place where he attained *umadhā*, is planted a stone with *śaḍaḥṣṭa-mantra* which is still worshipped by all the devotees. In front of this *umadhā* over which are set up two *lingas*, stands the extensive temple of Siddhāśvara. Just behind this temple there stood formerly a shrine of Mallikārjuna-Līṅga, the *upādya-dēva* of Siddharāma. But during the Muhammadan rule some difficulty was experienced in offering worship to the deity on account of the mosque built in its vicinity and the *linga* was therefore removed from its place and installed in a temple in the town which is now known as the temple of Mallikārjuna. The present temple is as the most one hundred years old. Siddharāma is credited with the authorship of more than a lac of *anūstups* of which only a few hundreds have appeared in print.

⁵ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VIII, Sorab 551. This same *vacana* is found in the beginning of the unpublished inscriptions at Kothāgi (No. 347 of 1926 of the Mailles Epigraphical Collection) and Yādigaṇi (B. K. No. 95 of 1928-1929, in the Bombay-Karnatak). The second *vacana* is only partially reproduced in the introductory portion of an inscription of Siddharāya, dated in Śaka 1278 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Chitaldarg 4). But it is not specified there as the *vacana* of Siddharāma.

junaḍeva of Sonnalige in Śaka 1176, i.e., exactly ten years before the date of the present epigraph. But the text given in the *Epigraphia Carvatica* is mutilated and corrupt. Both the *vacanas* given in the present inscription relate to the merit or sin of protecting or destroying the gift of land or money made to the temple of Kapilasiḍḍha-Mallikārjunadeva of Sonnalige. From their wording, it would appear as if Siddharāma composed them as a preamble to some grant to the temple made during his time. They are incorporated in the present record to serve as passages enjoining the protection of the gift under all circumstances.

Only a few inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty—and none of Mahādeva¹—have been edited so far. The subjoined inscription will, therefore, be the first document of the king to be published. Mahādeva is described here as “a goad to the elephant of the Gūrjara king, a three-eyed God (i.e., Śiva) to the Cupid of the Mālava king and the shatterer of the skull of the Teluṅga king”. In his Koṭbāgi inscription² dated in the same year as the present record, he is given the additional epithet *Hoysaṣarāja-kṣāhala*. Thus it would appear that the Yādava monarch Mahādeva had to contend for power and territory with the four neighbouring kings namely the Hoysaṣas in the south, the Kākātīyas in the east, the Gūrjaras, i.e., the Chaulukyas of Anhilvāda in the west and north-west and the Paramāras of Mālava in the north. It may be noted that these epithets are borne with slight modifications by every king from Bhīllama³ downwards, which would only indicate that in their attempt to expand their empire by fresh conquests, the Yādavas had to fight with these neighbouring powers since the very beginning of their political career.

From a close study of the stone and copper-plate documents of the family, we learn that Bhīllama,⁴ Jaitugi,⁵ and his son Singama waged constant wars with the kings of Mālava, i.e., the Paramāras of Dhārā. According to his Bahal inscription⁶ and the Palihan plates⁷ of Rāmachandra, Singama defeated one Arjuna who has been identified with the Mālava king Arjunavarman.⁸ The *Haṃmīramadamarādāna*, a Sanskrit drama of the 13th century A. D., records an additional fact that he defeated and killed the Mālava king's feudatory, Chāhamāna Sindhurāja of Lāṭa.⁹ The *Vasantarilāsa*, a Sanskrit *maḥākāvya* of the 13th century A. D., contains another historical fact that Sindhurāja's son, Śaṅkha, was taken prisoner by the leader of the Yādava army and was subsequently released by Sinhaṃa.¹⁰ On a later occasion, Śaṅkha sued Sinhaṃa for help and with his army marched¹¹ against Viradhavala, the king of Gujaraṭ who had forcibly occupied Cambay in Lāṭa.¹² Simultaneously with this, the Mālava king Dēvapāla also invaded Gujaraṭ, apparently to assist his feudatory chief of Lāṭa in wresting back the lost Cambay. As stated in the *Haṃmīramadamarādāna*, the Gujaraṭ king appears to have managed to break the coalition through the strategic skill of his minister Vastupāla and turned the events of war in his favour.¹³ This is testified to by the Dahhol fragmentary inscription¹⁴ which records that Viradhavala routed a combin-

¹ A date of his Hulgūr inscription is noticed in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 128.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1926, No. 447 of Appendix C.

³ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 24 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 313.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 34 ff. Bhīllama must have entered the territory of Kālhaṇa, the Chāhamāna king of Kālāl, after defeating the Mālava and Gūrjara kings on the way (*Ibid.*, Vols. IX, pp. 72 and 77, and XI, pp. 72 and 73).

⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 31.

⁶ Above, Vol. III, p. 113.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316.

⁸ Above, Vol. III, p. 111.

⁹ Gaskwad's *Oriental Series*, No. X, Art. II, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. VII, *Sarga* V, Verse 42.

¹¹ *Haṃmīramadamarādāna*, Introduction, pp. vi, f.

¹² *Vasantarilāsa*, Introduction, p. ix.

¹³ *Haṃmīramadamarādāna*, Introduction, pp. viii and ix.

¹⁴ Above, Vol. I, p. 28.

ed attack of the lord of Dhārā and the king of the Deccan who must be Yādava Simhaga. This enmity between the Yādava and the Mālava kings¹ is continued in the time of Kṛishṇa-Kaundhāra and Mahādēva who are described in their inscriptions as the destroyers of the Mālava king.

The attitude of the Yādavas towards the Gūrjara, i.e. the Chauḷukya of Anhilvāḍa is one of frequent warfare. Viradhavala's son Viśaladēva (A. D. 1243-1263) wanted to take revenge on the Mālava and the Yādava kings who had invaded Gujaraṭ during his father's time. He is described in his inscriptions as 'a submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Simhaga's army'. The Palīthan plates of Rāmachandra attribute the defeat of Viśala to Mahādēva which would show that the latter had to cross swords with Viśala within two or three years of his accession to the throne. We have seen above that the Gūrjara king had seized Cambay and portions of Lāṭa from Sindhu-rāja, a feudatory of Dēvapāla. It is not impossible that he carried his arms still further to the south as a result of which north Konkan came under his sway. Or, Konkan must have been annexed to Gujaraṭ during the time of the Chauḷukya king Kumārapāla (A. D. 1143-74)², though its northern portions had been occupied by the Mālava king in the intervening period. An inscription of Arjunavarman (A. D. 1233), the predecessor of Dēvapāla, states that the king was encamped at Bhṛigukachchika at the time of the grant³. This shows that the Paramāra kingdom extended up to the Broach District on the west in the early part of the 13th century A. D. According to Marco Polo (A. D. 1290)⁴, the chiefs in the west coast of north Konkan were dependent on the Anhilvāḍa kings. Rashid-ud-dīn (A. D. 1300)⁵ states that Gujaraṭ included at the close of the 13th century A. D. Cambay, Somnath and Konkan-Thāpā. Thus it is evident from these references that the Paramāra hold on the northern part of Konkan was dislodged and the Gūrjara sway established in the latter half of the 13th century A. D. Hēmadri records in his *Vrata-khaṇḍa*⁶, Mahādēva's fight with Sōmēśvara who was the Silhāra chief of north Konkan and refers to the latter's drowning in the sea as a result of ship-wreck. Since Sōmēśvara's inscriptions⁷ dated in Śaka 1171 (A. D. 1249) and Śaka 1182 (A. D. 1260) are found in Ranvad and Chadihe near Uran, his fight and death must have taken place some time after 1260 A. D. As the last year of Viśala is known to be A. D. 1263, the defeat of Viśala and Sōmēśvara might possibly have formed part of a single campaign undertaken by Mahādēva soon after his accession to the throne.

The epithet *Teluguṅgarūpa-śirāṣa-kamaḷa-mūlāpāṇa* borne by the king is significant as it indicates that Mahādēva had crossed arms with the Kākatīya king of his time and inflicted a crushing blow on his power. It is noteworthy that his brother Kṛishṇa is called 'the establisher of the Teluṅga king' in his Mamdāpur inscription⁸ of Śaka 1172 and the Arjunvād inscription⁹ of Śaka 1182 which was the last year of his reign. According to the chronology of the Kākatīya kings, the Teluṅga contemporary of Mahādēva was Rudramāmbā, the daughter of Gayapati whose latest known year is Śaka 1183. Since Hēmadri says that the Āndhras placed a woman on the throne thinking that the Yādava king Mahādēva would not deign to fight with her, the crushing

¹ For particulars see also D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 206-217.

² *Early History of the Deccan* by Bhandarkar, p. 242.

³ *History of the Konkan in Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 24.

⁴ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 33.

⁵ *History of the Konkan*, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Early History of the Deccan*, App. C.

⁸ *History of the Konkan*, p. 21, n. 1.

⁹ *Above*, Vol. XIX, p. 29.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 9 ff.

of the Teluṅga power suggested by the above epithet must have a reference to the wars conducted in the time of Gaṇapati especially after A. D. 1200¹. Mahādēva must have taken away from him (the title of) *Pañchamahākūṭa* and the elephants of war as recorded by Hāmādrī, soon after his accession to the throne.² It is not, however, possible to understand the exact circumstances which favoured the rising of the Silāhāra, Gūjara and Kākatiya kings immediately after the death of Kṛishṇa.

Mahādēva, like his predecessors, entrusted the government of his southern country to his minister Dēvarāja³ apparently to guard against the Hoysala invasion into his territory. The Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra who had lost considerable territory in the north-west of Mysore to the Yādava under Siṃhaṇḍa and Kṛishṇa must have endeavoured to wrest back from them their past possessions and the struggle seems to have continued till the last quarter of the 13th century A. D. when we find some Yādava regiment stationed at Hāvēri⁴ marching against Dōrasamudra. The Māmdāpur inscription of Kṛishṇa (Śaka 1172) records the defeat of Hoysala Sōmēśvara by the king, perhaps in conjunction with his brother Mahādēva who was the *Yusurāja* under him. The epithet *Hoysanarāya-kūṭākala* may bear reference to this or any subsequent fight undertaken by Mahādēva against the Hoysalas.

Incidentally, the record throws some light on the extent of the Kannaḍa language in the north in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. Sonnalige which was the home of Siddharāma now forms part of the modern Sholāpur, the headquarters of the Sholāpur District in the Bombay Presidency. The Kannaḍa language must have been prevalent in this part of the country in the 12th century A. D.⁵ This view finds confirmation from the statement in the Marāṭhī work *Līlā-charitra* of the Mahānubhāva school, written in A. D. 1190 that the sixty-lac Mahārāshṭra country extended as far as Tryambaku-kshētra (i.e., Nāsik) on the bank of the Gaḍgā (i.e., Gōdāvarī) in the west⁶. Jñānēśvara the celebrated saint of Mahārāshṭra who flourished about 1200 A. D., praises in his *sōhāyas* the god Vītthala of Paṇḍharpur as the deity of Kannaḍa and Karṇāṭaka and also remarks in his *Gītābhāvadīpikā* that the southern limit of Mahārāshṭra in his time was the south bank of the Gōdāvarī⁷. This would show that even as late as the 13th century A. D. Kannaḍa which is a southern neighbour of Marāṭhī, extended up to at least Nāsik and the Gōdāvarī, not to speak of Sholāpur and Paṇḍharpur on the bank of the Bhīmā in the farther south. There can, therefore, be no doubt about the veracity of the statement contained in the *Karṇāṭamārga* that the northern limit of the Kannaḍa language in the 9th century A. D. was the Gōdāvarī⁸.

¹ This was the last year of Kṛishṇa. See Fleet, *Dynasties*, etc., p. 327.

² The Yādava sway in the territory of the Kākatiyas is testified to by the discovery in 1922 of a pot of treasure buried in the earth at Bāchapaṇnam in the Kāikālur Taluk of the Kānta District. The pot contained 43 gold coins known by the name of *paṇḍu-takṣa* which bear the legends Siṃhaṇḍa, Kāṇhaṇḍa, Mahādēva and Śrī Rāma in Dēva-Nāgarī script (*J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXI—Numismatic Supplement No. XXXIX, pp. 6 ff). The find may be taken to support the epigraphical and literary evidence regarding the defeat of the Kākatiyas by the successive Yādava kings from Siṃhaṇḍa downwards.

³ Dr. Fleet thinks that he may be identical with Toṇḍaleya Dēvarāma appearing in an inscription at Hāvēri. See *Dynasties*, etc., p. 528.

⁴ B. K. No. 75 of 1932-33.

⁵ Poet Chāṇḍaṇḍa (cir. 1300 A. D.) is supposed to have lived at Paṇḍharpur. *Karṇāṭaka Kavicharita*, Vol. I, p. 403.

⁶ *Marāṭhī Śāstrā-saṅgama va nīṭas* by Mr. Kulkarnī, pp. 191-2.

⁷ *Mahārāshṭra-māla* by Mr. S. B. Joshi of Dhārwar, pp. 40 and 49-50.

⁸ *Parichchhedha I. Kṛishṇa-Bhāṣa-kūṭa* of Nanjunḍa (cir. A. D. 1325) also states, in conformity with the evidence of the Marāṭhī literature, that Karṇāṭaka was bounded on the north by the Gōdāvarī and on the south by the Kāvāṭi in his time.

The following geographical places are mentioned in the record: Kaviśāsa, Sonnalige-nagara, Bāsura-vishaya and Chaṅgūru. Kaviśāsa which is mentioned under this form in an inscription of Chalīakere¹ is evidently the Mount Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva. It should not be confounded with Kaviśāsapura whose greatness is extolled in ll. 50 to 56 of the Arjunaviḍa inscription and which is identical with the modern village of the same name near Nūlagrāma, in the Hukkeri taluk of the Belgaum District². Sonnalige which is called *abhinava-Srīśaila* is, as stated above, a part of the modern Sholāpur. Bāsura-vishaya, which included the gift village Chaṅgūru, comprised 140 villages and included the southern part of the Hāvēri taluk of the Dhārwar District. Chaṅgūru is the modern Saṅgūr where the inscription is found. It may be noted that this village was included in the Chandragatti-nāḍa during the Vijayanagara period³.

TEXT.*

- 1 ॐ Śrī-Siddharāmanātha saraṇa || Namas-tuṅgaśi(śi)-
- 2 raṅ(śi)-tumbhū(chumbū)-chandra-chāmara-chāravā ॐ trai[lokyam](lōkyā)-nagar-ā-
- 3 rambhāya(bha)-mu(mū)la-stambā(bhā)ya Sa(Sa)mabhavā [ॐ-]
- 4 Śvaeti Śrī Oṃ[!]* Jaya Paramēśvara Paramātma Yi(I)śvaran-urvvi-parvvi[y-a]-
- 5 śaṅgikop[di]ppanu vōrbbaṁnigey-āgi yōgiga)a manada koneya
- 6 jōtiśvaranūṁ Vrisabhaṇa rūp-āgi [yā]jamānanūṁ śchāryyanūṁ tā-
- 7 ney-āgi vōgāli-sampadna-[ba]jeyatiga]-ellavaṁ sampādāli(śi) yō-
- 8 ga-[taru]ṁiya kabētravane stajav-ittu śalīkhe-viḍidu abhinava-Śrīśailavane mā-
- 9 di Kapilāśāddha-Mallikārjjunādēvane nēlaśi nīṁdu puṁṁya(puṁya)-pāpamgaḷam
- 10 baranḥ pāḍu [be]jaṁḥ pōḷuttav-irala śrīṁ beśa dēva enaḥ yī stā-
- 11 nādala māṁyav-āgi vūruḡaḷam bhūmigaḷam dhanamgaḷam yī Liṅgaḷe
- 12 haśi-ōḍukavaṁ māḍi koṭṭuḍuvam mananḥ pēśeḍa kaḷalukonḍape-
- 13 n-eṁbātana āṇana mātā-mātā-pitruḡaḷ-ellāṁ-ēppattēṁ-kōṭi varmaṁ-
- 14 baranḥ puḷu-gomḍeḍa narakadoḷaḡ-ikkī nū-śhuti-pōḷuttiru gaṁḍā e-
- 15 te pāpavō || Yi dēvana bhūmi-dhanakē-ān-āṁjuven-ēṁdu pāṁḍeyan
- 16 pāv-aḡarddante mananḥ bedari pōḷavattanāṁ bēḡa śighraṁ koḷḷu bā kaṁḍā
- 17 ele puṁṁyavō Kaviśāśake [!]* yidit-ēraḷaḡa beḡe puṁṁya(puṁya)-pāpamga-
- 18 ḷam pāḍuṁ koḷḷoyvūḍu tappadu dīṣa dīṣanḥ satyaṁ-gaṁḍire || yēmbu-
- 19 du guru Siddharāmanāthadēvara vachana || Śvaeti[!]* Śrī-prithvī-vallabham (vallabha)-
- 20 Mahārājāśhīrṣja-Paramēśvara-Paramahattānaka-Dvārā-
- 21 vaṭi-pura-var-ādhivara-Yādava-koḷa-kamala-kaḷikā-vikā(śa)-bhū-
- 22 śvara-Gūṛjjararāya-vārapāṁkuśa-Mālavarāya-Madana-Trinētra-
- 23 Teluṅgarāya-si(śi)raś(b)-kamala-mūl-ōtpātana-Rāya-jhaga-jhampa-Rā-
- 24 ya-Nāṁyaḡ-ōṭy-ādi-nāṁyaḡ-viṁḡamāna-Pranḍha-pattāpa-
- 25 Chakrevarita-śrī-Mahādēvarāya-vijaya-rāḡy-ōḍaḡ(dayē) || Tat-pā-
- 26 da-paḍuṁ(paḍuṁ)-ōpaḡvīnō Dēvarā)aya pūṁḷa(ēva)-pūṁḷa(śa)-varḡṇanāḥ | Śe-
- 27 maḡani Vāśiṣṭha-vathāś [!]* Chāḍḡamaḷ Śiva-paḍ-āḷja-māḍu-bhūmigaḷ(bhūmigaḷ) [!]*
- 28 taṁḷēḍ-Amītarāś-āḷḷiḍ-āṁḡana-guḡa-ratna-āḡarab-āḡa-
- 29 naḷ [!]* Tatō-bhūḷi-Dēva-maṁṭṭriśāḷ kaḷiṭ-āḷḷhār-iva Chāḍḡamāḷ [!]* yatu(t)-ka-
- 30 rō vibudhī-āṁḷḍa-karāḷ sarv-ābhayaṁkarāḷ || Śvaeti [!]* śrī-nāṁḡ(n)-m-
- 31 hāpraḍhāṁḷ(h) śakaḷa-jana-tathya-māḷḡan(h) nīyūḡa-Yōgaśāḍharāḷ

* Ep. Carn., Vol. XI Chalīakere 22.

* Above, Vol. XXI, p. 11.

* B. K. No. 173 of 1935-36.

* From ink-impressions.

* The *śaṅḡa* is superfluous.

32 pati-kārya-du(dhu)raudharah sarib(rv)ādhi-kāri(I) sujan-ōpakāri(I) samārō-
 33 dh(dh) ta-bhūdevah śrī-Sōmanāthadēva-labudha(bdha)-vara-prasādō Dēvarā(ō)(ab)
 34 śrī-Mahādēva-nra(nr)p-ījāyā dakṣiṇādī bluvadi pālayathna(pālayan)
 35 śrī-Siddharām-ādhiśhthitah (I) Sonnalige-nagaram-avalōkya śrī-Kapilasiddha-
 36 Mallikārjuna-ādōkani-pūt-āntaramō dharimmi (dharimmi) manō
 37 nidhāya tasya dēvasy-ānga-ranga-bhōg-ārthan jīrṇōddhār-ānātha-
 38 samrakṣhaṇa-vāri-satra-nitya-hōm-ādy-anēka-dharmma-b(v)ya-
 39 yāya || Hāsūra-vishaya-madhya-varṭinam prasiddha-simā-samam(na)nvitam

Charṅgūra-nāmodhēyam grā-

40 manī nidhi-nikahēpa-jala-pās(ah)āya-samam(sama)nvitam dandā-su(su)-
 41 lk-ādī viddh-āy-ānvitam (ānvitam) rāja-purudhair-ānagubī-prē-
 42 khaṇṇipath saribha(vra)-namasyadi kru(kr)tvā || Śaka(Śak)ō-ārābhya 1(1)86 ne-
 43 ya Raktākṣi-suhvasarasya Puś(ah)ya-māsō arddhōdaya-
 44 tithau hiradny(hirag)ōdaka-pārbbha(vva)kaṇ pra(ś)lāt || ॥
 45 Yirajū pagaluri pariva kolji-kallan-ādōdān mathūya
 46 mahāmāṇḍalōsvaraṇ-ādādan dhareyan-ā(vu) Chakravartīy-āda-
 47 dān śrimann-mahā-mahima Kapilasiddha-Mallōsvaraḍēvara
 48 kabātrada chaturārāyada nālkum-dēvya vaḷeyadojage vo-
 49 jage hoṇag-ippa dhanakka arāṇḍa(ō)-akku kolji-kallaro(-akku) manam pēsa-
 50 de kaḷadukarēḍen-ambātana ātana mātā-mātā-pitruṅga(pitriga)-
 51 [-ellam² The rest of the *vachana* is a reproduction of ll. 13-19 of the previous *vachana*
 to 57. (ll. 4-19) with slight orthographical variations.
 57-58 Imprecatory verse beginning with *dāna-pālana*
 59 [Sō]dara Sōma-Gauḍa Sōdara Sōma-Gauḍa Hittukā-
 60 rariṇe aṇuvaga mattarūṅge hamneraḷu hōmna mariyā-
 61 de kōlu kolaga dēvarige || Maduvey-āya mān-ēṇṇe (ēṇṇe) haḍiyade
 62 tippē-suhka sahja-bhōga-tāja-sāthmya (sūmya) [gau]ḍagaliḷe Hiriya-
 63 Sōma-Gauḍaḷana vumbāḷi mattaru eraḍu Chikka-Sōma-Gauḍana vum-
 64 bāḷi mattaru eraḍu yī Gauḍu Hittukārara boḷada boḷasēn-āya-
 65 va tammadu || Dēvara-manaya Heggāḍe Chaudarasahge mattaru eraḍu
 66 maneyumam śrīmāṇmya(mānya)v āḷi koḷṭaru ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Line 1) Invocation to Siddharāma.

(Ll. 2-3) Invocation to Sambhu.

(Ll. 4-19) A *vachana* of Siddharāma.

(Ll. 19-25) While *Pravṛkṣapratāpachakravartin Mahādēvarāya* who was *Prithivīśālabha*, *Mahāśāsthrīrāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramābhāṭāraka*, a chosen lord of *Dvārāvātipura*, a vanquisher of *Gūrjara*, *Mālava* and *Telūṅga* kings, a *Rāya-Nārāyaṇa* was ruling the earth, (and)

(Ll. 26-34) his minister, the *Mahāpradhāna Dēvarāja*, son of *Amitarasa* and grandson of *Chaudarasa* of the *Vasishṭha* family was governing at his command the southern country. (the latter)

(Ll. 35-44) visited *Sonnalige-nagara*, the former residence of *Siddharāma* and being pleased at the sight of god *Kapilasiddha-Mallikārjunadēva* made a gift of the village *Charṅgūra* in *Hāsura-vishaya* together with a right over treasure-troves and the incomes derived from

² Read *Mallikārjuna-stobha*.

finca, *śulka*, etc., for the worship of the deity, renovation of the temple and for water-shed and daily oblations, etc., on the occasion of *arddhodaya* on the new moon day of Pushya in the (cyclic) year Raktākshin, the Śaka year 1186.

(Li. 45-58) Another *vachana* of Siddharāma.

(Li. 59-66) Specifies certain estates and incomes in the village to be enjoyed by some *Gauḍas*, *Hittakāras* and *Chauḍarasa*, the *Heggaḍa* of the temple (*dēvara-mane*).

NO. 31.—A NOTE ON THE TIRIYAY ROCK INSCRIPTION.

By B. CH. CHIDASA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (LOND.), OOTACAMUND.

This interesting epigraph was brought to light in the year 1931.¹ The rock on which it is engraved is situated on the north-eastern sea-coast, near the village of Tiriyaṅ, in Ceylon. The inscription has recently been published by Mr. S. Paranavitana.² It is written in the Pallava-Grantha script and in the Sanskrit language: both these features are rather uncommon in Ceylon. It is not dated, but is palaeographically assigned to the late seventh century A.D. Like the other few Sanskrit records discovered in the island, the present one also is associated with the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. Its contents constitute a hymn in praise of a sanctuary, called in the inscription itself *Ġirikaṇḍi-chaitya*, which had apparently been set up by a guild of sea-faring merchants. The principal deity in the shrine is Sugata (i.e., the Buddha) attended by Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuvāg. For a detailed discussion on these and kindred points, the reader is referred to the exhaustive study of the record made by Mr. Paranavitana.³ In the present paper, special attention is drawn to what has somehow escaped the notice of that scholar concerning the text.

Mr. Paranavitana has taken the inscription to be entirely 'in prose', whereas to my observation it has revealed itself to be almost wholly in verse, the last line apparently being the only exception. It will be seen that the composer has displayed his peculiar taste in employing throughout one and the same metre and that of a very rare occurrence, namely *Nardataka*. The engraver, on his part, has exhibited a like trait by allotting one line to each stanza. Thus the first ten lines of the text, the whole of which consists of eleven lines, comprise ten stanzas.


The above discovery has led me to a further conclusion that the record is not fragmentary as Mr. Paranavitana has shown it to be. 'Lines 1 to 4', says he, 'are totally illegible at the beginning for a distance of nearly three feet and the ends of lines 4 to 10 are much damaged'. One does get such an impression while glancing at the illustration of the record. On comparing the text, however, it becomes manifest that, in spite of its irregular appearance, the document has reached us almost in its entirety. Thus, in contradiction to Mr. Paranavitana's remarks, I may state that no inscribed portion has been lost at the ends of lines 4 to 10. The same can be said of the beginnings of the lines 1 to 4, with only this reservation that the portion in question does seem to have originally contained some sort of engraving on it,⁴ and that about eight

¹ *Ann. Rep. on Arch. Survey of Ceylon for 1931-32* (Pt. IV.—Education, Science and Arts (J)), p. 19; *Ann. Bibliography of Ind. Arch.* (Korn Institute, Leyden), Vol. VII (1932), pp. 34-35; *J. A. S. B. Letters*, Vol. I (1935), p. 12.

² *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 151-160 and Plate.

³ I may add that the portion might have contained some letters. The second line of our text begins from [sa]lila, but before three letters the stone shows traces of at least two more syllables, though as such they are superfluous in our text. It may also be pointed out that there are three signs, one below the other, facing the extremities of the lines 4-6, but they do not have any bearing on the text, although they have the appearance of regular letters *śha*, *śhi* and *śhat* respectively.

alsharas at the commencement of the fourth line have peeled off along with the engraving above.

The space occupied by the inscription roughly corresponds to this shape , the upper rectangle containing the first three lines of the writing and the lower the remaining eight. It will further be noticed that there are some natural cracks and rough patches which existed on the stone even at the time of the incising of the inscription and which the engraver has carefully avoided. For example, blank spaces between *vishāda-haraḥ* and *kanaka-vibhūṣaṇa*, l. 6, and *gandha-jalāḥ* and *kara-bhṛita*, l. 7, are original gaps and not the lacunae in the text.

It is obvious that in the light of the observations made above, the task of deciphering the record has become particularly easy, as it always happens in case the composition of a document turns out to be metrical. It is, I believe, possible now to restore the text more or less completely by examining either the original epigraph or a good estampage of it, neither of which has been at my disposal. The photographic reproduction accompanying Mr. Paranavitana's paper being too inadequate for the purpose, it has not been possible for me to amend all the doubtful readings or to read all the portions left undeciphered. Below I suggest some alterations and additions in the text given by Mr. Paranavitana:

- L. 2. At the end we may read (*Girikandī*) *kaṁ=ity=adūḥ*.
- L. 3. Instead of *-agara-ja(na*)* I would read *-(nā)ga(rā)ḥ*.
- L. 4. The reading appears to be *-natam* where *-nata-* has been read.
- L. 5. Perhaps we have to read *siddha-* instead of *śidā*, and *-pāṇyatamaḥ* in place of *-pāṇyatamaḥ*. Before *Girikandī* we may read *namāmi*. The last letter is final *m*, so indicated by its smaller size. Thus we have to read *=alam* and not *=aham=api*.
- L. 6. The reading is *=madana-dīśha-vishāda-haraḥ* and not *=manō-dīśha-viśa-dāhara*. So also *-ruchir=anigatam=* and not *-ruchir=anigatam=*; *-varam* and not *varam*.
- L. 7. Read *-jalāḥ* instead of *-jala*, and *pāṇanāḥ* for *pāṇāḥ*. The two letters after *Girikandī* seem to read *jushaḥ*.
- L. 8. Instead of *pranipātam karuḥ* the reading is probably *pranipātam=karuḥ*.
- L. 9. The *anusvara* indicated within square brackets is not found in the original, nor is it necessary. Read *-kāraṇam=* for *-kāraṇa(m)=*, and *-gatam Sugatam(tam)* for *-dāta-angata*.
- L. 10. The last word is *jagat* and not *jagatāḥ*.

It may also be pointed out that after the first half of each stanza, except perhaps the third, fourth and sixth, a single *dayda* is clearly visible on the stone. A superfluous *dayda* is found after the first quarter of the second verse. In certain places Mr. Paranavitana's reading is not tenable as warranted by the metre, e.g., *Buddhānāḥ* (l. 5). His translation will naturally have to be considerably modified after so many changes in the text.

NO. 32.—FOUR COPPER PLATES FROM SORO.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

These copper plates, which are edited here for the first time, were unearthed at Badkhuri near Sōrō in the Balasore District of Orissa, and recently acquired by the Ravenshaw College Museum, Cuttack. Prof. N. C. Banerji of the College brought the plates to me for decipherment in March 1937, and as they had a thick incrustation of verdigris they were chemically treated in the Indian Museum, Archaeological Section. I am obliged to the authorities of the Ravenshaw College Museum for the loan of the plates, as also for the permission to edit them in this Journal.

These are four plates (A, B, C and D), representing four separate documents, each complete in itself. Their respective sizes are as follows:—A, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$; B, $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$; C, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ and D, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. The plates are engraved on both sides, there being 19 lines of writing in A, 21 lines in B, 19 lines in C and 21 lines in D. Originally each plate had a seal attached to it at the left hand side, but the seals of plates A, B and C are missing. Plate D still retains the seal, but it is very much worn out and its details are completely obliterated.

The characters are a form of the Northern alphabet, representing an earlier phase of the writing as compared with the Gañjām plates of Śaśāṅka.¹ Palaeographically, Plate A, which shows slightly earlier forms of letters, should be placed first in the series, while Plates B, C and D between A and the Gañjām plates. The chief points of difference between the Gañjām and the Sōrō plates in respect of alphabet may be noted. The characters of the Gañjām plates are of 'the acute-angled type with nail-heads,' which, as pointed out by Bühler,² forms the transition from the Gupta to the Nāgarī alphabet. These acute-angled letters are absent in the present records. In the Gañjām plates the medial *ṣ* and *ṣ* strokes are more developed and often extend below the head of the letter; and the letter *j* is of the later type in which the top bar is reduced to a mere stroke, and the bottom bar, and often also the middle bar, hang down, in which respects it resembles the same letter in Plates B and C. Some examples showing these tendencies of the letter *j* occur also in Plates A and D; but in Plate A, and in some cases in Plates B, C and D, the top bar is not reduced. The letter *ṣ* in the Gañjām plates has a stroke added to its base on the left side, which is absent in the Sōrō plates. Plate A shows uniformly the earlier bipartite form of *y*, while in Plates B, C and D it is of the later bipartite type akin to that used in the Gañjām plates. The letter *ṣ* in the Gañjām plates shows in the majority of cases an oval loop at the top, while in the Sōrō plates it still retains its angular form, often having the shape of a perfect rectangle. The Gañjām plates are dated in the Gupta year 300, i.e., A.D. 619-20. Plates B, C and D, which should be placed somewhat earlier than this date, may be assigned to the second half of the sixth century, while Plate A which must be still earlier, to the first half of the sixth century. Palaeographically, Plate A closely resembles the Pāṭikollā grant of *Mahā-Śiva Śivarāja*.³

The language of the copper plates is Sanskrit. Each has the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, but the rest of the document is in prose. As regards orthography, *ṣ* and *ṣ* is occasionally joined to the following consonant, a consonant following or preceding *r* is occasionally doubled, and both *b* and *v* are uniformly expressed by the sign for the latter, the only exception being in Plate A, in which the two letters are clearly distinguished in *śaśāṅka-śaśāṅka* (l. 16).

The general character of the four plates, so far as their phraseology is concerned, is more or less uniform. This is to be expected in view of the fact that they belong not only to the same age but also to the same locality. First is mentioned the place of issue of the charter, which is followed by the name and titles of the donor. Next is introduced the name of the province or subdivision wherein the grant is made, and in this connection are enumerated the various officers forming the administrative machinery of the province to whom the document is addressed. The name of the village as well as the names of the donees in whose favour the charter (*śāśanapatta*) is issued is then given. The prose portion of the plates recording all these details of grant is followed by benedictive and imprecatory verses. These are followed by the names of persons entrusted with drafting of the document, mechanical execution of the copper sheet by beating, and also

¹ Above, Vol. VI, Pl. facing p. 144.

² *Indian Palaeography*, English translation, p. 42.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 285 and Pl.

(in Plate C) with engraving. The date of the grant is specified either at the end (in A), or immediately before the names of the draughtsmen and others (in Plates B and C), or just before the commencement of the metrical portion (in Plate D).

Plate A records a grant of eight *śūpīyas*¹ of land by *Mahārāja Sambhuvāśas* of the *Mudgala* family in a village called *Ghaṇṭākaraṇakabhētra* adjoining *Sarēphā*, evidently the headquarters of the same *vishaya*, in *Uttara-Tōsali*. It was issued from the royal camp at *Tamparavaḍama* to a Brahmin named *Bharaṇasvāmin*, belonging to the *Bharadvāja-gotra* and the *Kāṇva-śākhā* (of the *Yajurveda*). The draft was made by the *Mahāśākhikāgrahika Nārāyaṇa* and the plate was 'heated' by the *Mahātara Viśāśvāmin*. It is dated in the year 260, the 30th day of *Kārttika*. This date in view of the paleography is referable to the *Kalachuri* era and becomes therefore equivalent to A. D. 508-9. ✓

Plate B records the grant of a village called *Aḍḍayāra* situated in the *Sarēphādhāra-vishaya* in *Uttara-Tōsali* which again formed a part of the *Ōḍra-vishaya*. The donors are *Dhruvamitrasvāmin*, *Āruṅgasvāmin* and others of the *Vāṭya-gotra* and the *Vāṣaśākhikāgrahika* (of the *Yajurveda*). The grant was issued by the *Mahāśākhikāgrahika, Antivāṇya* and *Mahāśākhikāgrahika Sōmadatta*, from his camp at *Āmrataśhaka*. It was written by the *Sādhikāgrahika Kēśava* and 'heated' by the *Mahātara Sūryadēva*. It is dated in the year 15, the 13th day of *Vaiśākha*. ✓

Plate C is another grant of the same *Mahāśākhikāgrahika, Antivāṇya, Mahāśākhikāgrahika Sōmadatta*. It was issued from a place called *Sāśchātaka*, the grant consisting of a village called *Bahirvātaka*, situated in *Varukāpa-vishaya* in *Sarēphādhāra*. The donors are *Dhruvamitrasvāmin* and *Āruṅgasvāmin* of the *Vāṭya-gotra* and the *Vāṣaśākhikāgrahika* (of the *Yajurveda*). The grant was written by *Subhasimha* and 'heated' by the *Pitṛpūṭaka Divākara*, while the engraving was carried out by *Nārāyaṇa*. It is dated in the year 15, the 24th day of *Māgha*. It should be noted that in this plate *Varukāpa-vishaya* is said to have been within *Sarēphādhāra* which itself was also a *vishaya*, as we know already from Plates A and B.

Plate D was issued from a place called *Virañja* by the *Mahāpratihāra, Mahārāja Bhāradatta*. The same *Bahirvātaka* village, which is mentioned in Plate C as having been granted to *Dhruvamitrasvāmin* and *Āruṅgasvāmin*, is hereby granted once again. The donors this time are *Priyamitrasvāmin*, *Vāṭamitrasvāmin*, *Dhruvamitrasvāmin* and *Āruṅgamitrasvāmin*, all of them belonging to the *Vāṭya-gotra* and *Vāṣaśākhikāgrahika*. In this plate the village is stated as being within the *Sarēphādhāra-vishaya* and not *Varukāpa-vishaya* as in Plate C. The grant was written by the *Sādhikāgrahika Arunadatta* and 'heated' by the *Pitṛpūṭaka Pratishṭhita-chandra*. The date is the year 5, the 17th day of *Phālguna*.

It has been already stated that the year 260 of Plate A, which refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Sambhuvāśas*, should be assigned to the *Kalachuri* era of A. D. 248, the date then corresponding to A. D. 508-9. The difficulty in assigning the year to a later reckoning such as the Gupta or the Harsha era is obvious, because paleographically the record is not referable to a date later than the middle of the sixth century. The same difficulty also arises in the case of the *Paṭṭikūṭa* plate of *Mahārāja Śivarāja* of the year 283. R. D. Banerji, who has edited it, refers the date to the

¹ The word *śūpīya* which occurs also in the *Paṭṭikūṭa* and *Nivāṇa* grants (above, Vol. XI, p. 286, l. 44 of the text and Vol. XXI, p. 36 and n. 1) denotes a unit of land measurement.

² (See below p. 201 n. 6.—Ed.)

Gupta era,¹ but as pointed out by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,² the palaeography of the record is not in favour of this assumption. The latter has accordingly suggested that the year 283 should be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to this view, with which I entirely agree, the Patāṅkellā plate should be placed twenty-three years after the present record.

The Patāṅkellā plate records a grant of land in Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī by Mahārāja Śivarāja. In line 3 of the plate occurs a passage containing the name of the immediate overlord of Śivarāja, which has been read by Banerji as *Paramamahēsvara-śrī-Sagguyayyana-tāsati*. This he translated as, "when the great worshipper of Mahēsvara (Śiva), the illustrious Sagguyayyana . . . was ruling". In an editorial note on Banerji's article Dr. Sten Konow observed, "I am unable to see *Sagguyayyana*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading; I think I see *Sambhuyayyana*." The plate which is now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, was subsequently re-examined by Banerji, but he found himself unable to accept Konow's emended version.³ Recently I had occasion to examine the record very closely in connection with my study of the Sōrō plates, when I found that neither of the two readings could be accepted. The actual text in the Patāṅkellā plate is *Paramamahēsvara-śrī-Sambhuyayyana-anuśanti*, i.e., "during the rule of the illustrious *Sambhuyayyana*, the great devotee of Mahēsvara". There is no doubt that this *Sambhuyayyana*, who also belonged to the Mudgala family, is identical with Mahārāja *Sambhuyayyana* of the Sōrō plate. The expression *Paramamahēsvara-śrī-Sambhuyayyana* and *Paramamahēsvara* used in reference to him in line 4 of the Patāṅkellā plate shows that *Sambhuyayyana* held the position of a paramount ruler. It should be noted that he has only the epithet *Paramamahēsvara* prefixed to his name in this grant, while in the Sōrō plate he is described as a *Mahārāja*. It is difficult to say what position he precisely held in the year 260 when the latter record was issued. It is likely that he enjoyed a sort of independent status. The combined evidence of the Sōrō and Patāṅkellā plates shows that King *Sambhuyayyana* ruled over the whole of Tōsalī. The expression *Paramamahēsvara-śrī-Sambhuyayyana-anuśanti*, i.e., "meditating on the feet of his father who was (to him) like a great divinity," used in reference to him in line 5 of the Sōrō plate may be compared with similar phrases occurring in the land grants of the kings of Kalinga, e.g., the Kōmarī plates of Chāyāvarman⁴ which describe him as *bappa-bhaktāraka-pādābhaktah*.

Mahārāja *Bhānūdatta* of Plate D, who calls himself also *Mahāpratihāra*, must have been a vassal chief like Śivarāja of the Patāṅkellā plate. That he was under some *Paramamahēsvara*, i.e., a sovereign ruler, follows from lines 8-9 and 13 of Plate D, although we do not know who this ruler was. Of a somewhat lower rank was *Sōmadatta*, the donor of Plates B and C, who is styled *Mahā-kāśikāpāla*, *Antarāṅga* and *Mahāvīrahivirahika*. His overlord, who likewise remains unknown, is referred to as *Paramamahēsvara-śrī-Sambhuyayyana* or *Paramamahēsvara*, and *Paramamahēsvara*. Neither *Bhānūdatta* nor *Sōmadatta* is known from any other sources. There could not be a difference of more than a generation between these two persons, as the donees *Dhruvanītraśvamin* and *Ārunāśvamin* of Plate C issued by *Sōmadatta* were evidently identical with the donees of the same names mentioned in Plate D of *Bhānūdatta*.

As is well known, Tōsalī is first mentioned in Aśoka's Rock Edicts at Dhauḥ near Rhuva-nēsvara in Purī District which itself must have been comprised in that province. From several copper plates from Orissa it appears that the province was divided into two sections, namely,

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 287.

² Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 160 (No. 1293) and n. 2.

³ *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, 1930, p. 118.

⁴ For similar expressions used in other records see Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 186-187, note.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 144.

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

2
 2
 4
 6
 8
 10

Reverse.

12 12

14 14

16 16

18 18

Obverse.

၁ မှု၍သေမျှတရားသဗ္ဗညုဘုရားအား နာယာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင်
 ၂ ပာပုကဏ္ဍာနိဗ္ဗာန်ရတနာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင် ၂
 ၃ ဝိဂ္ဂဟိတံအာယုသန္တံဗုဒ္ဓံဗျံဒုဗ္ဗိမ္မဗျာဒုဂ္ဂါနာမဗျံအာရံ
 ၄ နာရိပဗ္ဗာသန္တံမာရနိဗ္ဗာန်သန္တံအာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင် ၄
 ၅ မဏ္ဍပရိဝေဒနာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင် ၅
 ၆ ဤဗုဒ္ဓဇာတိဝိသုဒ္ဓိသဗ္ဗညုဘုရားအား နာယာပရိဝေဒနာ
 ၇ ပာပုကဏ္ဍာနိဗ္ဗာန်ရတနာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင် ၇
 ၈ ဗုဒ္ဓဇာတိဝိသုဒ္ဓိသဗ္ဗညုဘုရားအား နာယာပရိဝေဒနာ
 ၉ ရံဇာနာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင် ၉
 ၁၀ နာယာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင် ၁၀
 ၁၁ ဗုဒ္ဓဇာတိဝိသုဒ္ဓိသဗ္ဗညုဘုရားအား နာယာပရိဝေဒနာ
 ၁၂ ရံဇာနာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင် ၁၂

Reverse.

၁၃ ဤဗုဒ္ဓဇာတိဝိသုဒ္ဓိသဗ္ဗညုဘုရားအား နာယာပရိဝေဒနာ
 ၁၄ ဝိဂ္ဂဟိတံအာယုသန္တံဗုဒ္ဓံဗျံဒုဗ္ဗိမ္မဗျာဒုဂ္ဂါနာမဗျံအာရံ
 ၁၅ နာရိပဗ္ဗာသန္တံမာရနိဗ္ဗာန်သန္တံအာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင် ၁၅
 ၁၆ မဏ္ဍပရိဝေဒနာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင် ၁၆
 ၁၇ ဤဗုဒ္ဓဇာတိဝိသုဒ္ဓိသဗ္ဗညုဘုရားအား နာယာပရိဝေဒနာ
 ၁၈ ပာပုကဏ္ဍာနိဗ္ဗာန်ရတနာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင် ၁၈
 ၁၉ ဗုဒ္ဓဇာတိဝိသုဒ္ဓိသဗ္ဗညုဘုရားအား နာယာပရိဝေဒနာ
 ၂၀ ရံဇာနာပရိဝေဒနာရိရောင် ၂၀

Uttara-Tōsalī and Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī. The latter included Kōngōda-maṇḍala, which according to some scholars was to the south-west of Puri and might have extended as far as the borders of the Gaṇjām District.¹ As regards the extent of Uttara-Tōsalī, light is thrown by the Neulpur grant of Śubhākarādēva² and also by the present copper plates. The Neulpur plate records the grant of certain villages in Uttara-Tōsalī which are to be located in the Balasore District.³ All the four plates published here refer to grants of land in Sarēph-āhāra which also was situated in Uttara-Tōsalī. **Sarēphā** (or Sarēpha) should be identified with Sōrō in Balasore, in the vicinity of which the present copper plates were discovered. In the Revised Rent-roll of Shah Sujah (circa A.D. 1650) Sōrō appears as one of the principal divisions of Sarkar Jalesar. It is also mentioned as Sōrō-dandapāṭa in the *Mādaḷā-pāñjī*.⁴ Even now Sōrō is an important station in the Balasore District. **Varukāṇa**,⁵ the name of the adjoining *ecchaga*, is perhaps to be identified with the present Baruā pargana which appears as Barwa, a *wahul* under Sarkar Bhadrak, in the *Āin-i-Alkārī*.⁶ The other localities I am unable to identify.

A.—Plate of Mahārāja Śambhuyaśas; the year 260.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 Ōm[] jaya-skandhāvārāt-Tamparavaḍama(?)-vāśavāch-chakrta-vinaya-vibhū-
- 2 śhaṇaḥ prajāyī-jana-yatīśakta-bhāgya-vibhavaḥ sarva-dik-parisara-
- 3 pratishṭhit-ānanta-punya-kīrti-āpāna-ābhaya-mantra-dīkṣitā nija-
- 4 bhūja-patākrama-kṛtā-jatru-pakṣhaḥ prajā-pālana-dakṣiṇō **Mudgala**.⁷
- 5 kul-āmva(mha)ṇ-āndu-āri-chōḍā-maṇiḥ paramadāivata-va(ba)ppa-pād-ānuddhyātō Mahā-
- 6 rāja-āri-Śambhuyaśaḥ; kaśālī Uttara-Tōsalyāṁ varitamāna-bhavi-
- 7 śhya-mahāśamanta-mahārāja-rājaputtra-kumārāmāty-āparika-
- 8 viśhāyapati-tadāyuktaka-āpādevāśaka-sihānāntarikān-anya[m].
- 9 ā-cha yallabha-jātyān-**Sarēpha**-(ph-ā)hāra-viśhaya-mahāmahattara-
- 10 [kū]ṭakōlas-ādy-adhikaraṇaṭh mānayaṭi viditam-astu vō yath-ai-

Reverse.

- 11 tad-viśhaya-samva(taba)dāha⁸-**Sarēph**-āśaṅga-grām⁹-**Ghaṇṭākaraṇa**-kshōṭtrē tūpir-ā-
- 12 śhṭan sasya-sahitā vāstu-hasta-kata-dvaya-samēṭāḥ ā-āparikurāḥ
- 13 ā-āddilā[] sarva-pitā-varjitā ā-chandr-āraka-samakāśam mātā-pittā-
- 14 r-ātmanā-cha puṇy-ābhiv-ābhayaḥ Bhāradvāja-sagōttara-Kārvōya-
- 15 **Bharavaśvaminē** pratipādītās-tad-āśa-āśmad-dattih pratipālā-

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 38.

² Above, Vol. XV, p. 1.

³ Maps, *Orissa under the Bhamana Kings*, 1934, p. 2.

⁴ M. Chakravarti, *J. F. A. S. B.*, 1916, pp. 46, 48.

⁵ [The reading may be Vāruka or Varukāṇa. Names of villages ending in *āṇa* are not uncommon; cf. *Baṇa-draśakā* in the 'Indian Museum Plates of Dvāndravāseman' (above, p. 74) and *Fārukāṇa* in the 'Saktipur copper-plate of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa' (above, Vol. XXI, p. 214). It may be pointed out that there is a place called *Mārkaṇa* (on the N. N. R.) only ten miles to the south-west of Sōrō.—Ed.]

⁶ See *J. F. A. S. B.*, 1916, p. 44.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ For this reading I am indebted to the Editor.

⁹ This word, which was omitted at first, has been added below.

¹⁰ [Reading appears to be *Sarēph-ā(śa)śa-grām*, i.e., in the village in the vicinity of *Sarēphā*.—Ed.]

- 16 yitavy-ty-ājjā. evayam : ukta-cha dharma-sāstrē (†) Bahubhīr-vvasundhā dattā
 17 rājabhāḥ (†) Sagar-ādibhāḥ (†) yasya yasya yadā bhūmih te(mis-to)sya tasya tadā
 18 phalam(m) (†) līkhitatattat mahāsāndhivigrahika-Nārāyaṇa
 19 tāpittat(tat) mahattara-Vidhāḥsvāmih(a) : sarvava(va) 200 60 Kārtti di 30

B.—Plate of Sômadatta, the year 15.

TEXT.

(Reverse.)

- 1 Om' evakti : Jaya-ekamdhārād-Āmrataksaka-vāsakāḥ-parama-daivatāchidairata-śrī-
 2 Para(ma)bhāṭāraka-pād-ānandhyātō mahāva(ba)lādihkrit-āntaraṅga-mahāsāndhi-
 3 vigrahika-Sômadattat kusali Odra-vishayē Uttara-Tôsalyārī Sarēph-ā-
 4 hāra-vishayē varttanāma-bhaviṣyan-mahāsānta-mahārāja-rājaputra-kumārā-
 5 mōty-ōparika-vishayapati-tadāyū(yu)ktaka-dāḥjavāka-śhāntatārikā-
 6 nyāma-cha chāṣa-bhāṣa-vallabha-jātyān-vishaya-mahāmahattara-kūṭakolasa-
 7 pustapāl-ādy-adhikarāṇāḥ-cha yathārham-pūjayaty-avagamayati cha vidita-
 8 m-asu bhavatām yath-īśābhīr-īśad-vishaya-sarva(mha)dhā-Adayāra-grāmō(maḥ)
 9 śrī-Parama-
 10 tāmra-patta-śhityā Vāṭra-syōtra-Vāṣaṇyā-Dhruvamitravāmy-Ārūṅga-
 11 svāmy-ādibhāṣa-pratipāṭitā-tad-śhūḥ samuchita-tāmra-patta-dāḥ(ma*)-datvā(ttvā)
 12 bhūjāṇḍāḥ na kōmāhīd-anyathā karaṇyā śhāḥ-cha dattit paramadaivata-

Reverse.

- 13 śrī-Paramabhattāraka-pādānāḥ dharmaṁsya cha gauravāt-protipāṣyitavyā ||
 14 ukta-cha dharma-sāstrē (†) Va(Ba)hubhīr-vvasundhā dattā rājabhāḥ Sagar-ādibhāḥ (†)
 15 yasya yasya yadā bhūmih tasya tadā phalam(m) (†) Śva-dattām-para-dattām-evā
 16 yō haritā vasundharāḥ(m) (†) sa vishāḥyānāḥ īpam-bhūtrā pētrībhāḥ eha pashyatō || (2*)
 17 Mā bhūḥ-phala-tāṅkā vaḥ parā-datt-ōn pāthivāḥ || (†) evā-dānāt-phalam-ānantyam
 18 para-dān-ānupālānam(m) || (3*) Shashṭim-varsha-sahasrāṇi evaḥ mōdati
 19 bhūmīdab (†) ākshēptā ch-ānmanā cha tāny-śva nareḥam-va(kā va)nd-ōt || (†) (4*) || (5)
 20 samvat 10 5 Vaisākha di 10 3 līkhitat śrī-Śrīvigrahika-
 21 Kōśavēna tāpitan mahattarako Sūryadēvāḥ ||

C.—Another Plate of Sômadatta, the year 15.

TEXT.

(Obverse.)

- 1 Om' evam (†) Śāṅchātakāt-paramadaivata-śrī-Paramabhattāraka-pād-ānandhyātō mahā-
 2 va(ba)lādihkrit-āntaraṅga-mahāsāndhivigrahika-Sômadattat kusali Sarēph-āhāra-
 3 sambatāḥdhā-Varukāṇa²-vishayē varttanāma-bhaviṣyan-mahāsānta-mahārāja-rāja-
 4 putra-kumārāmōty-ōparika-vishayapati-tadāyūktaka-dāḥjavāka-śhāntatārikā-
 5 n-nyāma-cha chāṣa-bhāṣa-vallabha-jātyān-vishaya-mahāmahattara-kūṭakolasa-
 6 pustapāl-ādy-adhikarāṇāḥ-cha yathārham-pūjayaty-avagamayati cha viditām-asu bhava-

² Expressed by a symbol.³ [See above, p. 201 n. 3.—Ed.]

Obverse.

1 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 2 सप्तमिंशत्तमस्य वर्षस्य ॥ २ ॥
 3 प्रथमस्य वर्षस्य ॥ ३ ॥
 4 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 5 एतन्महाराजस्य ॥ ५ ॥
 6 महाराजस्य ॥ ६ ॥
 7 महाराजस्य ॥ ७ ॥
 8 महाराजस्य ॥ ८ ॥
 9 महाराजस्य ॥ ९ ॥
 10 महाराजस्य ॥ १० ॥

Reverse.

12 महाराजस्य ॥ १२ ॥
 13 महाराजस्य ॥ १३ ॥
 14 महाराजस्य ॥ १४ ॥
 15 महाराजस्य ॥ १५ ॥
 16 महाराजस्य ॥ १६ ॥
 17 महाराजस्य ॥ १७ ॥
 18 महाराजस्य ॥ १८ ॥
 19 महाराजस्य ॥ १९ ॥
 20 महाराजस्य ॥ २० ॥

- 7 tām-ētaḍ-viśaya-samva(mba)dḍha-chira-khila-(ā)pyō **Va(Ba)hīrvāṭaka**-grīmaḥ parama-
darvata-
8 śri-Paramabhāṭā(tā)raḥ-paṭpō(dānān-ā-chand-ārka-samakālan paṇy-ābhivāddhayō
Viśaya-aggō-
9 tira-Vājasenya-charaṭa-Dhruvamitrasvāmy-Āruṅgasvāmihyaṁ rāje-lōma-paṭta-
sthitvā
10 pratipāditas-tad-anayō-samachita-rājadattī-tāma-paṭta-dānān dātṛvā bhūjānāpō-
11 kōnachid-vā(hā)dā kūryā śahā cha dattīḥ paramadarvata-śri-Paramabhāṭāraḥ-pāḍānān
Reverse.
12 dharmasaya cha gauravāt-pratipālayitavyā | uktaḥ cha dharmma-āstō[1*] **Va(Ba)hūhīr-**
vvaṁ-
13 dhā dattē rājābhī-Sagar-ādibhiḥ[1*] yaśya yaśya yadā bhūmī-taśya taśya tadā
14 phalaḥ(m) || [1*] Mā bhūd-aphala-śakā vah para-datt-ēti pāṭhivāḥ[1*] eva-dānāt-phala-
m-ānantyaḥ para-dān-ānpālanam(pā) || [2*] Śhaśtin varsha-samantō svargō ti-
15 śhāstī bhūmidaḥ[1*] śkēhōpā ch-ānamantī cha tāny-eva mātāś vasō-iti(t || [3*] iti)
16 samvat 10 5 Māgha di 20 4 lūkitaḥ Śukhasimhāna |
17 tāpitaḥ pōḍāpālaka-Divākarōya | ukīṇṇaḥ Nārāyaṇa ||

D.—Plate of Mahārāja Bhānudatta; the year 5.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 Om¹ svastī[1*] **Viraṭā**-vūśakānemaḥ-pratīhā-mahārāja-Bhānudattah khalī
2 Sarēph-āhāra-viśayō samapagatān-varttāmāna-līhaviśayān-mahāś-
3 manta-mahārāja-rājaputtra-konārānāty-āparika-viśaya-pati-
4 tad-āyuktaha-dāṇjavāṭika-etiśānāntikān-anyān-cha chāta-bhāṭa-jātī-
5 yān(vāṭa)-tad-viśmāy-viśrutakānta-cha sa-mahāmahattara-vi(bi)haddbhōgika-
6 kūtākāla-ādy-ādīkamaṇō-yathācham-pōjyati mānuyati ch-āsta
7 vō vīḍitam-ētaḍ-viśaya-samva(mba)dḍha-chira-khila-(ā)-tānya-**Va(Ba)hīrvāṭaka**-
8 grīmaḥ-samābhīḥ śri-Paramabhāṭāraḥ-pāḍānān-ā-chand-ārka-sama
9 kēlan paṇy-ābhivāddhayō Viśaya-aggōtira-Vājasenya-charaṇōḍivah
10 mahāmahattara-Prīyamitrasvāmī-Vātamitrasvāmī-Dhruvamitrasvāmī-
11 **Āruṅgamitrasvāmīnā**-pratipālitah² sacra-pāḍa-varjitah[1*]

Reverse.

- 12 tad-śahān samachita-tāma-paṭta-dānān dātṛvā(ttvā) bhūjānānān na kōnachit
13 vā(hā)dā karuṇōś śri-Paramabhāṭāraḥ-pāḍānān-gaurav-āch-ah-mahā dattīḥ
14 pratipālayitavy-ēti samvat 5 Phalgu di 10 7 || uktaḥ-cha dharmma-
15 āstō[1*] **Va(Ba)hūhīr-vvaṁ** dattē rājābhī Sagar-ādibhiḥ[1*] yaśya
16 yaśya yadā bhūmī(m)-taśya taśya tadā phalaḥ(m) || [1*] Mā bhūd-aphala-cha(ā)-
17 śhā vah para-datt-ēti pāṭhivāḥ[1*] eva-dānāt-phala-m-ānantyaḥ para-dān-ā-
18 npālanam(pān) || [2*] Śva-dattām para-dattām-vā yō harita-rasadhātīm[1*]
19 sa viśhāyām krimi-bhūtvā prābhīḥ saha pacyatō-ti³ || [3*] lūkitaḥ
20 śāndhivagrāhik-Āruṇadattēna tāpitaḥ pōḍāpālaka-Pratī-
21 śhātitachandrō-ēti ||

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Read -amābhīḥ pratipālitah.³ Read pacyatō [3*] ti.

No. 33.—TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BEBAR.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Two sets of copper-plates, each consisting of three plates, complete with ring and seal, were discovered in 1930 in the possession of a Muhammadan of Sirso, a village two miles north of Murtizapur, the head-quarters of a *talukā* of the same name in the Akōla District, Berār. They have since been acquired by the Local Government and deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. I am obliged to the Curator of the Museum for permission to edit them. To distinguish the sets, both of which were found at Sirso, I name them here as Sisavai grant and Lohātā grant after the villages granted by them.

A.—Sisavai grant of Gōvinda III; Śaka Year 729.

These are three copper-plates each measuring about 12·6" in length and 6·5" in breadth. Their ends are either raised or thickened for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side and the second on both the sides. About 6" from the centre of the proper right side of each plate there is a roundish hole about 9" in diameter for the ring which has joined it to other plates of the set. The ends of this ring, which is about 5" in thickness and 2·9" in diameter, are soldered into the socket of a round seal 1·6" in diameter. The latter contains in relief on a countersunk surface the figure of Garuḍa, facing full front and squatting on a lotus. He carries a serpent in each hand. The ring was cut before the plates reached the Museum, but there is no reason to doubt its connection with the grant. The weight of the three plates is 213 tolas and that of the ring and the seal 56 tolas.

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letters here and there and especially in the centre of both the sides of the second plate are damaged by verdigris, but they can be read without much difficulty from the traces left behind. There are sixty-two lines in all, of which sixteen are inscribed on the first plate, seventeen and sixteen on the first and second side respectively of the second plate and the remaining thirteen on the third plate. The letters are beautifully formed and deeply engraved. Some of them can be marked on the back of the first and the third plate. Their size varies from 2" to 3". The writer has treated ornamentally the *mātrās* for medial *ḍ*, *ṣ*, and *ṣ* and the curve for medial *ṣ*, especially in the last line on each inscribed surface. It may be noted in this connection that the encircling curve for medial short *ṣ* resembles that seen in the Khāmblā plates.¹ A floral device is incised to fill up the empty space to the left of the hole opposite ll. 24-26. The writer has inadvertently omitted letters and even words in some places; see e.g., *py-akṛishya-charitā bhuvā* in l. 2. In some cases these mistakes are corrected by incising the omitted letter immediately below; see e.g., *va* in *drishṭ-āśā-cakṛograh* in l. 17, *va* in *siṣṭā* and *pa* in *vaya-paṇi* both in l. 25. In a few cases letters are unnecessarily repeated; see e.g., *py-umāyā* in l. 7.

The characters are of the North Indian alphabet and resemble those of the Nīlārī² and Rādhāpur³ plates of Gōvinda III. The forms of the initial *ṣ* in *iva* (l. 8), the rare *ṣh* in *siṣṭā* (l. 11), *ṣh* in *guthā* (l. 33) and of *pā* in *phalāṣ* (l. 22) are noteworthy. The superscript *r* everywhere appears above the line; see e.g., *indur-guthā* (l. 15). The form of the superscript *ā* is not different from that of *ṣ*; see *chaṭchulāṣ-cha* (l. 50). A final consonant is generally indicated by a slanting stroke to the left of its vertical. The sign of *evam* is in many places used as a mark of

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 93.² G. H. Kunte—*Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhī), Vol. I., pp. 15 L.³ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 229 G.

punctuation. The **language** is Sanskrit. The first thirty-three lines and part of the thirty-fourth, which contain the eulogistic portion, are in verse. Then comes the formal part of the grant in prose, which is followed by the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. The record ends with a line in prose which states the names of the writer and the *dātaka*. In respect of **orthography** we may note that (a) the consonant following *r* is in some cases doubled, e.g., in *mayar-ama*, l. 8, *durmanārgyam*, l. 12; (b) one of the two similarly sounding members of a conjunct is often dropped; see e.g., *rudhā*, l. 19, *matam* for *matam*, l. 12, *-calabhō* for *calabhō*, l. 14; (c) the final consonant is wrongly omitted in many places; see e.g., *Pallavā*, l. 11; (d) the final *n* is either dropped (e.g., in *vidā*, l. 25) or changed to *anuvāda* as in *tasmin*, l. 19, *śilimukhām*, l. 23, etc.; (e) the final *vizarya* is omitted, in accordance with a *vārtika* on Pāṇini VIII.3, 36, in *Karṇa-śāha-śhita*, l. 7 and *-vibhāshitā sphutam-*, l. 18, etc.; but wrongly in some cases; see e.g., *pāda-śhita*, l. 15; (f) the vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in many places (e.g., *śriyam*, l. 29) and vice versa, though rarely, as in *vri*, l. 30; (g) *y* is used for *j* in *yēshthō*, l. 6 and vice versa in *śkalajya*, l. 50; (h) *v* is used for *b* throughout (e.g., *vāpāra-*, l. 23), and the palatal *j* for the dental *j*; see e.g., *śudūram*, l. 13, and vice versa in *śva-sarm-śchakhyā*, l. 30. In one case the lingual sibilant takes the place of the palatal in *prāśhaya*, l. 43. As instances of wrong *sandhi* may be cited *Vimādy-ādresh-śhakti*, l. 26, *pūrcāish-parāish*, l. 27, *narakavāś śyāt*, l. 57, etc.

The plates were issued from **Mayūrakhaṇḍī** by the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Gōvinda (III)**, who is described in ll. 34-35 as *Paramabhūṭarāja*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēvara* with the *birudās* the illustrious *Prithivīśālaka*, the illustrious *Prabhākararāja* and the illustrious *Vallabhanarādra*, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhūṭarāja*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēvara*, the illustrious **Dhāravaraha**. The object of the inscription is to record the royal gift of the village **Sisavai** together with the site of habitation in another named **Mōragama** on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Bhādrapada in the cyclic year **Vyaya** in the (expired) **Saka year 729** (expressed in words only). This date corresponds to Saturday the 21st August A.D. 807, when there was a lunar eclipse as stated. The cyclic year according to the southern luni-solar system was, however, **Sarvajit** and not **Vyaya**. The latter cyclic year can be connected with the expired Saka year only by the so-called northern luni-solar system, which, as Kielhorn has shown,¹ was current in the south down to Saka 855.

The donated village was situated in the *Māgaka vishaya* and was bounded on the east by the village **Haripura**, on the south by **Khairājā**, on the west by **Athakavājā** and on the north by **Lakhaipari**. The **donor** was the illustrious **Risiprabhāṭa** of the *Kāśyapa gṛha*, a religious student of the *Rigveda*, who was the son of *Annasvī-bhāṭa* and the grandson of *Vishva* who had studied the four *Vedas*. He is described as a resident of **Dhārāvra** and a member of the community of the *Uchātarvidyas* of that place. The charter was written by **Arunāditya**, the son of **Vatārāja**. The *dātaka* was the illustrious **Jagavulabhāṭa**.

¹ If notwithstanding the wording *Saka-śripa-kā-dhā*, etc., we take the Saka year as current as proposed in some cases by Kielhorn (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 256) the date would correspond to the 1st September A.D. 806, on which day also there was a lunar eclipse. Besides, the cyclic year was **Vyaya**, as required, according to the southern luni-solar system; but as in all other dates of Gōvinda's reign the Saka years cited are expired and the system followed is the so-called northern luni-solar system, I prefer to interpret the date as above.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 298-299. The cyclic year mentioned in the Wāgī-Diṇḍōri plates also is **Vyaya**. As we find the northern luni-solar system used regularly in all other records of Gōvinda III, the same was in all probability adopted in the Wāgī-Diṇḍōri plates. The expired Saka year intended to be mentioned in that grant was, therefore, 729 as in the present plates, but the word *śhita* was inadvertently omitted before *triniś* in l. 46 of that record. Or, the year 730 may be taken as current, notwithstanding the wording *Saka-śripa-kā-dhā*. The lunar eclipse which, on no hypothesis, occurred on the full-moon day of *Vaiśākha* (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 11) was another mistake of the scribe. The nearest lunar eclipse was that which occurred in the previous *Pūṣyama*.

Unlike the earlier *Paithan*¹ and *Ahjanavati*² plates the present plates contain a long description of the conquests of Gōvinda III. They do not, however, make any addition to our knowledge of the events in his reign as the draft followed here is identical with that used in the *Rādhanpur* plates, the number of introductory verses being exactly the same. The earliest record in which this draft is known to have been adopted is the *Maṇḍ* plates³ of Śaka 724 recording a grant of Gōvinda III's brother Śaṅkha-Khaṁbha (or Stambha). The draft continued to be used regularly in all the plates issued subsequently by Gōvinda III from his capital.⁴ It was also generally used by the Governors of the *Karṇāṭaka*. The longest form of this draft is that seen in the *Nēsarī* plates where we find five verses (viz., vv. 21-25) not occurring in any other grant. As shown below, the same draft is used in the *Lōhārā* grant. Its importance in fixing the chronological order of events in Gōvinda III's reign will be discussed later on.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, *Sribhavana* has now been satisfactorily identified with *Sarbhūn* in the *Breach District*.⁵ *Vāṅṭī*, the capital of the Eastern *Chālukya*, is too well-known to need identification. I have elsewhere⁶ suggested an identification of *Mayūrakhandī*, the capital of Gōvinda III, different from the one originally proposed by Bühler. *Sisavai*, the donated village, is evidently *Sirsa* where the plates were discovered. *Mōra-gana*, which must have been situated in its vicinity, cannot now be traced. Its site may have been occupied by modern *Mūrtisāpur*. *Māṇaka* which gave its name to the district in which the donated villages were situated is probably *Mānā*, a station on the *Bombay-Nagpur* line of the *G. I. P. Railway*, 8 miles east of *Mūrtisāpur*. Most of the boundary villages mentioned in the present grant can still be identified in the neighbourhood of *Sirsa*. Thus *Haripura* is undoubtedly modern *Hirpur* two miles to the east, *Khairaṇḍ* may be *Kharbādi* three miles to the south-east, and *Athakavāḍa* *Atkal* about three and half miles to the west of *Sirsa*. *Lakhaipari* is clearly *Lākhpur* five miles north of *Sirsa*. *Dhārāsīva*, where the donor resided cannot be definitely identified, but may be *Dhārur* in the *Akōṭ talukā* of the *Akōṭ District*.⁷

TEXT.⁸

[Metres : Vv. 1, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 28 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 2, 5 and 9 *Vasantaśloka* ; vv. 3-5, 7, 8, 10-20 *Śāradālarīḥita* ; v. 21 *Āryā* ; vv. 24 and 27 *Indravajrā* ; v. 29 *Śālīnī* ; v. 30 *Pushpi-tāgrā*].

First Plate.

1 [चो⁹ । स वो¹⁰]वादेधसा घाम यं नाभि¹¹कमलं कृतं(तम्)[।¹²] हरच यस्य
कतिदुकलयः¹³ कमलंकृतं(तम्) ॥१॥ — —¹⁴ [भव]-

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 105.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 13 ff.

³ *Ep. Carsten*, Vol. IX, *Nelamangala Taluka Inscriptions*, p. 51.

⁴ It is not used in the *British Museum* plates and the *Kadali* plates, but the former were granted not at the capital, but at the *Hāmbhava Gṛha* on the *Tangabhadra*, and the latter are suspected to be spurious.

⁵ This identification first suggested by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 123) has been shown to be satisfactory by Dr. Altkar (see his *Bāhukṛānta* etc., pp. 67-68).

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 12 f.

⁷ (*Dhārāsīva* may with greater probability be identified with the village of the same name (spelt *Dharaseo* in the *Imperial Gazetteer Atlas*, Plate 42) now changed to *Osmānabad*, the headquarters of the district of that name in the *Nizam's Dominion*, and famous for its caves described by Burgess in the *Arch. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. III (pp. 4 ff.)—N. L. R.)

⁸ From the original plates. The facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared from ink-impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Natarajan, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ Only faint traces of the symbols in the brackets can be seen on the plate.

¹¹ Read नभाम्.

¹² Read नभम्.

¹³ Supply रूपे.

- 2 [हु(ह)च]दुरखलराजमानयीकौस्तुभायतकरैरुपशूदकण्डः [१*] सत्त्वान्वितो विपुलचक्र-
विनिर्जितारि[चक्रो].
- 3 प्यल्लण'राजः [॥२*] पल्लच्छेदभयानु(त्रि)ताखिलमहाभूमत्कुलम्बाजितात् दुर्गच्छाद-
परैरनेकविमलम्बाजि[णुरक्षा].
- 4 न्वितात् [१*] यच्चालुक्कुलादनूनविदु(वु)धव्राताययी वारिचैर्जिह्वा(चो)मंदरवल्-
लीलमचिरादाकृष्टवान्वज्रमः [॥३*] तस्या-
- 5 भूत(त्त)नयः प्रतापविमरैराकृतंदिदृष्टलक्षणांशो[१*] सदृशोप्यचण्डकरताप्रचुदित-
श्चातल[१*] धीरो धैर्यधनो विप-
- 6 [चव]नितावक्तावु(वु)जयोद्धरो हारीकृष्ण यशो यदीयमनिगं दिद्यायिक्वाभिर्धितं'
[॥४*] येष्टो'लंघनजातया[प्यम]लया
- 7 प्यमलया' लक्ष्या समेतोपि सं'न्योभून्निर्मलमण्डलस्थितियुतो दोषाकरो न कश्चित् [१*]
कण्ठाधस्त्रितदान[संततिभू].
- 8 तो यस्यान्यदानाधिकं दा[नं]* योक्ता सुलजि(जि)ता इव दिशां प्राप्ति स्थिता
दिमा[जा]: [॥५*] चत्वे'र्षं जातु विजितं गुरुश-
- 9 क्षिमारमाक्रांतभूतलमनं(न)न्यसमानमानं(नम) [१*] येनेइ वध(वह)मवलोक्य
चि[रा]य गंगं(गम्) १० दूरं स्तनियद्धभि-
- 10 येव कलिः प्रयातः [॥६*] एकचात्माव(व)लिन वारिनिष्पिनां(ना)प्यन्यथ कृष्णा-
(हु) घनं ११ निष्कृष्टासिभटोद्धतिन विद्धरदृष्टाहानिभीमेन च ।
- 11 मातंगान्मदवारिनिर्भरसुवः प्राप्याव(न)तात्पल्लवा[त्]* तच्चिचं मदलेगमप्यनुदिनं
य स्पृष्टवां' न कश्चित् [॥७*] ज्वलाशो(स्रो)क-
- 12 तगौडराज्यकमलामतं(त्त) प्रवेष्टाचिरात् दुर्गान् मरुमध्यमघतिव(व)लैर्यो वल-
राजं व(व)ले: [१*] गौडीयं शरदौदु'पा-

* The writer has omitted seven aksharas here by haplography as his eye caught only the second of the twice occurring word कृष्ण. Read 'मल्लच्छेदभयानु' मुनि कृष्णराजः.

* Read भाजिताद.

* Read 'राजान-

* Read वृत्तम्.

* Read लोकोपपन्न-

* These four aksharas are redundant.

* The insertion is redundant.

* The engraver at first cut अ and afterwards cancelled the schwa of अ.

* Mark of punctuation superfluous.

** Read स्पृष्टवां.

** Read शरदौदु-

- 13 दधवलं च्चव'दयं केवलं ।¹ तच्चाणा(वा)[ह]त तच्चप्रोपि ककुभां प्रांति
स्थितां(तं) तच्चणां(त्तणम्) ।[15*] लच्च(स्व)प्रतिठमचिराय कलिं शु(सु)-
दूरम्(सु)-
- 14 च्चा(सा)यं शुध(ह)वरिते'हरणीतलस्य [1*] छ[त्वा] पुन[1*] छतयुनाः(गा)न(च)यम-
प्यशेषं चिचं कथं निरुपमः कलिवल(न)भीभूत् ।[12*] प्रामुघै(हें)यव-
- 15 तस्ततो निरुपमादिदुर्यथा वारिधिः शुद्धाळा परमेस्वरीनत'गिरुसंसक्तपाद[1*]
सुतः ॥ (1) पद्मानंदकर'प्रतापस'हि-
- 16 तो नित्योदयः सीवतेः पूर्वोद्रेखि भानुमानभिमतो गोविंदराज[1*] 'सता ।
[110*] यक्षिं' सा(स)व्वंशुणाचये चितिपती चो-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 17 राहकूटान्वयो जाते¹ यादववर्षवर्षा²धुरिपावासीद[लं]ष्यः परैः [1*] दृष्टायाव¹³धयः
छता[1*] स्तु(सु)ग्र(स)दृशा दानेन धेनो[ह]ता
- 18 मुक्ताहारविभूषिता स्फुटमिति प्रत्यर्थिनोप्यर्थिनां(नाम्) ।[111*] यस्याकारममानुषं
व(चि)भुवनव्यापति(त्ति)रचोचितं कृष्णस्येव निरोच्च यच्छति
- 19 पितै(त)यैकाधिपत्यं भुवः [1*] आस्ता¹² तात तवैतदप्रतिज्ञता दता(त्ता) लया
कण्ठिका किं नास्तेव मया धृतेति पितरं सुतां यचो योध्यधात् [112*]
तस्मि¹²
- 20 ¹³[स्मिं]र्मविभूषणाय जनके जा(या)ते यशःशेषता¹⁴मित्रीभूय समुद्यता¹⁵ वसुमतीसं-
हारमाधिच्छया¹⁶ [1*] विच्छाया¹⁷ सद्गता व्यधत(त्त) नृपतीने-

¹ Read वध-

² Read परमेस्वरीनत-

³ *Directa superfluous.*

⁴ It would be better to read पद्मानंदकरः यथाप- as in the Rādharpur plates.

⁵ *स* which was first omitted is written below the line.

⁶ What looks like an ascender on so may be due to a fault in the plate.

⁷ Read यक्षिन्.

⁸ The engraver at first cut तौ but subsequently cancelled the stroke for medial चा-

⁹ Read संमतव्यध-

¹⁰ *स* which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

¹¹ The ascender here is a little displaced.

¹² Read तस्मिन्.

¹³ The engraver first cut स्मिं which he afterwards tried to change into स्म without cancelling the curve for medial ि and the ascender. Read स्मर्ष-

¹⁴ The ascender is redundant.

¹⁵ Read समुद्यताम्.

¹⁶ Read माधिकाया.

¹⁷ Read विच्छायाम्.

- 21 को[पि] यो वादय ।¹ ध्यातानप्यधिकप्रतापविभरे[ः*] संवत्कीर्त्तानिव ।
[1१३*] येनाव्यंतदयालुनाय निगडलेवाद्रपाश्यायतात्² स्वं देशं
- 22 गमितोपि दर्पविमराशः प्रातिहु(कु)ल्ये स्थितः [1*] यावं न भुङ्कटो लला-
[ट*]फलके यस्थोन(च)ते लच्छते विचेषेण विजित्य तावदधिराट्(ह)व[ः*] स
- 23 गंगः पुनः ।[1१४*] संधायाशु शो(शि)लीमुखी(खान) स्वसमवावा(वा)णासनस्थोपरि
प्राप्तं वर्धितव(वं)धुजोवविभवं पद्माभिहृद्या(ह्या)न्वितं(तम्)[1*] संन³चचमुदी-
- 24 आ यं शरदृतं पञ्चन्यवदूर्जरी नष्ट[ः*] ज्ञापि भय(वा)त(त्त)या न समरं
स्वप्रेषि पश्येद्यथा [1१५*] यस्यादानतिमाचकैकशरणामा-
- 25 लोक्व लक्ष्मि(क्ष्मी) निजां दूरां⁴श्चालवनायकी नयपरो यं प्राणमप्याललिः [1*]
को विद्या[न*] व(व)लिनी(ना) सहाय्यव(व)लकः श्रद्धां वि[ध*]ति(ते) परां
- 26 नीतेस्तधि(हि) फलं यदात्मपरयोराधिकासवेदनं(नम्) [1१६*] विंध्यादे⁵ध्कटके
निविष्टकटकं युत्वा चरैर्यं(यं) निजै[ः*] स्वं देशं समुपा-
- 27 गतं ब्रु[व]मिव ज्ञात्वा भिया प्रेरित[ः*] माराशब्दमहीपतिर्द्रुतमगादप्राप्तपूर्व⁶धरेः
यस्येच्छामनुकूलया⁷ कुलधनेः पा-
- 28 दौ प्रणामैरपि ।[1१७*] नीत्वा श्रीभवने ⁸वनो वनधनव्यासांव(व)रं पादवं
तस्मादागतवं(वान्) समं निय(ज)व(व)लैरातुंगभद्रात-
- 29 टं(टम्) [1*] [त]वस्था[ः*] ⁹स्वकरस्थितामपि पुनः निखेय¹⁰माकृष्टवां विचेपैरपि
विचमानतरिपुर्यः पञ्च(ह)वानां श्रयं(त्रियम्) [1१८*] लेखाचारमुखी-
- 30 दिताह(हं)वचसा ¹¹यचैत्वं वे(वं)गोश्वरो नित्यं की(कि)करवज्रधादविरत(तं)
कर्म श्र(स्व)स(श)र्मैच्छया [1*] बाह्याली[त्रि](व)तिरस्त्र येन रचिता श्ये(ष्यो)-

¹ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

² Read "दयालुनाय".

³ Read "न".

⁴ Read "दूरां".

⁵ वि which was first omitted is written below the line.

⁶ The answer is superfluous.

⁷ व which was first omitted is written below.

⁸ Read "विंध्यादेः कटकः".

⁹ Read "पूर्वः परैर्द्रुतैः".

¹⁰ Read "मनुकूलया".

¹¹ Read "युगाग्रजन्मनाः शरा" as in the Rādhāpur plates.

¹² व which was first omitted is inserted below.

¹³ Read "निःश्वनाकृष्टवान्".

¹⁴ The engraver at first cut वृ but subsequently cancelled the strokes for similar वा.

- 31 माधलम्नादृष्टा^१नै(नौ) मौक्तिकमालिकामिव धृता मूर्द्धन्यतारागणै [181^{*}] संभा-
सात्परचक्रराजकमगात(त्)सूर्यसेवा-
- 32 विधिध्यावे(व)वांललिगोभितेन ग्ररणे मूत्रा(ध्री) यदंज(ञ्जि)दयं(यम्) [1^{*}] यय-
दत्त^२प[रा]वृग्भूषणगणैना(नौ)लङ्कते तत(त्)या मा भैयो-
- 33 रिति सत्त्वपालितयमःस्थित्या यथा तद्विरा [120^{*}] तेनेदमनिसविद्युच(च)धूलम-
वलीक्य जीवितमसारं(रम्)[1^{*}] क्षितिदा-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 34 नपरमपुण्य[1^{*}] प्रवर्तितो व्र(त्र)द्यादयोयं(यम्) [121^{*}] स च परमभहारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरम(मे)श्वरश्रीमहारावर्धे-
- 35 वपादानुध्यातपरमभहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमत्प्रभृतवर्धश्रीवल्लभन-
रेन्द्रदे-
- 36 व[1^{*}] कुशलो सर्वानेव ययास(सं)[व^{*}]ध्यमानकं(कान्) राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकुटा-
वृक्तका(क)नियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्(त्)-
- 37 रादो[न^{*}] समादिशब्दस्तु^३ व[1^{*}] संविदितं(तम्) । यथा श्रीमयूरखलीसमा-
वासितेन मया मातापिचोरात्मनवैहिका-
- 38 सुषिक्तपुण्ययगोभिहृष(ह)ये^४ । धारासि^५वा[स्तु]व्यतचातुर्विद्यसामाग्य(ग्य)कास्य(श्य)-
पसमोच्चव(व)हृचमत्र(त्र)ञ्जचारि-
- 39 विष्णुचतुर्वेदपौत्राय चक्षसाधिमहत्सुताय श्रीरिसिवपमहाय मानकविषयांतर्गतो
मीरगणधामधा-
- 40 ममसन्विती^६ सीसवै^७ नाम याम[1^{*}] तस्य चावाटनाति पूर्वतः हरिपुरयामः
दक्षिणतः खैरडे पश्चमतः च-

¹ In the Mādhavar plates also the reading was *surashtra* but Kiehn proposed to amend it as *surashtra* for reasons stated above, Vol. VI, p. 246, E. N. 1. I would read *नपारवप्रावौ* मौक्तिकमालिके विपसा, etc. The Nom. singular *धृता* which is evidently intended as an adjective of मौक्तिकमालिका shows that the latter also must have originally been in the Nom. singular. *वर्धन्* is aorist, third person singular form of *वृध्*. The intended sense is that the circular enclosure of the royal camp looked beautiful at night like a garland worn by clusters of stars.

² Read *ययदत्त*.

³ Read *समादिशति* । *चक्षुः*.

⁴ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

⁵ Read *धारासिवाका* as in the Bhāṛata Rāṇas Saṁśodhaka Māṇḍala and Lohāṇa plates.

⁶ Read *सन्विती*.

⁷ What looks like a slanting stroke on the top of *स* is an accidental scratch.

22

34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48

34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48

- 41 यज्ञवाङ उत(त्)रतः लक्ष्मपरिणाम एवमयं चतुराष्टाष्टोपलक्षितो ग्रामः[*]
सोदंगः सपरी(रि)-
- 42 करः[*] सदृष्टदृष्टापरायः[*] सम्भूतोपात(त्)पत्न्यायः[*] शो(शो)त्पद्यमानविष्टकः[*]
सधाष्ट(न्)द्विरष्ट-
- 43 देवो¹ अष्टाष्टमष्टादेष्ट(श्च) सर्वरा[वकीयानासहस्र]प्रलेपणोय आनंदशोकोर्वचि-
सरित्-
- 44 चैतसमकानोन[*] पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग[*] पूर्वप्रतर्दयत्रा(त्रा)ष्टा[दा]परहित-
म(तो)भ्यंतपर(र)निध्या(का) भूमिच्छि-
- 45 दन्वायेन यज्ञनृपका[त्ता]तीतस(से)वच्छ(क्ष)रम(ग्र)तेषु सप्तपु(त्र) एकूनतृषत्यधिकेषु
व्य[य*]नाम्नि [संवत्सरे] [मा]द्र-
- 46 पटपौर्णमास्यां सोमप्रहणपर्वणि व(व)लि[चर]वेष्टदेवान्निष्टोवातिधिपञ्चमहायज्ञ-
(क्षि)योव्य[य]णा-
- 47 ये स्वात्वाद्योदकातिप्रमेण प्रतिपादि(तो)² यतोऽखोचितया ज्ञा(त्र)दावास्वित्वा
भुंजते भोजयतः
- 48 कृततः क्षम्यतः प्रतिदिशते वा न केचिदन्त्याप परिपंवता कार्या तथा-
गामिमद्रुपति-
- 49 भिरष्टाष्टैरन्वैर्वा सामान्य भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विदुःशोक्तान्वनित्यैश्वर्याणि तृणा-

Third Plate.

- 50 यज्ञमजलवि(वि)दुचक्षलक्ष जीवितमाकलज्य(थ्य) स्वदायनिर्विमे³षोपमसादा(दा)यो-
नुमंतव्य[*] प्रतिपा-
- 51 ल[यि*]तव्य [i*] यथाज्ञानातिमिरपटलाहतमतिराच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमान[कं] वा-
नुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्नृपापात-
- 52 वैद्योपपातकैश्च संयुत[*] स्वा⁴ इत्युक्तश्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्याघेत [*] पट्टि
वर्षमहत्या(सा)नि स्वर्गे तिष्ठ
- 53 ति भूमिदः । आच्छेता(ता) चातुर्माता च तान्मेव नरके वसेत् [॥२२*]
विध्याष्टोक्त(त्)तोयासु यज्ञकोटरवासिनः [i*] छ-

¹ Read देवीषाट.² The engraver at first cut अ and then changed it into इ.³ Read एकौनविंशदधिकेषु.⁴ Read प्रतिपादिता ।⁵ Read निर्विमे³.⁶ Read सादिति । यज्ञम्.⁷ Read चातुर्माता.

- 54 णाहयो हि जायते भूमिदानं हरति ये ॥[२३*] चम्पेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं
भूर्वेणवी सूर्यसुताय भावः [1*]
- 55 लोकचर्यं तेन भवेत्तिष्ठि दत्तं(त्त) यः काश्चनं गात्रं मर्हो च दद्यात् ॥[२४*]
व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
- 56 मिः[1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[२५*] सुवर्ण-
मेवं गामेकां भूमिम(र)प्येकमंगुलं(लम्)[1*] च-
- 57 रं नरकवासो स्यात् यावदाहु(भु)तसंज्ञं(धम्) ॥[२६*] यानीह दत्ता(त्ता)नि पुरा
नरेन्द्रेणानि धर्मार्थयमस्कराणि [1*]
- 58 निर्भुक्तमात्रप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु[1*] पुनराददीत[॥२७*] स्रद्धतां
परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्वन्न नराधिप । मर्हो मद्भि-
- 59 तां चेष्ट दानां चैयोनुपालनं(नम्) [॥२८*] तथा चोक्तं रामभद्रेन(ण) [1*]
सर्वानेतां भाविन[1*] पार्थिवेन्द्रां भूयो भूयो याचते रामभ-
- 60 द्रः[1*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः [॥२९*]
इति कमलदलाविविदुलोलां नृ(त्रि)यमनुचि-
- 61 ल्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [1*] अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनेन(नं) हि पु[॥३०*]र्वै[1*]
परकीर्त्तयो विज्ञोप्याः [॥३०*] लिखि-
- 62 तं श्रीवत्सराजचतुना श्रीधरणादिद्येन । श्रीचण्डबुलभट्टतकं ॥*

B.—Lōhārā grant of Gōvinda III; Śaka Year 734.

These also are three copper-plates, each measuring 10·6" in length and about 7·7" in breadth. The first two plates are thinner than the third. Though their total weight is exactly the same as that of the Siavai grant, they are smaller in length and larger in breadth than the latter. All the edges of the third plate and the proper right edge of the other two are raised, while the rest are flat. The first is inscribed on the inner side only and the other two on both the sides, but as the record ended about the middle of the outer side of the third plate, its lower portion measuring about 3·2" in breadth is blank. About 4" from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a roundish hole about 1" in diameter for the ring which joined it to the other plates of the set. The ring and the seal attached to it, though more substantial, resemble those of the Siavai grant. The ring was not cut when the plates reached the Museum. The seal contains a worn out figure of Garuḍa larger in size, but otherwise of the same type as that of the Siavai grant described above. The plates weigh 213 tolas and the ring and the seal together 86 tolas.

* The engraver first cut ॐ and then changed it into ॐ

* Read इरम् नरकवासः

* Read मर्हो.

* Read दानाचोर्वो.

* Read सार्वभौमं

* Read पार्थिवेन्द्रां

* Read कमलदलाविविदुः

* The punctuation mark is followed here by several dots and an ornamental figure indicating completion of the record.

The plates are generally in a state of good preservation. Only a few letters at the end of lines 7-14 have been completely damaged by rust and two letters, one in the beginning of line 24 and the other at the end of line 40, have been lost on account of the subsequent widening of the hole for the ring; but these can be easily supplied from cognate records. There are seventy-two lines in all, of which sixteen occur on each inscribed surface except the second side of the second and third plates which have fifteen and nine lines respectively. The letters are deeply engraved, but do not show through on the back of the plates. Their average size is 3'. The characters are of the North Indian alphabet. As we shall see below, the writer of the present record is stated to be Aruṇāditya, the son of Vatsarāja, who, as stated above, was also the writer of the Sisavai grant, but to judge from the formation of letters, the present inscription seems to have been actually written by a different person. We do not, for instance, find here any ornamentation of the *śaṭvā*s such as that noted above in the case of the Sisavai plates. The formation of several letters, again, is different. The stroke for medial *u* is not round as in the other inscription and is added not at the lower end of the vertical stroke but a little above; see *epihad-ara-* and *ripala* both in l. 2. The forms of *i*, *th* (whether independent or subscript), *u*, *i*, the subscript *v* of the conjunct *va* and the final *t* are considerably different from those occurring in the earlier record; see e.g., *iva* (l. 10), *katham* (l. 16) and *pratyarthino* (l. 21), *vinirjū-* (ll. 2-3), *sadrśa-* (l. 6), *karṇa-āḥa-* (l. 9) and *hārājūṣa* (l. 3). *R* as the first member of the conjunct *rya* does not rise above the line but appears as a horizontal stroke to the left at the top; see *dhavrya-* (ll. 6 and 16), *m-utārya* (l. 15), etc. The language is Sanskrit and like the previous record the inscription is partly in verse and partly in prose. It shows many of the orthographical peculiarities noticed in connection with the previous record and though not altogether free from orthographical and other kinds of mistakes is, on the whole, more correctly written than the latter.

The plates were granted by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III, residing at Mayūra-khaṇḍi. His genealogy, titles and *śrīśālas* are identical with those in the previous record. In fact the text of the whole inscription, with the exception of the names of the donated village and its boundaries, the *dātaka*, the date and some minor details and with the omission of seven verses three of them being from the eulogistic portion,¹ generally agrees with that of the Sisavai grant edited above. The object of the present inscription is to record the royal gift of the village Lohārā in the Murumba district to Bhaṭṭa Rishiyappa of the Kāśyapa-gotra, who was a religious student of the Rīgveda, the son of Appamabhaṭṭa and the grandson of Bhaṭṭa Māsopavādin. He is described as residing at Dhārāsiva and belonging to the community of the Traividya of that place. The donated village was bounded on the east by the smaller Lohārā village, on the south by two villages² named Madupa, on the west by the villages Pipparikā and Mārurika and on the north also by two villages Śamaripalla and Khēja. It is also recorded that Rishiyappa, reserving 100 *vicartanas* of the land in the afore-mentioned village for himself, divided (the revenue of the remaining land) into 120 parts of which he assigned sixty to Mādava, Śrīdhara, Dōdhāna, Aghakuṭi and others and the remaining sixty to Lōkabhaṭṭa, Śrīdhara Dīkshita, Mādhuḥa Dvirādin, Pṛthivibhaṭṭa and others. These transactions took place on the occasion of the solar eclipse on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha in the expired Śaka year 734 (expressed in words only). No cyclic year is mentioned in the grant. We find that in the expired Śaka year 734 there was a solar eclipse on the previous day which was the new-moon day of Kārttika. The first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha was current at sunrise of and therefore civilly connected with the next day, Tuesday the 9th November, A.D. 812.

¹ These are vv. 7, 10 and 17 of the Sisavai grant.

² These were probably the smaller (*loḥka*) and the larger (*hīṇa*) Madupa.

which is thus the date of the present plates.¹ The charter was written by Arupāditya, the son of Vatsarāja. There were two *dūtakas* Chandtyamma and Vayama.

It will be noticed that the donee of the present plates is, in spite of slight discrepancies in his description, identical with that of the Sisavai grant. He is also the donee of the Bhārata Pithhā Sainsōdhaka Maṇḍala plates² of Gōvinda III. The provenance of the latter is not known, but it is not unlikely to be some place in Berār. The villages³ mentioned in the plates were, therefore, probably situated somewhere in Berār, not very far from Sirse (Sisavai of the previous plates) where he or his descendants seem to have lived, and not in distant Gujaraṭ as surmised by the editor of the above plates. It may also be noted that Arupāditya, the son of Vatsarāja, who is mentioned as the writer of this grant whether he actually wrote it or not, figures in that capacity in five other sets of plates, viz., the Nēsarī plates⁴ of Śaka 726, the Wari-Dindōri plates⁵ of Śaka 730 (for the expired Śaka 729), the Sisavai grant of Śaka 729, the Bahullāwāḍ plates of Śaka 732 (for the expired Śaka 731)⁶ and the B. I. S. M. plates of Śaka 732. He was also probably the writer of the incomplete Rādhāpur plates of Śaka 730, judging by the writing on them which resembles that on the Nēsarī and the Sisavai plates. He was thus the official writer in Gōvinda III's secretariat at least from Śaka 726 to Śaka 734.

Having disposed of the formal part of the grant, let us now turn to the historical information furnished by it. The charters granted by Gōvinda III fall into two main groups. Under the first of these come the Pāṭhan plates of Śaka 716 and the Aṣṭanavati plates of Śaka 722. The second group includes almost all the rest.⁷ The draft of the genealogical and eulogistic portion adopted in the two grants of the first group consists for the most part of old verses descriptive of the ancestors of Gōvinda III, which are known from the earlier records of Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa and Dhruva. To the glorification of the reigning king, the draft devotes only two verses which mention no historical event except that he obtained the kingdom from his father in supercession of his brothers. No exploits of Gōvinda III,—not even his victory over the twelve kings headed by

¹ [There are instances of the *śukla* which commenced some time after sunrise being cited as the current *śukla*. (See e.g., Nos. 215 and 289 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918, whose dates have been calculated by the late Mr. Sankarānanda Pillai on pages 84 and 85 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1918.) It is, therefore, not necessary to take Tuesday the 9th November A.D. 812 as the date of the record for, the *prati-pada-śukla* commenced at 54 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise on the previous Monday which was also the day of the eclipse. The latter, viz., A.D. 812 November 8 Monday may thus be the date of this charter.—N. L. B.]

² These plates were first noticed by Mr. V. B. Gupta in the *Journal of Indian History* for 1925, pp. 116 f. and subsequently edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, pp. 27 f. The grandfather of Rishiyappa is called Vishṇu in the Sisavai grant, but Mādhavāśin in the B. I. S. M. plates, as in the present plates; his father is called Appanna in the present record, but Appannivi (not Saṅgaṇnivi as Mr. Khare has read in the B. I. S. M. plates) in the other two records. Rishiyappa is said to belong to the community of the Chāturiyās in the Sisavai grant, but to that of the Trāṭayās in the other two records. His name, *ghaṭi*, *Viśa* and place of residence (which both Mr. Gupta and Mr. Khare seem to have incorrectly read as *Vārāṇas*) are the same in all the records.

³ The plates record the grant of the village Dadapura which was bounded on the north by the Vindhya mountain. This is likely to be Daur in the Edikpur taluk of the Akola District, situated only two miles to the south of the Sittapur hills which were in ancient times called Vindhya. Some of the places mentioned in the grant can still be traced in the vicinity of Daur. Thus Lājāvullikā, Pimprikā and Khōḍa of the grant are probably modern Guāḥlikā, Pimpri and Khel in the neighbourhood of Daur. The Ambhī *śaḍḍa* at which the king bathed before making the grant was probably a *śaḍḍa* at the source of the holy river Payāḥni (modern Purna) not far from Daur.

⁴ G. H. Khare—*Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 23.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 166.

⁶ *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 12 f.

⁷ The only exceptions so far known are the British Museum and the Kaṇḍab plates, for which see above, p. 206, n. 1.

Stambha and the release and subsequent reimprisonment of the Gaṅga king, events which we know happened soon after his accession¹—are alluded to. And this is but natural; for that draft is found used as early as Śaka 718, within a year of his father's death. When it was prepared, none of the afore-mentioned disturbances may have occurred. The same draft is again used in the Añjanavati plates issued six years later, without adding any verses descriptive of Gōvinda's achievements. It would scarcely be correct to infer from this that these six years in the beginning of Gōvinda's reign were altogether uneventful. At least the revolt of Stambha and the Gaṅga prince and their subsequent defeat must have happened during this interval;² but for some reason or other we find Gōvinda using the same old draft even in his Añjanavati plates. Only two years later in Śaka year 724 we find his brother Stambha issuing his Maṇḍa plates³ with his consent. Here we find for the first time the other draft describing the brilliant exploits of Gōvinda III,—his victory over twelve kings, the release and subsequent reimprisonment of the Gaṅga prince, the complete rout of the Gārjara and the submission of the Mālava king, the presentation of the choicest heir-looms to him by Mārāsarva, his stay at Śrībhavana during the rainy season and his subsequent triumph to the bank of the Tungabhadra, the despoilment of the fortune of the Pallavas, the humiliation of the lord of Vēṅgi and finally the submission of the enemy's feudatories. It is incredible that all these events or even a majority of them occurred during the brief period of two years from Śaka 722 to Śaka 724. We have, therefore, to suppose either that the Maṇḍa plates are spurious or that some of these events occurred even before Śaka 722, the date of the Añjanavati plates. The first of these two alternatives will appear more plausible to the historian who knows the abundance of spurious records of this period in Mysore, to which Fleet has called attention.⁴ Again, until recently the draft was not known to have been used in any record before Śaka 730, in which year we find it adopted in the Wāṇi-Diṇḍōri⁵ and Rādhānpur plates. Besides, one of the events mentioned in that draft, viz., Gōvinda's victory over the Pallava king, seems to have occurred only a short time before Śaka 726 in which year he granted the British Museum plates while he was encamped on the bank of the Tungabhadra after levying tribute on the Pallava king. How then can that event be referred to in the Maṇḍa plates issued two years earlier? To add to these suspicious circumstances, the date of the above mentioned Maṇḍa plates, though Sewell has declared it to be sound,⁶ appears to be irregular. The grant purports to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, the asterism being Pushya in the expired Śaka year 724. Sewell takes this as equivalent to the 13th November A.D. 802. He, therefore, evidently takes the lunar eclipse to be that which occurred on the full-moon day of Mārgaśrēṣa. But the asterism on that full moon was Rōhīṇī and not Pushya. One is therefore naturally led to conclude that the plates are spurious. As stated above, until recently the draft was not known to have been used in any genuine record before Śaka 730. It was, of course, known from the British Museum plates that Gōvinda's victory over the Pallava king had occurred before Śaka 726; but as his other exploits have not been mentioned in any genuine record dated before Śaka 730, Dr. Altekar in his history of the

¹ See *op. cit.* v. 12 of the present grant.

² I do not now hold the view which I previously advocated from the mention of (Chākrī) as *śaka* in the Añjanavati plates that the revolt of Stambha must have taken place after Śaka 722 (or A.D. 800); see above, p. 11.

³ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IX (Nidamangala), p. 51.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 294 and 212.

⁵ The date of the Wāṇi-Diṇḍōri plates is more likely to be the expired Śaka year 729 as shown above, p. 203, n. 2.

⁶ These plates have a sound date, naming the eclipse of the moon on the day stated.—Sewell in *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (ed. S. K. Aiyangar), p. 33. My attention to this apparent irregularity was drawn by Dr. Altekar.

Bāshtrakūṭas¹ has placed Gōvinda III's expeditions against the Pallava and Eastern Chālukya kings before his northern conquests which according to him occurred during the period A.D. 806-808. The draft adopted in the Wapi-Diṇḍōri and Rādhanpur plates states, however, that from Śrīvardhana Gōvinda marched with his forces to the bank of the Tungabhadra, where he despoiled the Pallavas of their riches and humiliated the lord of Vēṅgi. Dr. Altekar, therefore, supposes that this was a second expedition of Gōvinda III against them, which must have been necessitated by their revolt during his absence in the north. According to him² this second southern campaign may have terminated in A.D. 810 or 811.

The discovery in recent times of several records of Gōvinda III, in which the second draft descriptive of his glorious achievements has been regularly used, must lead to a revision of the above conclusions regarding the chronological order of events in his reign. Besides the Maṅge plates (first set) of Śaka 724, we have nine other records with dates ranging from Śaka 727 to Śaka 734 in which the same draft is met with, viz., the Nēari plates of Ś. 727, the Śaivai grant of Ś. 729, the Wapi-Diṇḍōri plates of Ś. 730 (for 729), the Rādhanpur and the Badanaguppe³ plates, both of Ś. 730, the Bahulawāḍ plates of Śaka 732 (for Śaka 731),⁴ the B. I. S. Maṅḍala and the Maṅge plates (second set),⁵ both of Ś. 732, and the present Lohūrā grant of Ś. 734. Of these the Radanaguppe plates, like the Maṅge plates of Ś. 724, were issued by Gōvinda III's brother Stambha, while the rest were issued by Gōvinda III himself. The combined testimony of so many plates from different parts of the country renders probable the genuineness of Maṅge plates of Ś. 724. It may be noted again, that the first of these, viz., the Nēari plates⁶ were issued only three years after the Maṅge plates of Ś. 724 and clearly show that all the important campaigns of Gōvinda III had been completed, in any case, before Ś. 727 (A.D. 805). As for the other arguments which seemed to render the authenticity of the Maṅge plates open to question, it may be pointed out that they are not inexplicable. A careful study of the British Museum plates of Śaka 726 will show that it was the second time⁷ that Gōvinda was encamped at the *tirtha* of Rāmāvara on the bank of the Tungabhadra when he had gone to exact tribute from the king of Kāśchī in Ś. 726. Obviously his first visit to the *tirtha* must have occurred when he was encamped on the bank of that river in the course of his earlier expedition against the Pallavas as stated in the Maṅge, Nēari and other later inscriptions of his reign.⁸ This second expedition must have been necessitated by the refusal or failure of the Pallava king to pay the tribute which had been forced on him when he was vanquished. The date of the Maṅge plates also is not so suspicious as might appear at first sight. It is clear that some

¹ See his *Bāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 64, n. 42 and p. 55, n. 49.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³ *Mysoor Archaeological Survey Report for 1927*, pp. 112 ff.

⁴ *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, p. 13. The name of the cyclic year Sarvadhikā shows that the Śaka year 732 is a mistake for Śaka 731 (according to the Northern system); or the year may be taken as current. It may be noted that the plates were issued from Mayurakhagḍi and the writer was Arṇaditya. So the system adopted here was the northern luni-solar as in other similar cases.

⁵ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 88.

⁶ The Nēari plates have undoubtedly a sound date. The cyclic year according to the northern luni-solar system was Tīrasa as stated in the grant. The *satvats* took place 52 *phalās* after mean sunrise on the 21st December, A.D. 805, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half of Pūṣa was current as stated in the grant. The *tithi* ended 32 *phalās* after mean sunrise on the next day when the religious rites must have been performed and the gift made.

⁷ See Fleet's translation—.... 'when having at (his) first (visit) approached of the *tirtha* called Rāmāvara he came (there again) to appear the horses, etc.' *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127.

⁸ See e.g., v. 15 of the present inscription.

words like *Mārgaśīrṣa-paurṇamāsyām* are inadvertently omitted in the record.¹ As for the discrepancy of the *nakṣatra* Pushya not being current at the time of the eclipse as mentioned in the record, it can be explained by supposing that though the grant was made at the lunar eclipse the plates were actually issued four days later when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya. Analogous instances in justification of this explanation can be easily cited from the records of the period.² There are, thus, no insuperable difficulties in admitting the Maurye plates of Śaka 734 to be genuine. All the important conquests of Gōvinda III seem, therefore, to have been made during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

It seems that soon after Gōvinda III's accession the twelve kings headed by Stambha rose in revolt against him. Gōvinda released the Gaṅga prince apparently to create a rival in the Kaṭṭaka to his rebellious brother, but as he seems to have joined Stambha and his allies, Gōvinda III defeated them all and put the Gaṅga prince into fetters again. The ease and rapidity with which these victories were attained are graphically described in two stanzas included in all records of the second group.³ These operations could not have taken more than two years (S. 716 and 717) after his accession. The next four or five years seem to have been occupied by his campaigns in the Northern and Central India at the end of which⁴ his son was born in circa S. 721. In Āshāḍha of the next year we find him again at his capital Mayūrakhaṇḍī, issuing his Abjanavati plates. Engrossed in planning and fighting wars as he was during all these years, he had apparently no time to think of getting a new draft prepared for the plates which he issued in that year. His expedition against the southern kings⁵ may have occurred in S. 722 and 723. At the end of it when his position was supreme both in the north and in the south, he seems to have caused a new draft descriptive of all his important conquests to be prepared which we find him adopting in all his later charters. This draft is composed in an ornate *kāya* style recalling, as Kiehlhorn has shown,⁶ 'many expressions and poetical devices' used in the works of Bāṇa and Subandhu. Noticing the king's predilection for it, his governors in the Kaṭṭaka also seem to have adopted the same draft in their charters issued during his lifetime.

If the chronological order of events in Gōvinda III's reign as stated above is correct, his son Amoghavarsha must have been a fairly grown-up youth of about sixteen, when he ascended the throne in circa Śaka 736. In that case the statement in the Sanjān plates⁷ that Gōvinda III went to heaven, because he felt sure that his son was able to bear the burden of the three worlds, need not be taken as exaggerated. Amoghavarsha I, must, therefore, have been nearly eighty at the time of his death.

¹ See the wording of the grant—'ननुविश्वसुहृदेषु सप्तमेषु ब्रह्मर्षेण समतीर्षिषाजनाः प्रजोमावर्जित्[व]मनकरे साकपुत्रविभक्ति विजयवन्ध्यासरे सोमवदने पुन्यवदने एवमेषे.....'

² As shown above, the present plates were issued a day after the solar eclipse. [See note 1 on p. 214. —Ed.] We may also note that the date of the Maurye plates (second set) 'शश्विद्वहरेजतीतपु सप्तमेषु ब्रह्मर्षेणपौष्णमासपौष्णमासा सोमवदने सोमवारे पुन्यवदने... According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Epigraphy* the lunar eclipse occurred on the *tithi* mentioned in the grant, but the week day was Saturday and the asterism Purnvāsā. It seems, therefore, that the plates were issued two days later on Monday when the asterism was Pushya as required.

³ See e.g., vv. 12 and 13 of the present grant.

⁴ See v. 24 of the Sanjān plates, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 246.

⁵ Two of them, the Pallava king and the lord of Vēṅgi are mentioned in the present record. The kings of Kēṇḍa, Pāṇḍya, Chōla and other countries are mentioned in verses 21-23 of the Nēart and v. 32 of the Sanjān plates.

⁶ See notes to his translation of the Rāṭhanpur plates, above, Vol. VI, pp. 246-250.

⁷ V. 23, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 246.

As for the places mentioned in the present plates, *Vēṅgi*, *Śrībhavana* and *Mayūra-khaṇḍi* have already been noticed. *Lōhārā*, the donated village may be modern *Lōhārā* about 8 miles to the west of *Kārañjā* in the *Murtizapur talukā*. *Murumba*, the headquarters of the district in which it was situated, may be *Muramba*, 3 miles south-east of *Lōhārā*. Of the boundary villages only two can be traced at present. *Mudupa* may be *Māṇḍav*, 3 miles to the south and *Pipparikā* modern *Pimpalgān* 4 miles to the east of *Lōhārā*. The other villages cannot be identified.

TEXT

[Metres: Vs. 1, 19-22 *Arushpukā*; vs. 2, 6 and 8 *Vasantatilakā*; vs. 3-5, 7, 9-17 *Sandālanikri-dīpa*; v. 18 *Arjā*; v. 23 *Pushpatāgri*.]

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीमं^[1*] स घोष्यादेवसा धाम यन्नाभि^१कमलं कृतं(तम्) । हरष यष्य
कातिदुकलया कमलकृतं(तम्) ^[12*] भूपीम-
- 2 बह(द्)इदुरस्वस्वराजमानयोकोभुभायतकरैरुपगूढकणः ^[1*] सत्त्वान्वितो विपुल-
चक्रविनिर्जि-
- 3 तारिचक्रोप्यङ्गणचरितं(तो) सुवि जणराजः ^[12*] पञ्चच्छेदभयान्(त्रि)तासिलमहा-
भुष्टकुलभ्राजितात्^२
- 4 दुल्लेष्वादपरैरनेकविमलभ्राजिपुखान्वितात् ^[1*] यच्चालुक्कल्लादभूतविदु(वु)वज्राता-
न्वयो
- 5 वारिषेः लक्ष्मी मंदरवत्सलीलमचिरादाकट्वा(वात्) वल्लभः ^[12*] तस्माभूतनयः
प्रतापविभरै-
- 6 राज्ञांतदिच्छण्डलचण्डांशो; सट्थोप्यचच्छकरताम्रजादितस्मातलः ^[1*] धीरो धैर्यधनी
- 7 विपलवनितायकावु(वु)जन्मोदरी हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिशं दिक्षा[यिकाभिधृतं]
^[18*][न्ते]-
- 8 छोल्लघनजातयाप्यमलया लक्ष्म्या समेतोपि सन्धोभूजिमलमल्लत[स्थिति^३]-
- 9 युतो दीपाकरो न क्षचित् ^[1*] जल्लोषस्थितदानसंततिभूतो यस्यान्व[दानाधि^४]-
- 10 क(क) दानं योज्य सुलल्लिता इष दिशां प्राप्ते स्थिता दिग्गजाः ^[14*]
अभ्यर्चनं जातु
- 11 विजितुं(तं) गुरुशक्तिभारमाकान्तभूतलमनन्यसमानमानं(नम्) ^[1*] येनेह व(व)[समव-
लोक्य चिराय^५]

^१ From the original plates. The facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared from ink-impressions kindly taken by Mr. Natarajan, Superintendent, Government Press, Kānpur.

^२ Expressed by a symbol.

^३ Read वज्राभि.

^४ Read भाजिताद.

^५ Only faint traces of some of the aksharas in the brackets can be seen on the plate.

- 12 गंगं दूरं स्निग्धमिदं कलिः प्रयातः । [14*] हेलास्वीकृतगौडराज्यञ्च ७ —
— — ७ — ७¹
- 13 चिरात्² दुर्मार्गस्य समन्वयप्रतिपत्तिर्लैर्गौ वल्लराजं व(व)लैः [1*] मौडोयं शर — ७
— ७ ७ ७³
- 14 लं कचद्वयं केवलं तस्यावाहृत तद्यगोपि ककुभां पतिं स्थितं तत्त्वणात् ॥
[७*] — — ७ — ७⁴
- 15 मन्त्रिराय कलिं सुदूरमुत्तार्य यवचरितैर्दरणीतलञ्च [1*] कृत्वा पुनः कृतयुग(मा)-
शु(च)य-
- 16 मध्यगोषा(धं) चित्तं कथं निरुपमः कलिवज्रभोभूत् । [15*] मामूर्तवैवतस्ततो
निरुपमा-

Second Plate: First Side.

- 17 दिन्दुर्दृष्टा वारिधेः शुभाभा परमेश्वरोन्नतशिरसंस्तुतपादः सुतः । पद्मानन्दक-
- 18 रंप्रतापवृद्धिर्गौ निलोदयः सोन्नतः पूर्वादेरिव भातुमानभिमतौ गोविदरा-
- 19 जः सतां(ताम्) । [16*] यस्मिं सर्वगुणाद्यै चित्तिपतौ श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वयो जाते
यादवर्षश-
- 20 वम्मधुरिपावाभौदलंध्यः परैः [1*] दृष्टाशावधयः कृताम्बुसदृशा दातेन येनो-
- 21 कृता सुताहारविभूषिता स्फुटमिति प्रत्नर्त्विनोप्यर्त्विनां(नाम्) [19*] यस्याकार-
ममानुषं तु(चि)-
- 22 भुवनव्यापन्निरचोचित(तं) कण्ठस्येव निरोच्छ वच्छति पितर्यैकाधिपत्वं भुवः [1*]
शास्तां तात
- 23 तवैतदप्रतिष्ठता दत्ता त्वया कण्ठिका किं नास्तेषु मया हृतेति पितरं युष्म
वचो यो-
- 24 ७धात् [19*] तस्मिं स्वर्गविभूषणाय जनने याते यमः श्रेयतामिकोभूय स-
- 25 सुखतान्त्र्युमर्तो⁵ सद्धारमाधिष्ठया [1*] विष्वाया⁶ सज्जसा व्यधत्त वृष्टतीने-
- 26 कोपि यो हादय स्वातानप्यधिकप्रतापविसरैः [1*] संवर्तको[र्त्वा]निव ॥ [12*]
येनात्वंतदया-

¹ Restore "ममानुषं प्रवेष्टा".

² Restore "कचप्रति".

³ Read यस्मिन्.

⁴ The last letter is ac.

⁵ Read विष्वाया.

⁶ Read चिराद.

⁷ It would be better to read यद्धारमदकर.

⁸ The preceding is superfluous.

⁹ Read मौडिन्.

¹⁰ Restore "दिन्दुपादधर".

¹¹ Read कृतयुगतात.

- 27 जुनाय निगडक्लेशादपास्यायतात्सु^१ देशं समितोपि दर्पविमरायः प्रातिकुल्ये स्थि-
 28 तः [१^{*}] यावंन^२ मुकुटी सनाटफलके यस्वीकते लक्षते विक्षेपिण विजित्य तावदवि-
 29 राड(व)डः स संगः पुनः ।[१३^{*}] संघावाश शिलीमुखां(खान्) स्वसमयाद्वा(वा)-
 शासनस्वीपरि प्राप्तं
 30 षड्विंशतव(व)धुजोर्वविभवं पद्माभिहृष्या(ज्जा)न्वितं(तम्) [१^{*}] सखत्तवसुदीक्ष्य यं शरद-
 [त्] प]र्जन्यव-
 31 हूर्जरो नष्टः(ष्टः) कापि भयात्तथा न समरं स्वप्रेपि परयेद्यथा ॥[१४^{*}] नीला
 योभवने घनाघन-
 32 घनध्वासां(व)रां प्राहयं तस्मादागतवां(वान्) समं निजव(व)क्षैरातुंगभद्रातटं तव-
 स्वः[ः] स्वक]र-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 33 स्थि[ता]मपि पुनर्निर्णेषमाज्जट्वां(वान्) विक्षेपेरपि चित्तमानतरिपुयः पञ्चवानां श-
 यं(चिद्यम्) ।[१५^{*}]
 34 लिखाहारमुखोदिताहवचसा यच्चैव वेङ्गीश्वरो निखं किंकरवक्ष्यधादविरतं कर्म
 35 स्वशर्मैष्टया [१^{*}] वाङ्माजीवतिरस्थ येन रचिता व्योमाशलम्नाकृतं राचो मौक्ति-
 कमा-
 36 लिखामिव धृता मूर्धस्वतारागणैः ।[१६^{*}] संवामात्परश्चक्रराजकमगात्पूर्वसेवावि-
 37 धि'व्यावडांजलिगोभितेन शरणं नात्मा^३ यदं^४ ज्ञतयं(यम्) [१^{*}] यद्यदत्तपरार्धभूषण-
 गणै-
 38 नीलंजतं तत्तथा मा भैषीरिति सख्यपालितयगस्थित्वा यथा तद्विरा ॥[१७^{*}]
 * तेनेदम-
 39 निरुविद्युच्चलमवलोक्य जौवितमसारं(रम्) [१^{*}] जितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो
 ज(ज)ष्ट-
 40 दायोयं(यम्) ।[१८^{*}] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरयोधारा[व*]-
 41 र्देवपादातुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरयो-
 42 मधभूतवर्ष्यपृष्ठवीषजमयोवज्रभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशलो सर्वानेव यथा संव(व)-
 43 ध्यमानकादादृपतिविषयपतिधामकुटावुक्तकनिवुक्तकाधिकारिकमङ्ग-

^१ Read यावत्.

^२ कपट.

^३ मौलिबमहिनि figur. See above, p. 210, n. 1.

^४ Read विविनायडां.

^५ Read मूर्ध.

^{*} Read यदं.

WILL

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- 44 त्तरादौ(दीन्) समादिशत्वस्तु वः संविदितं(तम्) । यथा मयूरखण्डोभमायामि-
तेन म-
45 या श्रीमहादेव्या ध्या¹ विज्ञप्तिकया मातापित्रीरामनर्षदिकामुभयपुत्रयशोभिष्वये ॥²
46 [धा]राशिववास्तव्यत³ वैविद्यमामान्यकाश्चपसगोचव(व)द्रुचमन्न(न्न)छाचारिणे भट्टमा[सो]-
पवा-
47 सिपौ[चा]य अण्णमभट्टसुताय महारिषिअण्णाय सुहस्व(स्व)विषयप्रतिव(व)इलोहारा-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 48 ग्रामः कीलद्रङ्ग[क—हरो]⁴कसमन्वितः⁵ तस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्वतः लघुलोहाराग्राम-
49 : दक्षिणतः सुदुपग्रामद्वयं पश्चिम[तः] पिप्परिकाग्रामः माहुरिकाग्रामश्च ।⁶
उक्त-
50 रतः सामरिपलग्रामखेडग्रामौ । एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितो ग्रामः रि-
51 धियप्तेनापि निवर्त्तनशतचतुष्टयं(य)मात्मनिमि[त्ते] मान्यस्त्रित्वा व(व)विष्णुत्वा(त्वा)
माधवजीध-
52 रदो[धा]मभयकुटिदीक्षितप्रमुखानां वष्टिभागा[ः*] तथा लोकभट्टयो[धर]दीक्षित-
मधुक-
53 द्विधेदिपुथिविभट्टप्रमुखानां प(प)ष्टिभागाः एवं विंशोत्तरशत(तं) मन्नान्नस्याहरणीकृतः
सोदंगः स-
54 परिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः सम्भूतोपात्तप्रत्वायः सीत्यद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्य-
द्वयः अघाट-
55 भट्टप्रावेशः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आर्चद्राक्षास्वर्वाचि-
56 तिसरित्पर्वतसमकाकोनः पुषपोचान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यः पूर्वप्रदत्तदेव-
57 ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मदायरहितोभ्यंतरसिध्वा⁷ भूमिहिद⁸न्यायेन शकसृपकालातीतसंवत्सर-
58 तेषु सप्तसु चतुस्तृदधिकेषु⁹ मार्गेश्वर[ः*]शिवप्रतिपदि सूर्यमहयमहापर्वणि व-
(व)लिच-
59 इवैश्व(स्व)देवाम्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमज्ञायज्ञकयो¹⁰अर्पणाद्यै सात्वाद्योदकातिसर्गे-
60 ष प्रतिपादितः यतोऽस्वीचिताया ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायस्त्रित्वा भुजतो भोजयतः क्षपतः

¹ This akshara is redundant.

² These dvandvas are superfluous.

³ Read 'वचनित'.

⁴ The aksharas in the brackets appear to be inserted subsequently in place of the original ones.

⁵ Here and in some places below the rules of sandhi have not been observed.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

Read * सिद्धा-

⁷ Read 'भूमिहिद'.

⁸ Read 'चदधिकेषु'.

⁹ Read 'द्वितीयपर्वणा'.

- 61 कार्ययतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न केचिदस्यापि परिपंथना कार्या [१*] तथागामिभद्र-
रुपति-
62 भिरक्षरंशवेरन्वीर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्धनिर्लीज्ययाणि रु-
63 शापलम्नवलविदुचक्षुर्ल च योवितमाकन्यस्य सदायनिर्विशिषोयनस्यदा(दा)(यी*)-
नुमंतव्यः

Third Plate : Second Side.

- 64 प्रतिपालयितव्यञ्च [१*] यथाप्राप्तमिरपटलाइतमतिराष्ट्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं धातुमो-
65 देत स पंचभिर्महापातत्रैः संयुक्तः [१*] श्यात् [१*] उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन
व्यासेन [१*] यद्वि
66 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [१*] श्राच्छेत्ता धातुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् [१*] । [१८*] विंध्या-
67 टवीधतोयासु शृङ्खकोटरवाभिः [१*] ज्ज्वालयो हि जायते भूमिदानं हरति
ये । [१२०*] श(३)ह-
68 मिर्वसुधा मुक्ता राजभिः समरादिभिः [१*] यस्य वस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फलं(लम्) । [११*]
69 सदात्ता(तां) परदत्ता वा यज्जाद्रच नराधिप [१*] मही मही[मता]^१ येठ
दानाच्छ्रेयोत्तुपासनं(नम्) । [१२*]
70 इति कमलदलावु(वु)विं(विं)दुलोला श्रु(श्रु)यमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [१*] धनि-
विमलमनीभिरा-
71 कनीर्गेन हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः [१२३*] लिखितं च श्रीचक्रणादित्येन
वत्सराज-
72 सुतुना [१*] चंदिवसवयमा(मौ) दूतकी^२ ॥

No. 34.—SONE-EAST-BANK COPPER PLATE OF INDRADEVA AND UDAYARAJA.

By HARIT KRISHNA DEB, CALCUTTA.

A copper-plate said to have been discovered in the river-bed near Sone-East-Bank, was brought to my notice by Prof. Satyendra Nath Bose, Professor of Physics, Dacca University, during the summer vacation of 1936. Prof. Bose has since then kindly sent me a photograph of the record after cleaning it at Dacca from which it is possible to read the text more clearly than from the original when shown to me before cleaning. I am grateful to Prof. Bose for his valuable help in the decipherment of the inscription.

^१ Read विं.

^२ Read महीमल.

* After श्री is inscribed a round figure indicating completion of the record.

The record consists of a single sheet of copper, engraved on both sides and contains 28 lines of writing, of which the first 24 occur on the first side. The last line on the reverse has a peculiarity; the original record had left a considerable blank space between its 13th akṣara (with which the text proper terminates) and the enumeration of the date in figures and words at the end; this space was afterwards filled out by another hand with 21 akṣaras out of which the last two could not be accommodated therein and were consequently inscribed lower down.

The language is Sanskrit. The text is partly in verse, partly in prose. There are a few mistakes due, no doubt, to the scribe; but these are of minor importance. The alphabet agrees more or less closely with Tafel V, columns XX-XXIII, in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*.

The object of the document is to record the grant of a village called **Gambhāri**, by the *Mahāmāyālikā* **Udayarāja** whose overlord was the king **Indradhava**, jointly to the Brahmins, **Dhārśvara** and **Mahāditya** in the proportion of three to two. The interpolated portion of line 28—*upādhyāya-Dhārśvaraṃ panchasāyā-dhūmīr-datā Chuchuddaṇḍa-grāma*—seems intended to specify the apportionment so far as concerned Dhārśvara; if so, the village must have been alternatively designated Chuchuddaṇḍa. The document (except this interpolated portion) was caused to be written by the Thakkura *īri-Sujana*, the *Akṣapatalika*.

The record opens with an invocation to Śiva (ll. 1-2). It then proceeds to set out, with suitable eulogia, the lineage of king **Indradhava**: the founder of his family was **Khadirapāla** in whose lineage was born king **Sādhava**, from whom was born king **Raṇadhava**, whose son was the king **Pratāpadhava**, whose son was the king **Śrī-Sāhasa**, whose son was the king **Śrī-Vikrama**, whose brother was the great king (*mahāśrīpati*) **Indradhava**. The next enumeration (ll. 12-16) appertains to the family of **Udayarāja**: his descent is traced back to the **Kaḍambas**, in whose lineage was born **Samarasirūha**, whose son **Praharāja** became the Prime Minister (*pradhāna-mukha*) to the (unnamed) king of the line of **Khadirapāla**; his son, **Udayarāja**, was a feudatory (*mahāmāyālika*) under **Indradhava**.

It is stated (ll. 15-16) that **Udayarāja** was left 'in charge' while his overlord, king **Indradhava**, was engaged in sports, surrounded by women. Possibly, **Indradhava** was, at the time, staying at **Udayana**, which seems identifiable with the town **Bihar** (see *infra*, p. 225), since there is a reference to the place (ll. 9-10) in association with his ability for sport, albeit the sport of conquest (*Indradhāvā upa Udayanāt* [*tri**] *paṇat-pratāpa-samāna-kriḍā-gurukṣāla-dyutī*).

The grant was made (ll. 16-18) at **Navanāra** (or **Navanara**!) *-pattana** (= mod. **Nabinagar**), after notifying, ordering and explaining to the assembled inhabitants of the village **Gambhāri** as well as to the king's officers beginning with the heir-apparent (*yamājī*) and ending with the subordinate rulers and the military officers (*sāmanta-sādhakārika*). The rights conferred by the grant are enumerated in ll. 18-19; they are the usual ones found in the records of the period. The date is given (ll. 19-20) in words as: *Śrīmad-Vikramāditya śāstaka-sāla-samantat-chaturpachchānd-sarvāṇḍikā Kārtika-sāmasya -purnimāgṇa(yām) tithi Soma-din*, "in the year of Śrīmad-Vikramāditya, twelve centuries and fifty-four, on the full-moon day (*tithi*) of the **Kārtika** month, on Monday", and regularly corresponds to Monday, the 27th October, A.D. 1197.

In ll. 20-22 are set out the genealogies of the two donors: (1) *upādhyāya-īri-Dhārśvara*, of the **Brāhmaṇya** caste, and the **Bhāradvāja-gṛha**, grandson of *paṇḍita-īri-Vāsu*(*va*)*dava*, son of

* The metre requires a syllable like *tri*; in the record itself *tri* does not occur. (The reading is *dyu*, not *dyu* and I suggest the restoration *adhyāya-dya**) which is in keeping with the *śāla* of the moon introduced in the verse. According to my reading there should be no reference to **Udayanapura** or **Bihar**.—Ed.]

[See below, p. 229, n. 2.—Ed.]

devastāḥ śrī-Ri(Ri)ṣhi, and (2) *paṇḍita śrī-Mahāditya*, of the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, and the *Kausika-gūṛa*, grandson of *paṇḍita śrī-Srīdhara*, son of *paṇḍita śrī-Kīrtipāla*.

In ll. 22-23 occur the statements that the grant was made by a copper-plate with the usual auspicious ceremonies and the injunction that the customary rights should be given to the donees in obedience to the established custom.

Lines 23-27 contain the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses relating to land-grants.

Lines 27-28 record that the document was caused to be written by the *Akṣhapatalika*, *Thakura śrī-Sujana*, a scion of the *Śrī-Vāstavya-kāyastha* community and the date is repeated in figures.

The historical value of this record is considerable. The following pedigrees of two ruling lines—one tracing itself back to *Khadirapāla*, another to *Samarasimha* of the *Kadamba* stock—are disclosed:



We already possess some knowledge about *Pratāpadhaṇa*. In his *Memoir on The Palas of Bengal* (1915), the late Mr. R. D. Banerji wrote—

"During the reign of *Lakṣmanapala* the western part of *Magadha* seems to have passed into the hands of the *Gāhaḍavāla* kings of *Kanauj*. The local rulers practically acquired independence, as an example of which we may cite the name of the *Mahānāyaka Pratāpadhaṇa* of *Jāpā*.¹ The earliest record of this generation is a short rock inscription near the *Tutrah Falls* in the *Shahabad District*, the date of which corresponds to 19th April, 1158 A.D. According to an unpublished inscription at *Rohtasgaḍh*, the King set up some monuments on the 27th March, 1169 A.D. In the same district, there is another rock inscription at *Tārāchandī* inscribed in the *Vikrama* era 1225, corresponding to 1169 A.D. According to another inscription at *Rohtasgaḍh*, the family to which this dynasty belonged is called *Khayāravāla Pāṇḍa*. The relation between this chief and the *Gāhaḍavāla* Kings of *Kanauj* has been made clear by the *Tārāchandī* inscription of the same prince. This inscription was edited by Dr. Pitt-Edward Hall in 1860. According to this inscription, in *Samvat* 1225 on Wednesday, the 3rd day of the dark half of *Jyāishtha*, = 16th April,

¹ The reading *devastāḥ* was first made out by Prof. Rom. It signifies a person keeping the sacred fire known as *devastāpa* which, together with four other fires, would be called *pañcā-agnayaḥ*. We are reminded of the tradition that five *pañcā-agnis* Brahmins were imported into Bengal by "Adiāra."

² Cf. the expression, *krīṣṇa-Jāpāḍya-Chandīka-charṇa-panḍya-paryupāsana-pāṇa* ... applied to *Indradhaṇa* in ll. 11-12 of our record. *Jāpā* is modern *Japā*.

1169 A.D., Pratāpādihavala announces that a certain copper-plate recording the grant of the villages of Kalabandi and Badapili has been obtained by several Brāhmanas by bribing one, Deu, the slave of King Vijayacandra of Kānyakubja. The inscription finally adds that the proprietary share of the rent should be collected yearly as before. This inscription shows very clearly that though Pratāpādihavala was semi-independent, he was obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Gāhādavāla King of Kanauj. The villages stated above within his territories could be granted by the King of Kānyakubja to anybody he liked." (Memoirs A. S. B., Vol. V, pp. 107-8).¹

The *Khayārawāla* of the Rohtasgadh inscription is evidently the *Khadirapāla* of our record. Reading between the lines the conventional eulogies attached to the prince descended from 'the great family' of Khadirapāla, we feel that it was Pratāpādihavala who probably first attained an independent status by war; he is designated *Samkara* and specially likened to Śiva in his aspect as the destroyer of the pride of Dakṣha. His son, Sāhasa, was doubtless an independent monarch, since he is described as being revered by kings once his enemies (... *prajāta-vairi-narīndra-mauli-māṇikya-kōkanada-pūjita-pāda-pīṭha*). I understand from Prof. Bose that there is a place called Sāhasapura near the find-spot of the record: it may have been named after Sāhasa. And it is interesting to observe the close resemblance, in style and phraseology, between our inscription and the copper-plate land-grants of the Gāhādavāla kings the cessation of whose suzerainty over rulers of this region must have been a matter of recent history when the present record was issued.

King Vikrama, son of Sāhasa, is described in rather tame terms. His enemies are stated to have avoided facing a fight with him out of fear for the strength of his arms (v. 7).

King Indradēva, also called Indradhavaladēva and Indradhavalā, was a brother of Vikrama. He seems to have considerably enlarged his kingdom by warfare. His titles, *parama-Māhēsvara*, *sār-flara-vichāra-Chaturāṇana* and *Mahānripati*, imply high status; the first two appear modelled on the styles *parama-Māhēsvara* and *Vāchaspati* of the Gāhādavālas. His other epithet, *samavā-niṣkṣamulla*, suggests connection with the Chālukyas; we may compare the epithet *Niṣkṣaṅka-lankara* applied to king Vallāhasena who married a Chālukya princess, Rāmadēvi, as proved by copper plate inscriptions of the Śena kings.² In Ceylon, also, about this time, we come across a king called Kittimissakka, said to have belonged to the Kalīṅga race.³

Indradhavaladēva, according to our inscription, was successful with his sword against his foes and is described as having shone in the sport of conquest at Udyanna or Udyanna. Udyanna or Udyanna seems to be identical with Tāranāth's *Udantapuri*, going back to some such form as *Uddiyana* or *Uddina*. Alberuni⁴ gives the form *Uddinapur*, in connection with his statement that the *Bhaikṣukī līpī* ("script used by Buddhist monks") was current in that place situated in Pārva-dīpa.

The laudatory chief Udayarāja claims to belong to the *Kalamba-kula*⁵ and is styled *Mahā-māṇḍalita*. He seems to have been connected with the Kadambas of Goa: our copper-plate

¹ The roll given by Banerji are: *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 311; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, App., pp. 22, No. 152; *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 547.

In Buchanan's *Shahabad Report* (Patna 1934), we are told of an inscription setting out the succession of these rulers (p. 46), wherein Pratāpa, Vikrama and Sāhasa figure; but afterwards there are names which seem to indicate a change of dynasty. At p. 48 of this Report there is mention of another inscription naming Pratāpa and Sāhasa; it is apparently identical with No. 1759 of the "List of Inscriptions of Northern India" (above, Vol. XX, App.).

² Majumdar, *Insers. of Bengal*, pp. 58, 107, 118 etc.

³ Calançon (P. T. S. ed.), ch. 89.

⁴ *India*, Vol. I, p. 173 and Vol. 2, p. 314 (transl. Sachau).

⁵ There is now a regular treatise on the Kadambas entitled *The Kadamba-Kula* by G. M. Moraes (Bombay, 1931)

a copy of which was kindly placed at my disposal by Prof. S. K. Chatterji.

⁶ [See above, p. . . . Ed.]

begins with an invocation to Śiva as enemy of the demon Tripura, and we know that the family deity of the Goṇa Kadambas was Śiva in the same aspect (as *Sapta-koṭi-Śvara*). The style *Mahā-māṇḍalikā*, known to have been affected also by *Īśvaraghoṣa* in the Raṅganj copper-plate, seems to have been superior to the style *Mahāmāṇḍalikā* adopted by the feudatory families of the Kanarese Districts including the Goṇa Kadambas. In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1017, the Śiṅhāra prince Anantadēva (c. Anantapāla) calls himself *Mahāmāṇḍalikā* as well as *Mahāmaṇḍalīśvarādhipati*; so that we may perhaps presume that Udayarāja had *Mahāmāṇḍalikā* under him. He may have been connected also with the Kadambas of Kaliṅga—a line of feudatory chiefs under the Gaṅga kings; his father's name, Praharāja, points in the same direction, since it is a family surname in Orissa; the surname occurs in Orissan records, e.g., in the Puri copper-plate of Nṛsiṃhaḍēva IV, dated Śaka 1305, and the inscription of A.D. 1436 on the Jayvijaya doorway in the Temple of Jagannātha at Puri.*

Praharāja, father of Udayarāja, is stated to have been Prime Minister (*pradhāna-sachiva*) to an unnamed prince of the family of Khadirapāla. This prince was in all probability Sāhasa. Some link between Praharāja and Sāhasa seems to be suggested by the circumstance that the words *sara*, *vairi*, *pragata* and *liviti* employed by the composer of our record in his description of Sāhasa are repeated by him in his description of Praharāja, and both descriptions are couched in the same metre, *Varaṇṭalilakā*. Regarding Samarsiddha, father of Praharāja, described in our copper-plate as belonging to the Kadamba stock, it would be interesting to investigate data which might lead to his identity. In the *Prithvirāja Vijaya*, a *Kādamba-Vāsa* figures as Chief Adviser to Prithvirāja who was victorious over the Muhammadans in 1192 A.D.² In the *Prithvirāja Rāsā*, a similar rôle is played by a *Samara-Sing*. Tod³ who identifies him with the ruler of Chitor, says: "The bard represents him as the Ulysses of the host; brave, cool, and skilful in the fight; prudent, wise, and eloquent in Council; pious and decorous on all occasions; beloved by his own chiefs, and revered by the vassals of the Chachan." It seems possible that Prithvirāja's Chief Adviser was remembered by his family-designation *Kādamba-Vāsa* (*-Kādamba-Vāsa*) in the tradition embodied in the *Prithvirāja Vijaya*, while he was remembered by his personal name *Samara-Sing* in the tradition relied on by the author of the *Prithvirāja Rāsā* and that the latter confounded him with a homonymous personage who ruled over Chitor long after Prithvirāja. If so, we might perhaps think of identifying this *Kādamba-Vāsa Samara-Sing* with our *Kādambakuldevatama Samarsiddha*.

Our inscription shows that Udayanna (Bihār)⁴ was, even at the end of October, A.D. 1197, not yet conquered by the Muhammadans. But its fall was not delayed. The event is usually assigned to the year A.D. 1197. It probably happened slightly later. There is every reason to believe that the capture of Nadiā took place in the cold season of A.D. 1199. The data given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* seem to have the effect of placing the capture of the 'fortress of Bihār' less than one year before the fall of Nadiā. We are told⁵ that Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyār, after obtaining a fief in the Mirzāpur District, used to make occasional incursions into the territories of Monghyr (Muner) and Bihār; and with the plunder thus secured, he organised an attack upon the fortified city called 'Bihār'. The attack succeeded, and the victor went with valuable booty to Quthul-din who bestowed on him special favours. Meanwhile, astrologers at Nadiā announced their

* Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 35.

² J. A. S. R., Vol. LXIV (1890), pp. 132, 134; and Vol. LXII (1892), pp. 39, 92.

³ J. R. A. S., 1813, p. 277.

⁴ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. (Ed.—W. Crooke), Vol. I, p. 301.

⁵ See above, p. 222, n. 1.—Ed.]

⁶ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, transl. Raverty, (Ed.—Ind.), Vol. 2, pp. 248E.

prediction that the man who had captured Bihār would invade Nadiā "next year", whereupon the king Rai Lakhmanīya (=Lakshmanasena) permitted those who did not desire contact with the Muhammadans to leave his capital. We know from the *Adbhutavāṇana* that the king was a believer in astrology; we may take it that he believed in the prophecy and was preparing to leave Nadiā, when Muhammad-i-Bakhtyār, posing as a horse-dealer, made his surprise attack on the palace. It would be reasonable to infer that the surprise-attack was launched before the period assured by the prophecy; in other words, not more than about one year elapsed between the fall of the 'Bihār-fortress' and the capture of Nadiā.

It appears from the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* account that the district of Monghyr ('Muner'), like Bihār, was at this period independent of Lakshmanasena ('Rai Lakhmanīya'). Local tradition remembers it to have been under a Hindu king of Magadha called Inderdaun who is said to have succumbed to the Muhammadans led by Muhammad-i-Bakhtyār. The stronghold of Inderdaun is reputed to have been at Jaynagar (near Kiul) where, the story goes, his treasury was located. According to O'Malley¹, the Jaynagar tradition affirms that Inderdaun had "a trusted warrior, whom he raised to the highest posts, until at last he asked for the hand of his master's daughter in marriage. The king was very angry, and had a cavern made in which he placed all his treasure. When all was safely stowed away, the king invited his general to see his treasury, and when he unsuspectingly went in, he let fall the trap-door and sealed it with a magic seal. It was not long before he suffered for thus killing his best general; for the Muhammadans came down and drove him a fugitive from place to place, until he was obliged to fly to Orissa." According to Waddell² 'forts' ascribed to Inderdaun are pointed out by local people at Mt. Uran, 28 miles south-west of the town of Monghyr.

We may perhaps identify this Inderdaun with the Indradhavalādēva or Indradēva of our copper-plate. The element *-dhavala* is found in the style *Vikrama-dhavala* applied in a Kadamba record to a Chalukya king otherwise known as Vikramāditya³; our inscription also has a pun on *-dhavala* with reference to our *Vikramāditya* (*... dhavalā-saravarmāgga Vikramāditya rājā ...* ll. 8-9). The name Inderdaun is usually restored to Skt. *Indradymna*, where the element *-dymna* seems to correspond to the *-dēva* in *Indradēva*. It is worth while enquiring if the 'trusted warrior' whom Inderdaun 'raised to the highest posts' was identical with our *mahā-māṇḍalikā* Udayarāja.

TEXT.

[Metres: v. 1, *Śaṅkharā*; vv. 2, 8, *Mālinī*; v. 3, *Śikharinī*; vv. 4, 6, 9 and 14, *Sārdulavikrīḍita*; vv. 5, 7, 10-12, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 13, *Indrasajvā*; vv. 15-20, *Anuśṭubh*; v. 21, *Pushpīligrā*.]

Obverse.

- 1 ॐ [॥] सुभक्तमार्गवानि स्वलदमरधुनो भातिलक्ष्मिराणि भवस्तोषोधराणि
प्रचलच्चतलोत्थिततारीकराणि ।(१) मल्लदुमन्तानि वमदसरसुरीभुक्तहाहा-
2 र्याणि वायन्ताम्बः समन्ताजिपुरवरमहाताडवाडम्ब(म्ब)राणि ।[१॥] मज्जति खदिर-
पात्रस्यान्वये दुर्ध्वारप्रसरदसमर्च्यः साधवः क्षाधरोऽभूत् ।(२) ।(१) यद-
मिहत्तम[म्]-

¹ Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Monghyr, Patna, 1926, pp. 218-9.

² J. A. S. B., 1892, pp. 118.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, pp. 205-6.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 श्वारातिमन्त्रेभकुम्भस्त्रविगलितसुक्ताजङ्गता संगरचीः ॥२॥* ततो जातः श्रीमान-
गणितगुणधामरुचिभिर्यशोभिस्तोत्रोभिस्तजगद्वतीर्षाद्भुतभवः ॥१* म-
- 4 हापोरो वैरिच्यतिकरशिरःशेषिमणिभिः स्फुरत्पादोपाम्बो रणधवलनामा चित्तिपतिः
॥३॥* तत्पुत्रो भगवान्शीनकटकः सद्गतिशोभाकरः शङ्काव(ध)भुरवीरभद्रसहितः
सं[पु]क्तः-
- 5 शक्तिक्रमः ॥१॥ नानादर्शनभोग्यमूर्तिर्महिमाद्ययंप्रचारी उद्यमस्त्रानीतिव(ब)लः प्रताप-
धवलो लोकेश्वरः शङ्करः ॥४॥* तस्याम्बजः प्रणतवैरिनरेन्द्रमौलिमाणिक्य-
शोभन[दपू]-
- 6 जितपादपीठः ॥१* श्रीसाहसो नरपतिः सुरसुन्दरीभिरुद्रीयमानभुजविक्रमविभ-
सत्रीः ॥५॥* वैकुण्ठीयकरप्रतिष्ठलद्वयौजम्बु(म्बु)कान्तिच्छटानुष्टाकौभिरुदार-
विक्रम[तयो य]-
- 7 स्त्रीर्तिर्विस्तूर्तिभिः ॥१* यताः प्रस्फुरितोकिमेदुरचतुःपावोधिचिच्छेदितच्छाचक्रेण
करालिता गुसुगुमायन्ते समन्तादिशः ॥६॥* तस्याम्बजश्चिमुवनप्रवरप्रवीरः
चौ[वि]क्तः-
- 8 मो नरपतिर्विजयो जगत्वा ॥१* यस्य प्रचण्डभुजदण्डवलत्पाणवस्तारयो युधि-
श्रयं विमुखीभवन्ति ॥७॥* रिपुतिमिरनिकायः सस्तभूमण्डक्रीः सरति मि-
रिदरीभ्योऽखण्डके म-
- 9 ण्डलाधि इतरिपुकुसुदामे धामभिर्दामधाम्बो धवलितसुरमार्गो विक्रमाक्षस्य राज्ञः
॥८॥* तद्वाता शितसङ्घर्षाच्छतरिपुर्चौरिन्द्रदेवो नृप उद्यमे जगत्ताप-
शमनक्री-
- 10 जामरिष्ठद्युतिः । गोभिन्निवपराभ्यकारपटलसलम्ब(ब)मुखोदयः साक्षाच्चन्द्र इवापरी-
विलयते भूमीयचूडामणिः ॥९॥* दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)प्रेनरुचयो यदरिप्रिया-
णाम[प्यु]-
- 11 यतानि जहति स्तनमण्डलानि ॥१* नेत्रोत्पलादिगलदञ्चनमिश्रितायुसंपर्कसंभवकल-
हमिवैव हाराः ॥१०॥* सोयं श्रीमन्नायिलीवर्षाण्डकाचरणपङ्केजपर्युपासन-
- 12 परपरमभास्वरसमरनिःशङ्कमल्लसारैतरविचारचतुराननमहानृपतिश्चीमदिन्द्रधवलदेवेन वि-
जयिता । धामोत्कलो किल कदम्ब(म्ब)कुलावतम्बः(तंसः)
- 13 स्फूर्जद्यथाः समरसिंहे इति प्रसिद्धः । तस्याम्बजः खदिरपालकुलप्रदीपश्चाप-
प्रधानसचिवः प्रहराजनामा ॥११॥* वाचि खिरः सुरगुरोः स समान-
व(वु)दिः प्रख्यातकीर्तिरभ-

* [See above, p. 223, n. 1.-Ed.]

Obverse.



Reverse.



- 14 वप्रयतामुकम्पी । यस्य प्रतापदङ्गासमतापतताः स्वर्गेषु शान्तिमुपयान्ति न
वैरिवीराः ॥[१२॥*] तन्नन्दनो वन्दिजनामिनन्दी वामेक्षणावीक्षणावाणखणः [१*] [यी]-
15 मन्त्रहामाण्डलिकः संजात[कुष्ठः] कलाशुदयराजनामा ॥[१३॥*] यस्योदयसमय-
सङ्गरमिलयन्त्वर्ध्विष्वोपतिप्रोक्षामेभघटाभिपाटनपटौ दोर्दण्डधुरसे
16 स्वयं । साम्नात्त[न्त्र] सकलं निधाय विजयसदामाजनैरावृतः स्वैरं वीरनरैन्द
इन्द्रधवलः क्रौडारसं सेवते ॥[१४॥*] स मन्त्रहामाण्डलिकयोः उदयराजः ।
न[वने]रपत्तना-
17 यः । मन्त्रारोधामनिवासिलोकानुपगतानपि च राज्ञो सुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहितभाण्डा-
भारिकाक्षपटलिकप्रतौह्वारनैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदुतकरितुरगोद-
18 नौसाधनिकदण्डनायकसामन्तसेनाधिकारिकानाञ्चापयत्यादिशति यो(वो)धयति च विदि-
तमस्तु भवतां यद्योपरिलिखितयामं स्वशी(सी)भापर्यन्तं सजलखलं
19 सलोहलवणाकरं समर्तोपरः(र) साम्भधूर्जं वनवाटिकातुणजन्तुगोचरपर्यन्तं सोर्द्धाध-
तुराजाटिविशुष्टं त्र्योमदिकमादित्यस्य द्वादशशतसम्बन्धरे
20 चतुःपञ्चाशद्वर्ष(र्षा)धिके कालिकमासस्य पूर्णिमास्यां(या) त्रिथौ सोमदिने ॥ भारद्वा-
जगोत्राय ब्रा(ह्म)ह्मणजालीयपण्डितत्र्यौवाच(सु)देवयौत्राय चावसथित्रीरि(त्त)विपु-
त्राय उपा-
21 ध्यायत्रीधारेन्द्राय यक्षे चंशचयं १ तथा कौशिकगोत्राय ब्रा(ह्म)ह्मणजा-
लीयपण्डितत्र्यौवौधरयौत्राय पण्डितत्र्योकोत्तिपाकपुत्राय पण्डितत्र्योमहादित्याय
यक्षे चंश-
22 इयं २ विधिवत्(त्) कृत्वा मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिद्वये गोकर्ण-
कुशकुसुमकरतलोदकपूर्णं कृत्वा चन्द्राक्षे यावन्नामैषोदकपूर्वेण यासनोक्त्य
23 प्रदापितवानिति सत्त्वा भागभोगादिकं यथादीक्षमानं पूर्वप्रवाहेनाज्ञाविधयेभूय
दास्यथ [१*] तथा हि भवन्त्यत्र पौराणिकाः श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिष्ठह्नाति
24 यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [१*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ
॥[१५॥*] ष(ष)ड्भूमिर्व्यंश(सु)धा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्दत्तं यस्य यदा-
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

Reverse

- 25 जम् ॥[१६॥*] छिरण्यमणिमुक्तानि वस्त्राश्चाभरणानि च [१*] तेन सर्वमिदं
दत्तं येन दत्ता वश(सु)भरा ॥[१७॥*] षट्पदेसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति
भूमिदः [१*] आलेता चानुमत्ता(न्ता) च द्वे(व्ये)व नरकं व्रजेत(त्) ॥[१८॥*]-

* Read मुज्जत न न जात.

* [I would read पुनर्जात. —Ed.]

* Read सगरादिभिः । एव.

- 26 तडागानां सङ्ख्येण शस्त्रमेधयतेन च [१*] गवां कीटिप्रदानेन भूमिहतां न
सु(श)ध्यति ॥[१८१*] गामेकां सुखमेकं च भूमेरप्यहमङ्कुलं [१*] हर-
रजमायाति यावदाहृतस(सं)ष्टवम् ॥[२०॥*] सकलमि-
- 27 दमुदाहृतविष(श)भ्य क्षुतिविहितं हितमाकनो नरेन्द्राः [१*] तरलतरतरङ्ग-
विषं स्वयमनुचिन्त्य न कीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[२१॥*] लिखापितमिदं
त्रोवास्तव्यकायस्थान्दयाच-
- 28 पटलिकटकुरचोसुजननेति ॥ 'उपाध्यायधारिखराय पंचहस्य भूमिर्दत्ता(त्ता) सु-
ब्दजा गामे' सम्वत् १२४४ कार्तिकयुदि १५ सोमि ।

No. 35.—SRINGH-RISHI INSCRIPTION OF PRINCE MOKALA.

By SAMSKRITI PT. ARUNAYA KEERTY VYAS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The inscription under consideration was noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha in the *Am. Rep. Rajasthan Museum, Ajmer*, 1924-25. He has also made full use of this record in his *Rājaputāne kā Itihāsa*.¹ But as the record is not yet published in full I edit it here for the first time at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

The place known as *Sringh-rishi* is situated in the heart of hills about a mile and a half west of the village *Vikharagi* which is about four miles south-east of the famous shrine of *Śrī Pāliṅgī* and is rather difficult of access.

The inscription is fixed in a niche in the western wall of a small verandah below the temple whose plinth is about 4 ft. high from a small reservoir of water the construction and subsequent consecration of which is the main theme of the record.

Excluding *Srīh(Srī)Viśva-Mō(tri)namah* on the top, there are in all thirty-one and a half lines of writing in the inscription which covers a space about 1' 10" broad by 1' 2" high. The record is engraved on a slab of black stone which has been damaged by two big cracks running almost parallel to each other. In addition to these cracks the slab is broken in three places thus destroying portions of the inscription.

With regard to the *palaeography* attention may be drawn to the representation of the medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* which are joined to the consonants both by *prishtha-mātrās* and by *śiro-mātrās* side by side; for examples of *ē* and *ō* cf. *pur-ēśvarēṣa* (l. 8) and *krōṣā-ākālō* (l. 6) and for *ai* and *au* cf. *uttamotaraish* and *svayā-ādikaish* (l. 18) and *tikau* (l. 17) and *prauḍha* (l. 9). This method of indicating the *mātrās* may be due to the fact that though by this time Nāgarī characters had assumed almost a definite form, the representation of the medial vowels, particularly the diphthongs, was still in a state of transition.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Of the few minor mistakes it shows, it may be pointed out that the dental nasal has been employed for the palatal one in *gahā-gṛhākāṁpito* (l. 5); *kauchit-samāh* (l. 6) has been used for *kāucha-samāh* and *śō-yash prauḍh* (l. 27, v. 28)

¹ This portion beginning with उपाध्याय is written in a different hand.

² The word गामे which the scribe could not fit into the space available was written below the line.

³ For quotations from this record, see *Rājaputāne kā Itihāsa*, Part II, foot-notes on pp. 249-50.

for *śāyāṃ prastātib*. The word *gajha*¹ in *maṇḍal-śrīṣṭi-gajhā* (l. 9) is evidently a *deśi* word. Besides, there are some mistakes of engraving which are noticed in dealing with the text.

Regarding orthography we find that the dental sibilant has once been employed for the palatal one in *Sambhar-akorid-* (l. 17). So also *r* has once been used for *h* in *Śiṣa edas-cum-* (l. 29). Consonant after *r* is occasionally reduplicated. The whole inscription is in verse except adorations to *Viśva-Mā[ṭi]* (at the top) and *Bhagavati* (l. 1), as well as portions of ll. 28 and 32.²

The inscription belongs to the time of prince **Mokala** of Mewār whose date of accession³ is not yet definitely known; and its object is to record the consecration of a small reservoir of water constructed by him at the hilly site known as *Śringī-rishi*, thereby to achieve *libas* in the other world for one of his wives, named **Gaurāmbikā**, who was apparently not living at the time. She came of the *Bāghelā* family and was the daughter of some prince, only last three syllables of whose name, *... .. gābhraṣa*⁴ are visible in the text now preserved. The ceremony took place on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Śrāvaṇa* in the **Vikrama year 1485 (= A.D. 1428)**. **Mokala** accompanied by his other wife *Māyapuri* worshipped the sage *Rishyaśringa* and with the permission of his religious preceptor *Triśoḥana* consecrated the reservoir.

The inscription is important inasmuch as it gives some historical information with regard to the four successive princes **Hamūira**, **Kuṣṭira**, **Lakṣa** and **Mokala**. It opens with an invocatory verse in praise of *Bhārati*, the goddess of learning; in the next verse the poet declares his intention of describing the princes born in the family of *Bappa*. This begins the genealogy from **Hamūira** to **Mokala**.

It has been said about **Hamūira** that he captured the city **Chēla** by name, and conquered by his might the notorious **Bhila** who were his enemies. He went to **Ranāthambhā**⁵ or **Ranāthambhor**, and there killed **Jaitrīśvara** who was inimical to him. He also reduced **Palhanāpura** to ashes.

Chēla as mentioned here is the *Chēla-vāṭa* of the *Eklingī* inscription of V.S. 1545⁶ (= A.D. 1488) and the *Jilwāḍa* of modern times, situated on a high plateau on the north-western border of Mewār, overlooking the territory of *Goḍwār*, a part of *Mārwār*. From the time of prince **Bai Mal** (A.D. 1473-1509), this place has been in the possession of a *Solanki Sardār* as his *ḥiṣṭ*. Formerly this *Sardār* held authority over some portion of *Goḍwār* also, which was in all probability conquered by **Hamūira** together with **Chēla**. Before the time of **Bai Mal**, the place might have been in the possession of the *Chauhāna*.⁷ His victory over *Bhila* means that **Hamūira** had also acquired the portion of Mewār now known as *Bhūmata*, almost fully occupied by the *Bhil* community, which evidently was not a part of Mewār at the time. Or, it may hint at

¹ See *Hemachandra's Dīpāṃśu*, p. 99 (ed. Bühler).

² Below this last half line of the record is clearly visible in the impression a line of writing too carelessly engraved to be legible. It appears to read *श्रीगणेशाय नमः* and seems to be a later addition made by a mason engaged to repair the older structure of the *venudak* containing the inscription.

³ No record helpful in definitely determining either the date of the death of prince **Lakṣa**, the father of **Mokala**, or the time of the latter's accession to the throne of Mewār has till now been discovered. But it is certain that **Mokala** ascended the throne prior to V.S. 1478 (= A.D. 1421) as an inscription of his reign found in a ruined *Jaina* temple at *Jivar* is dated in that year.

⁴ It is not certain whether this is the concluding part of a personal or place name as the compound may be either *Karandhavya* or *Gulitva Tarpuraka*.

⁵ The reading appears to be *Ranāthambhā* which, by metathesis, may stand for *Ranāthambhā*—(Skt. *Ranāthambhā*), popularly known as *Ranāthambhor*.

⁶ *Bhūmatī Inscriptions*, pp. 117-23.

⁷ *Rāj. 163a*, Fasc. II, p. 548. n. 4.

the acquisition of the part of Mewār now known as Vāgaḍa (Vaṭapadraka of inscriptions), which at present forms the territory of two different states, viz., Dūngarpur and Bānewārs.¹ About the identification of Jaitrāvara, who died at the hands of Hammira, the present inscription does not give any clue. But in v. 25 of the Eklāṅgī inscription of V.S. 1545 mention has been made of a Jaitrakarya born in Hāchala (Idar), sustaining the loss of life at the hands of Hammira. The *Eklāṅga-māhātmya* also mentions Jitakarya, the *Ida-durga-nāyaka* or 'the lord of the fort of Idar' as conquered by Hammira. Thus it is not difficult to ascertain that Jaitrāvara of the present record was none else than Jaitrakarya of the inscription at Eklāṅgī and Jitakarya of the *Eklāṅga-māhātmya*. He was, as is evident, the master of the fort of Idar, but when killed by Hammira he seems to have been at Ranthambhor as known from this record. There is absolutely no evidence to prove that Ranthambhor was a part of his dominions; but as it was at that time the centre of Rājput confederacy against the Pathān monarchy of Delhi, it seems quite probable that he might have gone there in connection with some such activity. The last exploit of Hammira as mentioned here is the reduction of Palhaṅgāpura to ashes. The latter is the phonetically decayed form of Prahlādanapura. This city was founded by Prahlādanaga, the younger brother of Dhārāvaraḥa, the Paramāra ruler of Ābu. Formerly it was a part of the Paramāra dominion, but now it is the capital of a separate state known as Pālaṅpur.²

Hammira was succeeded by his son **Kaḥētra** popularly known as **Ehātsī**. With regard to him it has been recorded here that he conquered **Amī Sāha** in battle, leaving alive not a single man of his army, and brought his entire treasury and numberless horses to his own capital. He also demolished **Māṇḍalgarh** which a monarch as mighty as Alā-ud-din had dared not touch.

Though the present inscription is of little help in identifying Amī Sāha we are in a position to do so from other records. Thus, this event has been mentioned in v. 158 of the *Princes' chapters* of the *Eklāṅga-māhātmya*, as a bygone illustration to prince Kumbhā's victory over Mahamād Khilji of Mālwa, where Amī Sāha, conquered and killed by Kaḥētra, has been described as *Mālwa-puti* or the Sultān of Mālwa. It is therefore clear that Amī Sāha whom prince Kaḥētra defeated, was the governor of Mālwa, and the scene of this battle was somewhere in the vicinity of the famous fort of Chitor as recorded in v. 22³ of the unpublished inscription of V.S. 1517 (=A.D. 1460) located in the uppermost story of Kumbhā's Tower of Victory at Chitor. Thus Amī Sāha was none else than Dilāvar Khān Ghūri who was the first Sultān of Māṇḍu (Mālwa) as known from the *Memoirs of Jahāngir*.⁴ He was contemporary to the Delhi Sultān Mahammad Tughlak. Col. Tod in his treatment of Kaḥētra says that 'he obtained a victory over the Delhi monarch Humāyūn at Bakrol'.⁵ Here he has obviously been misled by the bardic chronicles wherein 'Amī' might have been identified with 'Humāyūn' on the meagre phonetic semblance between the two names; or the name of a well-known monarch such as Humāyūn might have been inserted in place of that of one who was not so well-known, a practice that was not infrequent among the bards of Rājputānā. Humāyūn ascended the throne in V.S. 1587 (=A.D. 1530), whereas Kaḥētra's accession had taken place in V.S. 1421 (=A.D. 1364). They, therefore, could not be contemporary to each other. Rai Bahadur Ojha says that Col. Tod had in his knowledge the dates of accession of both Kaḥētra and Humāyūn, but that the misstatement was due to not comparing them at the time of writing.*

¹ *Baj. Itān.*, Fasc. II, p. 549, n. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 549, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 553, n. 1.

⁴ A. Rogers' *Eng. Trans.*, Vol. I, p. 407.

⁵ Tod's *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 221 (W. Crooke's ed.).

* *Baj. Itān.*, Fasc. II, p. 555, para. 2.

Kabīra was succeeded by his son Laksha, about whom it has been stated in the present inscription that he was a prince of great religious ardour and that he freed Gayā of the barbarous tax levied by the Muhammadans, which all Hindu pilgrims had to pay. This tax was a source of great discomfort and torment to the Hindus and evidently prevented them to a great extent from undertaking any pilgrimages. Laksha, the pious Hindu prince, pacified the Muhammadan governor of Gayā with offers of gold and horses and got this tax totally abolished for the Hindus. This tax was in force not only at Gayā, but was, in fact, levied over *Trishāl* or the three main Hindu religious centres, viz., Kāśī, Prayāga, and Gayā. Laksha got all these sacred places freed from the tax as known from v. 207¹ of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.S. 1517 (=A.D. 1460). This meritorious deed of Laksha also finds mention in v. 38² of Rāi Māl's inscription of V.S. 1545 at Ēklingī.

Mōkala, the son of Laksha, succeeded the throne of Mewār after his father's death. According to this record he fought two battles, one with Firūz Khān and the other with Ahmad, wherein he utterly defeated both. This Firūz Khān was the son of Shams Khān Dandān, the brother of Zafar Khān or Muzaffar Shāh I, whom Muhammad Tughluq II had appointed as the governor of Gujarāt in place of Fakhru-d-daula and who afterwards became an independent Sultan.³ When Tātar Khān, the son of Muzaffar Shāh, having deprived his father of his kingdom, himself seized the throne, he appointed Shams Khān, his uncle, as his minister. Shams Khān afterwards poisoned Tātar Khān at the instigation of Muzaffar Shāh,⁴ his brother, and the latter being pleased with this service had bestowed upon him the *jāgīr* of Nāgor.⁵ When Shams Khān died, his son Firūz Khān became the owner of Nāgor. When he began to annoy Mōkala by his foul intentions, the latter attacked Nāgor and Firūz Khān fled from the field of battle and his army was utterly routed. This victory of Mōkala over Firūz Khān is recorded not only in this inscription, but also in v. 51 of the Samiddhādeva's temple inscription⁶ at Chitor of the same year as the present one and in v. 44 of the Ēklingī inscription of V.S. 1545. The event is also described in Persian chronicles such as *Tuhfat-i-Akbari*, but there it is said that Rājā Mōkala was defeated by Firūz Khān and three thousand men of his army were killed in the battle.⁷ This discrepancy between the two records—epigraphical and historical,—has wrongly led the author of *Firozshāh* to think of two battles fought between Firūz Khān and Mōkala in one of which the latter was victorious and in the other defeated.⁸

Mōkala's second battle as known from this record was waged against Ahmad wherein also the latter was defeated. It is rather difficult to ascertain who this Ahmad was. In v. 221⁹ of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V.S. 1517, Ahmad of our inscription has been confused with Muhammad whom Col. Tod has regarded as Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd, the grand-son of Firūz Tughluq, and the son of Muhammad Shāh, and whom he believes to have been defeated by Mōkala near Rāipur in Mewār, on his way to Gujarāt to which direction he was fleeing after his defeat at the hands of Timūr in the battlefield of Pānipat.¹⁰ But this is not possible, for Timūr reached

¹ *Raj. Dika.*, Fasc. II, p. 572, n. 1.

² *Ibid.*, Fasc. II, p. 584.

³ *Raj. Dika.*, Fasc. II, p. 584.

⁴ Briggs, *Firozshāh*, Vol. IV, p. 9 and *Raj. Dika.*, Fasc. II, p. 584.

⁵ *Raj. Dika.*, Fasc. II, pp. 584-85.

⁶ Above, Vol. II, p. 417.

⁷ Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, p. 148, n. 5.

⁸ *Raj. Dika.*, Fasc. II, p. 585, n. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 584, n. 1.

¹⁰ Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 331 (W. Crooke's ed.).

Delhi on December 18, A.D. 1398, a period much prior to the accession of Mōkālā. Therefore Ahmad of our inscription seems to be Ahmad Shāh I. of Gajarāt who was a contemporary of Mōkālā and the latter might have defeated him in some battle. It also seems quite probable that the author of the Kumbhalgarh inscription might have inserted by mistake *Mahmūd* in place of *Ahmad*, the two names being phonetically similar.¹ An attack of Ahmad Shāh I. of Gajarāt directed against Jilwārū in the dominion of Rāpā Mōkālā, after extracting tribute from the ruler of Dāngarpur, has been referred to in *Tahkik-i Akbari* and *Tārīkh-i Alf*, but this event is said to have taken place in A.H. 836 (A.D. 1433) which is five years later than the time of our inscription.² This shows that the fight referred to in our inscription is quite different from that mentioned in the Persian chronicles. It is possible that Mōkālā had to fight Ahmad Shāh twice.

Other historical information from the record with regard to Mōkālā is that he erected a strong rampart with three gates round the famous shrine of Śrī Ekalingeji. He weighed himself against gold, silver and other precious objects and gave them in charity as many as twenty-five times. He performed one of these ceremonies at the holy *Tirth* of Pushkar, on the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika.

The record was composed by one Yōgisvara who had the epithets *Pāṇidāsa* and *Kamariya*. These epithets show that he was a very learned man and was held in high esteem at that time. Nothing else is directly known of him from this epigraph. The use of *ra* in place of the vowel *ri* in *Rashyadrasiga-rushi* (l. 20), however, seems to suggest that he was a native of South India.

The mason (*sūtradhāra*) was Phanā, the son of Hādā. According to the inscription he was a famous figure and was held in high respect by others of his profession, and was fully conversant with works on literature and architecture.

The date of the inscription, which is given both in numerals and in words is Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvana in Śaṁvāt 1485. It seems to be irregular for it corresponds to Saturday, 17th July, 1428 A.D.

TEXT.*

श्रीः[†]पिण्डमा[वे नमः]

1[†] ॥३॥ श्रीमगवत्यै नमः । देवी देवकिरीटरत्ननिकरासंश्रीभिपादांजुजा वीणास्काटि[क]

— — — — — [— — —][‡] — — — — —
— — — — —

2 [भ]रती मला मोहदा परा सज्जननी मुखाक्सिद्धपा[णाम्] ॥१॥ वीरान्व

यजवंमलान[धि] — — — — — [य]यावुहि तान्वा[स्त्रि] — — — — —
— — — — — [संमीर]राजा[दि]-

* *Ep. Ind.*, Fasc. II, p. 386.

[†] Bayley, *Hist. of Ouj.*, p. 120, n. 4.

[‡] From ink-impressions and the original.

[†] Read *Śrī*.

[†] Each line generally ends with one or two dashes which are for the most part to be regarded either as ornamental or superfluous.

[‡] Syllables within these brackets are only partially visible.

[†] Meter : *Śārdūlakārikā*.

- 3 कान् । शङ्खवाचकवाङ्मिताधिकप्रसन्नप्रदानोद्यताम्भामाङ्गितपैरिराजनिकराग्यौरी-
श[सिवाय]रान् ॥२॥ सोयं वप्यणवशभूषण[सणी] रूपेण पुंयादुधो हस्यो-
- 4 रो धरणीधरः [स]मभवधीरः सुधीरो रणे । नित्या ध्यातवरावरा विजयिनो
यस्येदुकुंभो[प्य]भा कौर्त्ति[मंतिरि]वैखरी विजयते मान्या सदा भुभुजां
[जाम्] ॥३॥ विलास्य पुरमप्रचौद-
- 5 रिमणाब्जिज्ञागुहागिहकाब्जि[स्त्रि]त्वा तानसिनाब्जिह्व च वंलात्ख्यातासिना
संभरे । यो म[त्वा] न[रघ]वजं समवधीज्जेध्वरं वैरिणं यो दूरस्थित-
6 पत्न्यापुरमपि कोधाकुलो दग्धवान् ॥४॥ एवं सर्वमर्कटकं समममङ्गुलं
भूपतिर्हैमोरो लल[नान्धरः] सुरपदं संपात्य क[का]चित्तमाः [॥५॥ सम्यक्-
मैहरं ततः स्वतन-
- 7 [यं] सुखाय राज्ये निजे चेवं चक्रियवशमङ्गनमणिं प्रत्यर्चिकालानलं[कम्] ॥६॥
आजावमौसाहममिप्रभावाक्जित्वा च हत्वा यवनानगेषान् ॥१॥ यः कोम-
लातं तुरगातसंस्थ[॥७॥
- 8 यमानयत्स्नां किञ्च राजधानीं[नौम] ॥८॥ टिलींवाहपुरेश्वरेण वलिभा स्पष्टोपि
नो पाणिना राज्ञा श्रीमद[ला]वदोति विजयवाक्का [ग]जस्वामिना ।
सोपि चेवमहौभुजा
- 9 निजभुजप्रौढप्रभावादहो भव्यो विद्युतमंडलाकृतिगदो जित्वा समस्तानरौन् ॥९॥
इंद्रेणासुरशकिना प्र[णम]ता सं[प्रा]यितः शंकरः संत्येते दनुजाः पदं मम
बलादादातुक्कामा विभो ।
- 10 एवं किं करवाण्यथो वद हरः सुत्वा वचः शंभुना नीत[ः] चेवमहौ-
पतिनि[नि]जपदं देव्यातृतेतोः स्वयं[यम्] ॥१०॥ दिव्यांगनाभूषितवासभागे
देव्याति[त]के चेवधराचिनाथे । स्वर्गस्थिते कल्पितदानदत्ते[चो]
- 11 लचोभवदेवतर्ह्वधानो[नाम्] ॥११॥ येन कांचनतुलादिदानतस्तोषिता हिजवरा
महोतले । येन दुर्जयसमस्तभुभुजः संहृ[ता]ः सदसिधारया रणे ॥१२॥
दत्त्वा[चा] [तुंगतु]रंगहैमनिचयांस्तस्यै गड[या]-

* Metre : Śāṅkharikṛīḍā.

* The stroke in the body of this letter is too faint on the original to be visible in the impression.

* The arrangement of words in this line is obscure. Some regard it to be connected with *sur-pada* and *anupada* with *śāṅkharikṛīḍā*.

* Metre : Uṣṇāḥ.

* The name of this well-known capital of India begins either with *ṛi* or *ṛā* in most of the inscriptions of this period.

* This syllable seems to have been engraved over an erasure.

* Read *tham*.

* Metre : Indramāṇā.

* Metre : Rāṣṭhāṭhāṭhā.

12. [स्वा]मिने सुक्ता येन कृता गद्या करभरादयोऽष्टनेकान्वतः । प्रीताः स्वर्गगता
वदन्ति पितरस्त्वद्यापि सत्त्वाग्रियं तस्यामा[विति] लक्षभूतलभुजो वंशचिरं
नन्दतु ॥११॥ तस्मिन्प्रयाते विदियं
13. — — ललेविंसंकल्पितकल्पपत्रो [१^a] देवैकलिगार्चनवदल्ले विख्यातदुर्वोधनयैकदले
॥१२॥ तस्या^१ आपतिर्वदतांघ्रकमलो [ल]क्षेश्वरस्वात्मजः श्रीमो(मा)द्योक्त
एव वंशतिलकः संपूर्णचंद्रान-
14. [नः १^a] — — [गा]ह्यतमं च पावनजलैर्जाताभिषेकस्ततः स्वं राज्यं परिपालयत्व-
कुलं संवासयन्तः ॥१३॥ यस्यापि समभूतलायनप[र]ः परोजया(स्वा)ना^२
स्वयं पात्वाहाहाद दुःसहोपि समरे संव्यज्य को-
15. — — [१^a] — — चाणक्येन युष्मद्वदनी मु[क्ता]लको रुत-
वामज्जेनापि चित्रजितो गिरिगुहागिहाश्रितः सांप्रतं(तम्) ॥१४॥ यः पंचविं-
शति[तु]लाः समदार्दुजै(जि)भ्यो हिंस्यत्येव रजतस्य च फलकानां-
(नाम्) ।
16. — — — — — य विमुक्तिहेतोः मीयं नृपो विजयने वरकीर्तिपूरः
॥१५॥ येन स्थाटिकसहि(च्छि)लामय इव ख्यातो मही(मं)डले प्राकारो
रचितः सुधाचवर्णितो देवैकलि-
17. — — — — — सत्कपाटविलसद्वा(द्वा)रचयाभंकृतः कैलासं तु विज्ञाय
स(मं)सुरकरोद्यत्वाधिपाने मतिं(तिम्) ॥१६॥ कार्त्तिक्यामय पु[च्छि]मावरतिषो
योद्रातुलां काचनो शालजः प्रथमं
18. — — — — — दिवं स द्विजैः । दिवं पुष्करतीर्थसाक्षिणममुं नारायणं
शाश्वतं रूपेणादिवराहमुत्तमतरेः कणादिकैः पु[ञ्ज]यन् ॥१७॥ कन्याधेनुधरा-
तुरंगमरथसंवाहिदा-
19. — — — — — पुष्करेषु विदिती जेष्टा(ज्येष्ठा)[दि]षु यद्वया । तेन
चस्तमसस्तभूपलनामसंगीतसत्कीर्तिना पु(स्व)ग्मानान्वयग्रीकरेण सुधिया
विहगियेण चितौ ॥१८॥ पर्याधि

^१ Metre: Śārngāvalīśrīdhā.

^२ The stroke in the body of this letter is too faint on the original to be visible in the impression.

^३ Metre: Śārngāvalīśrīdhā.

^४ Boal tiger.

^५ The composer seems to have employed this foreign name without the usual acrimination.

^६ Metre: Śārngāvalīśrīdhā.

^७ The syllable sun seems to be carried over an enclitic.

- 20 . . . — : — परं(रम्) । व(क्त)व्यवृगव(क्त)पिस्तो-
 जव्यालमालंध्य भूपतिः ॥१८^१ किं वाचो मङ्गिमा गिरिरिड मया योगीश्व-
 [रिणा]मुना विख्यातस्य मङ्गीतले हिमवता
- 21 — — — — — । — — — — — तरे निवसति श्रीमांतया कांतया
 भाकं पुष्पनदीलसत्परिसरे साध्या(चा)द(ह)पिः^२ चृंगिकः ॥२०^३ [यचा]सौ
 चणमेकमेव वसतिः^४ श्रीमानुषी(षिः)
- 22 [चृंगिकः पु]ष्पाचारपरो विभांड[कसुतो यो]गी तपःभागरः । काले तत्र निरंतरं
 जलधरा वर्षत्यपारावु(म्बु)भिर्नैवाकालसृतिर्भवेद्य हि त[था वं]धा मवेयुः
 स्त्रियः ॥२१^५ साधेलाव-
- 23 यदौपिका वितरणप्रख्यातहस्ता च [या^६] — षष्ठमभूमिपालतनया पुष्पायुध-
 मेयसी(भोम) [।^७] या रूपेण निजेन तां समजयसौभाम्यसंशोभि[ता] या
 सर्वत्र पतिव्रतालुगणने सुखी-
- 24 वृ संकीर्त्यते ॥२२^८ तस्याः^९ सदिदीवरलो[चना]याः संपूर्णपौष्टकरानना[याः ।]
 गुणान्विताया गुणतोषितायाः श्रीपार्वतीसेवनसादरा[याः] ॥२३^{१०} गौराविकाया
 निजवत्त-
- 25 भायाः सङ्गीकसंप्राप्तिफलैकहेतोः [।^{११}] एषा पुर[स्तस्य] विभांडसुनोद्वा[ब्धी]पौ
 निवत्ता किल मोकलिन ॥२४^{१२} वाप्यां पुष्पसरिज्जलेन सततं संपूरितायामिड
 खानं यः कुरुते
- 26 द्विजः स हि भवेद्देवादिविद्याकृतो । राजन्यो यदि [कटकै]र्विरचितं प्राप्नोति
 राज्यं चिरं वैश्वो वैश्ववर्णाधिकां त्रियमहो शूद्रोपि सौ[ष्ठ्यं प]रं(रम्) ॥२५^{१३}
 यः कुर्यादपिपंचम्यां
- 27 खानं वाप्यां प्रियान्वितः । ब्राह्मणो वा तथान्योपि स ल[भेति]ष्ठितं फलं
 (लम्) ॥२६^{१४} योगीश्वरेण कविना रचिता मनोद्वा मो(से)यं प्रशस्तिरुचिता-
 सन[पूर्ण]वर्णा । आकर्ण्य यां सुवि[बु]-
- 28 धाः सुखिनो भवन्ति श्रीभार[ती]मिव कदां कलुषापहणी(र्षीम्) ॥२७^{१५} [इति]
 श्रीवाचीविलासकविराजयोगीश्वरविरचिता प्रशस्तिर्जयति ॥ भावापुरी[वत्त]भया
 समेतो विभांडसू-

^१ Metre: Anushtubh.^२ Metre: Śāṅkārakṛīḍita.^३ Read vanti.^४ Metre: Upajit.^५ Metre: Indramjri.^६ Metre: Vacantatilaḥ.

- 29 नं(नु) 'परिपूजयंस्तं चिलोदनस्याङ्गुरोरनुज्जां संप्राप्य चामीकरदानं(दत्तं)॥१॥
॥२८॥ गाले वा(वा)चमस्तुतिप्रवितस्तत्त्वं(चं)द्रांकिता(नं) विद्युते पंचम्या
य(सु)तिथो [र]वौ च नमस्तः पते मिते
- 30 सन्मतिः [१*] श्री[भट्ट]चनरेखरस्य तनयः श्रीमोकलो भूपतिविहङ्गद[विभूषितः]
समकरोदापोप्रतिष्ठा(डा)मिच ॥२८॥ चर्कोर्णाधि(स्त्रि)सम्बधारगुक्ता मे[य]
प्रशस्तिः[१*] यभा वि-
- 31 ह्याते[न] फनाभिधेन [सु]प्रिया हादाकजेनामुना [१*] साहिव्यादिकमि[रिप]-
शास्त्रविनस्तृपा(त्पा)धोप्रिना काधुना श्रीनारायणसेवकेन नृपतेः श्रीमोकल-
स्याज्या [॥३०*॥]
- 32 'संवत् १४८५ वर्षे श्रावण शुदि ५ रविदिन(नि) ॥ चिर(र) नंद[तु] ॥३॥
श्रीः ।

TRANSLATION.

[Obeisance to] the illustrious [Mother] of the universe. Adoration to the illustrious Bhagavat.

(Verse 1) Having paid obeisance to the illustrious goddess of learning, my supreme mother and the dispeller of delusion, with (her) lotus-like feet (looking) lovely with the gems on the crests of gods all round; holding a lyre and a crystal [rosary].... and wearing beautiful ornaments studded with pearls;

(Verse 2) [I describe] to the best of my knowledge, the heroes such as... prince Hammira, etc., the dependants of Bappa, who had been ever-ready to offer shining gold more than desired by those in need, who had killed numbers of powerful enemies in battles and who had been devout worshippers of the Lord of Gauri (i.e., Śiva).

(Verse 3) There came in being the well-known ornamental gem to the family of the descendants of Bappa, the heroic prince Hammira, the very Cupid in form, resolute in battles and victorious, whose fame, like the body of Iāvara (i.e., Śiva), permanent, all-pervading, white as the moon and the jasmine flower and always respected by (other) princes... reigns supreme.

(Verse 4) (It was he) who captured the city of Chēla after having conquered and perforce killed in battle with (his) famous sword his enemies, the Halls, residing in caves; who murdered the inimical Jaitrāśvara going himself to Nanthambaka (Ranthambhor) and also being agitated by anger, burnt down the distant city of Palhanāpura.

(Verse 5) Hammira, the very god of love for damsels, having thus protected the earth for a certain number of years and having then established over his kingdom his son Kahētra, (who was) an ornamental jewel of the Kahastriya race, the destructive fire to (his) enemies, and worthy well* to take up responsibility, went to the abode of gods.

* There is an *anvaya* over *pa* which is redundant.

* Metre: *Upajhā*.

* Metre: *Śāntavikrīḍā*.

* This half line begins from the middle of the slab.

* This is a *topos alba* and many people employ it even now particularly at the end of letters to denote auspiciousness.

* Lit. well to wear armour. समन्वह of the text echoes समन्वितवस्त्रं इव कृतम् of the *Pañcavēdas*, VIII, v. 94.

(Verse 6) *(It was Kshētra)* who having conquered in battle **Amī Saha** by the might of *(his)* sword and totally annihilated the **Yavanas**, verily brought the entire treasury and numberless steeds to his own capital.

(Verse 7) Oh! even that famous fort of **Māṇḍala**,¹ which even the lord of the lovely city of Delhi, powerful and owning elephants, known by the shining name of **Alāvadi**, dared not touch with his hand, was shattered by prince Kshētra, after having conquered all the enemies with the impetuous might of his arms.

(Verse 8) *(God)* Śaṅkara was *(thus)* solicited by humble Indra in fear of demons. "O Eternal Hara! here are these demons aspiring to seize my position by force: O tell me, what should I do under such circumstances?" On hearing *(these)* words, prince Kshētra was taken away by Śambhu himself to his own abode, in order to destroy the demons.

(Verse 9) Prince Kshētra, the death-incarnate for demons, having *(thus)* settled down in heaven with heavenly damsels adorning *(his)* left side—**Lakṣha**, expert in giving *(as much)* charity *(as could be)* imagined, came to be the desire-yielding tree for the learned.

(Verse 10) *(It was he)* by whom best of the Brāhmaṇas on the surface of the earth were gratified by various charities, like gold weighed against himself, and by whom all *(other)* invincible princes were killed in battles with the sharp edge of *(his)* sword.

(Verse 11) May the famous line of that prince Lakṣha ever rejoice *(in this world)* by whom Gayā *(the holy Tirtha)* was freed from the burden of tax for a considerable number of years, by paying *(as ransom)* lofty horses and heaps of gold to the lord of Gayā, and for which *(such)* ancestors gone to the upper world, gratified as they are, even now confer *(on him)* genuine benedictions.

(Verse 12) That Lakṣha—who.... who had assigned the desire-yielding tree to supplicants, who had *(his)* attention fixed upon the worship of God Ekalinga and who had been the only expert in political matters which are avowed to be inscrutable—having gone to the upper world—

(Verse 13) This illustrious **Mōkala**, the son of that lord Lakṣha, the holy forehead-mark of the family, with face like the full-moon and with lotus-like feet revered by *(other)* princes, having been *(installed king)* by bathing in water made holy by incantations *(and)* fetched from..... protects his kingdom frightening the group of enemies all round.

(Verse 14) *(It was he)* from whose presence **Pērōja Khānā** (**Fīrōz Khān**) himself had resorted to fleeing *(and)* **Pātāha Ahmada**, although irresistible in battle.... abandoning *(his)*.... has, at present, with face dried up, with hair dishevelled, with speech obstructed and bereft even of *(his)* horse, taken refuge in the habitation of a mountain cave in order to save..

(Verse 15) This well-known prince, who weighed himself against gold, silver and *Phadyabas*² twenty-five times and distributed them among *deityas* for the liberation of..... and who is full of glorious fame, reigns supreme.

(Verse 16) By him was erected a rampart, which was renowned all over the earth, which looked as if built of nice crystal slabs being whitewashed with lime and which was adorned with three beautiful gates having handsome panels, *(round the site of)* the God Ekalinga, where Lord Śambhu had indeed made up his mind to reside, leaving aside Kailāsa.

¹ Lit. the circular fort; modern Māṇḍalgarh.

² This seems to be the name of a small silver coin whose value might have been worth two annas, for in some parts of Rājputānā a two-anna piece is even now called a *Phadyā* or *Phadyāsa*. (*Raj. Ins., Fasc. II, p. 588, n. 4.*)

(Verse 17) He who was conversant with the holy lore having first of all worshipped with high-class gold, etc., the Eternal Nārāyaṇa with the (external) appearance of the Primeval Boar, at the holy site of Pushkara, (and having....).... in company of Brāhmaṇas—weighed himself against gold on the beautiful full-moon day of (the month of) Kārttika, and gave it away in charity.

(Verse 18) By giving maidens, cows, pieces of land, horses, chariots, books, etc., in charity,looked upon in the land of Pushkara with reverence (even) among (his) seniors (1)

By him who was wise, dear to the learned on earth, conducive of felicity to the family of Khummāna and whose fame was sung by the frightened wives of all princes.

(Verse 19) In turn..... Of the prince, resorting to the pretext of eulogising the sage Rishyaśringa.

(Verse 20) How is to be described by me, this Yōgīśvara, the majesty of the mountain here, which is famous all over the earth and which.....with the Himālaya; and on which, in the beautiful vicinity of a holy river², resides (the sage) Rishyaśringa in person, with (his) beloved, the illustrious Śintā.

(Verse 21) Wherever this illustrious sage Śringika who is the son of Vibhāṇḍaka, who is an ocean of austerity, and solely given to meritorious deeds, puts up even for a moment, there the clouds pour inexhaustible waters at the proper time, untimely death never takes place and women do not remain barren.

(Verse 22) (For her) who was illuminating to the family of Bāghēlā, who had her hand renowned for charities, who was the daughter of prince....**nabhrama**, who by virtue of her own beauty surpassed (even) Cupid's beloved (i.e., Rati), who was graced with prosperity, (and) who in the enumeration of women true to their consorts is celebrated everywhere as the foremost—

(Verse 23) For her, whose eyes were like beautiful lotuses, whose face was like the full-moon, who was possessed of merits, who could be pleased with merits (and) who took delight in attending upon the illustrious Pārvatī—

(Verse 24) For (that) **Gaurāmbikā**, his own beloved, this reservoir of water in front of that son of Vibhāṇḍa has been constructed by **Mōkala** with the sole view of her achieving (a blissful situation in) the other world.

(Verse 25) Whosoever takes bath in (this) reservoir here, perpetually filled up with the waters of the holy river—(if) a Brāhmaṇa, he verily becomes versed in (branches of) learning like Veda, etc.; if a Kshatriya, (he) gains lasting royalty free of adversaries; (if) a Vaiśya, (he obtains) wealth more than that possessed by Kūṣā; (and if) a Śūdra, (he) too gets a unique state of excellence.

(Verse 26) Whosoever, a Brāhmaṇa or anybody else, would bathe in (this) reservoir with (his) wife on (the fifth day of the bright half of the month of) Bhādrapada called) Rishi-Pāñchamī, (he) would gain his desired aim.

(Verse 27) This well-known charming panegyric—whose letters are appropriate and full of sweetness, (and) which the learned delight upon hearing as (they do) by (hearing) the illustrious story of the Mahābhārata, the dispeller of opacity—has been composed by the poet Yōgīśvara.

(Line 28) Let there be victory to this panegyric composed by Yōgīśvara, the lord of poets (*karīṇḍa*), and who had the epithet *Vāgivilāsa* (lit. in whom moved gracefully the goddess of learning).

¹ Owing to their fragmentary nature it is difficult to understand correctly the sense of this and the next verse.

² This really speaking is not a river but an ordinary mountain stream which flows in rainy season.

(Verses 28-29) Prince Mōkala, son of the illustrious prince Lakha, of refined intellect and expert in giving charities of gold, after worshipping that son of Vihāṇḍa, with his beloved Māyā-purī (and) having obtained the permission of his religious preceptor Trilōchana, consecrated the reservoir here attended by a host of learned people, on Sunday the auspicious fifth day of the bright half of Śrāvana in the happy year signified by the shining moon, the Vēdas, the Vasus and the arrows (=1485).

(Verse 30) This well-known auspicious epigraph has been engraved by order of the illustrious prince Mōkala, by the famous and wise Phanā, who is the son of Hādā, who is foremost of all (other) masons, who is a glittering ocean of the lore of mechanics and literature, etc., and who is a devotee of the illustrious Nārāyaṇa.

(Line 32) Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvana in the year 1485 (of the Vikrama era). May (āsa) rejoice for long.

No. 36.—A PALI COUNTERPART OF THE NALANDA TEXT OF PRATITYASAMUT-PADAVIBHANGA.

By BIMALA CHURN LAW, Ph.D., M.A., B.L., CALCUTTA.

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has rendered a distinct service to Buddhist scholarship by editing from two brick inscriptions found at Nālandā¹ a Sanskrit text of what is presumably the *Pratityasamutpāda-vibhanga-sūtra*. This is found to be the same work as one on which Vasubandhu wrote a commentary, the title of which, as preserved in Tibetan, is *Pratityasamutpāda-vibhanga-widēsa*. Vasubandhu's commentary, only a few fragments of which have been published by Professor Tucci from a manuscript found in Nepal,² was popularly known as *Pratityasamutpāda-vyākhyā*.³ A Sanskrit text similar to that found at Nālandā was translated into Chinese by Yuan Chwang in 651 A.D. The title of the Sanskrit original, as restored by Nanjio from the Chinese, is *Nidāna-sūtra*.⁴ Now all that is wanted is a Pālī counterpart of the Nālandā text.

Though the actual title of the text is not recorded in any of the two brick inscriptions, there can be hardly any doubt that the text presented in them is a *Pratityasamutpāda-vibhanga-sūtra*, a *Sūtra* of the *Vibhanga* or *Nidāna* class, of which several examples are to be found in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, particularly in its *Vibhanga-vagga*. As a *Sūtra*, the text bears all the main characteristics of a discourse, viz., an introduction, a statement of the subject-matter, elucidation of the points raised, and a fitting conclusion.

Vibhanga is, of course, the same Buddhist term as *nidāna*, e.g., *Saccā-nidāna*⁵-*Saccā-vibhanga*.⁶ The *Vibhanga-suttas* developed and contained in the Five *Nikāyas*, i.e., in the *Sutta-pitaka*, represent the earlier stage or form of exegesis in the second book of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, called *Vibhanga*. The earlier or *Sutta* form of each *vibhanga* or exegesis has been distinguished in it as *Suttanta-lakkhaṇiya* from *Abhidhamma-lakkhaṇiya*. In the *Suttanta-lakkhaṇiya* portion of each of the *vibhanga*s, *Saccā*, *Satipatthāna*, *Dhātu*, *Indriya*, and the rest, the unnecessary *Sūtra* characteristics have been done away with and only the relevant points have been concisely stated,

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 193-199.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 611-622.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 299.

⁴ Nanjio's Catalogue No. 628.

⁵ *Dīgha*, II, pp. 304-312.

⁶ *Majjhima*, III, pp. 248-262.

nothing of doctrinal importance being left out of consideration. The *Suttanta-bhāṣanīya* presuppose each a full text somewhere in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, but unfortunately all such texts cannot be traced in the extant Pāli Canon. The only reasonable inference to draw from this would be that the text of the Pāli Canon as it comes down to us is not complete in all respects, and accordingly it needs to be supplemented.

It is historically important to note that there is a Pāli counterpart of the Sanskrit *Pratītyasamutpāda-vibhanga-sūtra*, which is contained in the *Suttanta-bhāṣanīya* section of a *vibhanga*, called *Paṭichhasamuppāda-vibhanga*. The title adopted in the P. T. S. edition of the *Abhidhamma* text is *Pachchayākāra-vibhanga*.¹ But *Paṭichhasamuppāda-vibhanga* is precisely the title under which the chapter was known to Buddhaghosa.² Besides the correspondence between the titles in Sanskrit and Pāli, there are other points in which the two texts show an agreement. First, in both, only the *anuloma* mode of formulation of the Law of Causal Genesis has been adopted to explain the *samudaya*, *ūchaya* or *prabhava* aspect of *dukkha*. Secondly, in both, the *addhāna* or *dāṭṭhāna* is followed by a *vibhanga* or *exegesis*. Comparing the two texts, item by item, one may notice only slight differences here and there. But, upon the whole, there is nothing in excess and of importance in the Sanskrit version of the *Vibhanga-sūtra* which is not included either in the Pāli *Paṭichhasamuppāda-vibhanga* or in the text of the *Vibhanga* as a whole. Further, the *Abhidhamma* chapter has a purely *Abhidhamma* section without its counterpart in the Sanskrit text. One has to regret the loss of the full text of the Pāli *Paṭichhasamuppāda-vibhanga-sūtra* which is presupposed by the *Suttanta-bhāṣanīya* in the *Abhidhamma* treatise.

No. 37.—A NOTE ON THE BARAH COPPER-PLATE OF BHOJADEVA.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARI, B.A., MADRAS.

In his article on the above inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15 ff.) Dr. Hirananda Sastri has wrongly understood two expressions and suggested interpretations which do not appear to be correct.

Dr. Sastri says (*ibid.*, p. 16) that the Maukhari king Śarvavarman is called *Paramāśvara* in the Aśirgaḍh Seal inscription. But it is not so. Both this and the Nālandā Seal inscriptions¹ call him *Paramamāhātara*. On the other hand it is the Dēv-Baraṇṣī inscription of Jivitagupta II that refers, among previous kings, to *Paramāśvara Śarvārman*² whom Fleet identifies with the Śarvavarman of the Aśirgaḍh seal.³

Again, Dr. Sastri asserts that 'the fact that he is described as a *Paramāśvara* would show that he was a subordinate prince' (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). Here again the doctor is unfortunately misled, for the title in question denotes 'paramount sovereignty' (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 332), and not a subordinate position. It must be noted in this connection that this title was of such special significance that a conquering monarch took great pride in assuming it after he vanquished a mighty

¹ *Vibhanga*, pp. 125 ff.

² *Sammohā-cinodant*, p. 130; *Idāni* . . . *Paṭichhasamuppāda-vibhanga* gā-ayikā urijjāpachchapaṇi sakkhānti ādāna saggāna tādā nibbānti.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 229 and above, Vol. XXI, p. 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216, text l. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

for. The Western Chālukya king Satyāśraya acquired the surname *Paramīśvara* (*labdha-Paramīśvarāpara-nāmadhāya*) by the conquest of Harshavardhana, the 'lord of the entire Northern Country'.

In the matter of identifying *Paramīśvara Śārvavarman* with *Mahārāja Śarva*, of the Sāujān plates, who in his own words was a 'petty ruler', Dr. Sastri, has, I think, fallen into an error in interpreting the significance not only of the surname *Paramīśvara* as pointed above, but also of the expression *anumat*.

The points to be considered in this connection are: (1) whether 'the petty ruler' Śarva of a kingdom at the foot of the Vindhya hills could or should have had any hand in the gift of a village lying in the Kānyakubja-*śaṭṭi* which, from the nature of the circumstances, must have been directly under the king (i.e., overlord) Nāgabhata himself, whose capital was Kānyakubja and (2) whether the expression *anumat* here connotes, the sanction of an overlord to a gift made by his subordinate. In fact the question of a sovereign's sanction does not arise here for the reason given in the foregoing clause; but it implies the confirmation and maintenance by a later king of the grant made by a predecessor. For example, we find that grants made by previous monarchs, of the same village to the same deity, were re-affirmed by the subsequent kings, in their respective times. A very good example of this is found in the D55-Baraṇsī inscription of Jivitagupta II (C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 216, text, lines 12 ff.). From a careful study of this grant, it will be seen that the expression *ānata* is applied to the original grant or later affirmation made by the overlord, the king (*ibid.*, lines 13 and 16). The subsequent affirmations are made in accordance with the original gift (cf. *purva-dattakam-anulambhya* of line 16 of the grant). The expression *anumat* of the Barah copper-plate must be construed in the sense of *anu(mō)ḍita* of line 17 of this grant. The issue, therefore, reduces itself to this, viz., the grant made originally by (the Maukhari) *Paramīśvara Śārvavarman* and confirmed later by (the Pratihāra) *Mahārāja Nāgabhata* was restored by *Mahārāja Bhōjadēva*, after suspension (of it) for some time in the reign of *Rāmahimraditya*.

The village granted as *agrahāra*, namely, *Valikā* is evidently Barah, where the plates were discovered.

Dr. Sastri's readings and interpretations of two other important expressions in this inscription also appear to me to need correction.

In line 10 of the text (p. 18) he reads *दृष्टा भोगश्च मन्तराजयो किञ्चित्कालम्विहते* and translates it (p. 19) as 'finding that the allotment was for the time being obstructed'. The original, I think, correctly reads *दृष्टा भोगश्च . . .* which would give the natural sense that 'the enjoyment was for some time obstructed'. There is no relevancy in supposing a reference here to *bhāga* while the plate actually reads '*bhoga*'.

A similar mistake is committed by the editor in his reading *प्राग्भागक्रमेणैव* in line 13 of the text and translating it as 'in accordance with the same old apportionment'. Here also the plate actually reads *प्राग्भोगक्रमेणैव* which means 'in accordance with the original or previous enjoyment'. Here too there is no necessity or relevancy in assuming a reference to *bhāga*, i. e., apportionment.³

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 160 and Vol. X, p. 102.

² [Prof. Bhandarkar is also inclined to identify Śārvavarman of the Barah Plate with the Maukhari prince of that name. See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 6, n. 1.—Ed.]

³ [While this article was in the press, a note discussing some of the points noticed here, appeared in *J. H. Q.*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, pp. 303 ff.—Ed.]

No. 38.—A NOTE ON THE RAJAPURA COPPER-PLATES OF MADHURĀNTAKADĒVA:
SAMVAT 957.

By KHAN SAHEB S. R. DAVAR.

At the end of his explanatory note on these copper-plates¹ Dr. Hiralal advances a theory that Bhramarakōṭya was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakōṭya, on the ground that the name of Chakrakōṭya seems to survive in Ghumara, which he believes to be a name given to the falls of the river Indrāvati at Chitrakōṭa. This theory is incorrect for the reasons given below:—

(i) *Ghumara* is not a proper name and it is not applicable only to the falls of the Indrāvati at Chitrakōṭa; it is a word used in Bastar meaning "waterfall".

(ii) In his introductory note² Dr. Hiralal has stated "though styled 'Lord of Bhōgāvati, the best of cities' Madhurāntakadēva appears to have been a *Maṇḍalika* (feudatory chief) as the verse in ll. 24-25 shows that his *oṭi* was limited to Bhramarakōṭya which is described as a *maṇḍala* in l. 15". On the second plate in lines 15 and 16, it is stated that the village of Rājapura is situated in Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala* (province). Again on the third plate in lines 28-29 names of witnesses from Chakrakōṭya-*maṇḍala* are given. This grant was made in A. D. 1065 and Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala* and Chakrakōṭya-*maṇḍala* are mentioned in it as two separate units of administrative territories. Madhurāntakadēva was not only the feudatory chief of Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala*, but appears to have been a relative of the ruling king, as his *virudāvali* are the same as those of the Nāgavarāhi kings. We know from the Bārsūr inscription of the time of Jagadēkabhūṣana³ that King Dhāravarsha was alive in A. D. 1060 (i.e., 5 years before this grant of Rājapura was made by Madhurāntakadēva). At this time one Chandraditya was the feudatory chief in South Bastar and it seems that Madhurāntakadēva was holding a similar position in Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala*.

(iii) From the Kurupal Tank slab inscription⁴ it is clear that King Dhāravarsha's son Sōmēvaradēva was the ruler of Chakrakōṭya in A. D. 1069. We can say this much that King Dhāravarsha's death took place between A. D. 1060 and 1069 and during this period (perhaps a period of minority administration) Madhurāntakadēva, although a *Maṇḍalika*, became more powerful and perhaps made attempts to oust the rightful person from the throne. The Kurupal stone inscription⁵ tells us that Sōmēvaradēva finally defeated and killed Madhurāntakadēva.

Thus it will be seen that Bhramarakōṭya was not an alternative name of Chakrakōṭya, as suggested by Dr. Hiralal. I would place Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala* on the right bank of the river Narāñji as it is stated in the copper-plates that Rājapura is situated in the Bhramarakōṭya-*maṇḍala*.

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 179.

² *Ibid.*, p. 178.

³ Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.) No. 200.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, pp. 321.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 ff.

No. 59.—ALLAHABAD MUSEUM INSCRIPTIONS OF THE YEAR 87.

BY SPEN KÖNÖW, OSLO.

The Government Epigraphist has sent me estampages of two inscriptions on stone slabs, now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. 'No particulars about their findspot', he says, 'are available but like the two inscriptions already published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 159-160 these also have undoubtedly come from Kōsam¹'.

The two records mentioned by him were published by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni. One, No. II, belongs to the reign of the *Mahārāja* Śivamēgha, the other, No. III, is, according to the editor, dated in the year 88, probably of the Gupta era, during the reign of the *Mahārāja* Bhadrāmēgha. The latter, which I shall henceforth simply call **III**, is of special interest in the present connexion.

According to Mr. Sahni it 'was secured from the village of Hasanābād, close to the ancient remains of Kōsam. It was lying near a well and would appear to have been used for sharpening tools and other utilitarian purposes. The slab is rounded at the top and a portion of it is broken off at the bottom. Its present dimensions are 2' 10" in height and the same in width, the thickness being only 3". Only four lines of the inscription now remain in the upper rounded portion of the stone, but that originally the record covered some more space of the slab is obvious from the traces of *akṣaras* which have survived in the rest of the defaced surface'. His reading of the remaining portion is—

- 1 Mahārājasya śrī-Bhadrām[ēghasya]
- 2 [Samvatsa]re 80 & varaha pakṣa 3 divasa 5
- 3 sya Śamarasya (t) puttra Him[ī]yāna
- 4 ayyādāvadhā.

The two inscriptions sent to me I shall distinguish as **a** and **b** respectively. The slab containing **a** seems to be almost identical in shape with that described by the Rai Bahadur. It is rounded at the top, and the inscription, in five lines, covers a space 3' 4" wide and 1' high. The other slab is rectangular, and the record **b** is 1' 9" long, the height being 1' 4". There are seven lines, the seventh only containing two *akṣaras*. The contents of the two epigraphs are practically the same. I shall therefore deal with them together and also discuss their bearing on the reading and interpretation of **III**.

The **alphabet** is early Gupta or pre-Gupta of the Eastern variety. We find *la* with the downward turn of the left limb, e.g., in *Haldoli* **b** 4, and the characteristic eastern *ha*, e.g., in *Mahārājasya* **l** 1; *sha*, on the other hand, has not the round eastern base-stroke attached to the central bar as a loop.

With regard to **individual letters** we may note the rounded *z* in *saptānti* **l** 2, *parāhi* **l** 4, *Shamshakṣa* **b** **l** 5, etc., which looks like *z* (the regular form is seen in *śaṅkha* **b** **l** 1); the *ṛi* in *śrīyāyikā* **b** **l** 4, but regular in *śrīyā* **l** 2; the different shapes of *llā* in *paṭāna* **l** 3, where the **a** form is calculated to raise doubt about the correctness of the reading. I have therefore asked one of our leading authorities in Gupta paleography, Dr. Elie Lüders, how she would read the *akṣara*, without telling her how I read and explained it. Without any hesitation she read *llā*, and this reading must be considered to be absolutely certain. The final *wa* with the

¹ [Mr. B. M. Vyas, the Executive Officer, Allahabad Municipality, informs me that the inscriptions were found in a village adjacent to the Fort of Kanimbī in Manjhaṅgar Tahsil of the Allahabad District.—Ed.]

vaidha stroke above is found in *siddham* in **a** l. 1. The numeral symbols for 3, 5, 7, and 80 are used both in **a** and in **b**.

The execution and preservation of the inscriptions are, on the whole, very good. The sixth to eighth *akṣaras* of l. 4, and the seventh and eighth of l. 5 of **a** are defaced, and so are the final letters of ll. 3-5 of **b**. There are, further, several superfluous and accidental strokes and dots, e.g., in **a** above l. 1; above the *re* of *śaṃkṛānta* l. 2; across and above the *m* of *śrīyaṃ* and *ā* of *paruvāya* l. 3; before the *s*-mātra of the second *putrī* l. 4; after *Śanikā* [ā] l. 4, where the three strokes are perhaps meant to be a sign of division; across the right leg of *ga* in *bhagava-* l. 4; in **b** after the *bha* and above the *gha* of *Bhadravāṃśa* l. 1; above the *ga* of *śrīyaṃ* l. 2; above the *cyā* of *śaṃkṛānta* l. 4, etc. The apparent *i*-mātra above the *i* of *śrīyaṃ* **a** l. 3 has perhaps been cancelled, and the same may be the case with the *i* above *śā* in *puṣkariyāṃ* **b** l. 5. The *ś*-stroke is absent or defaced in several places, e.g., *Muhūr* [ā] *harya* **a** l. 1; *śaṃ* [ā] *ya* **a** l. 2; *ā* [ā] *yaṃ* **b** l. 3; *paṭṭā* [ā] *ra* **a** l. 2; *Śanikā* [ā] *ya* **a** l. 4; *bhagavat* [ā] *ā* [ā] *ryāya* **a** l. 4-5; *śā* [ā] *ya* **a** l. 5; the same is the case with the *ś* of *śaṃ* [ā] *ya* **a** l. 3; the *ś* of *Bhadravāṃ* [ā] at the end of **a** l. 1 (and of **III** l. 1) and of *Śaṃ* [ā] *ya* **a** l. 4 and *śa* [ā] *ya* **b** l. 1; the *śaṃ* [ā] *ya* in *śaṃ* [ā] *ya* **a** l. 3; *śa* [ā] *ya* **b** l. 1; *ā* [ā] *yaṃ* *paruvāya* [ā] **b** l. 3; the *ā* in *śa* [ā] *ya* **b** l. 2, etc.

The **orthography** is fairly consistent. But we find *varṣhata* **a** l. 5, *varḍhata* **b** l. 7; *Śaṃ* [ā] *ya* **a** l. 4 for *Śhaṃ* [ā] *ya* **b** l. 5. The writing *pratiśchāpā* for *pratiśchāpā* **b** l. 5 is a mere slip. Instead of *bhagava-* **a** l. 4 the engraver seems to have begun to write *bhagva-*.

The **language** is mixed Sanskrit, and the dual has, as usual, been replaced by the plural. We may note the use of the plural-dual of the words *putra* and *dhṛī* for 'son and daughter', 'brother and sister', respectively, in accordance with Pāṇini l. n. 68 (*dhṛīputraṃ vrasādhāriḥ*). The word *paṭṭā* for Sanskrit *parivā* 'saddle', cannot in any way prove eastern affinities, on account of its *l*. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* para. 285, gives *paṭṭā* from Jaṇa-Mahārāṣṭrī, and it is a well-known fact that such words are often widely distributed outside the territory where they have developed in accordance with the phonetical laws of an individual language or dialect; of the common *paṭṭā*, Sanskrit *parivā*.

As already stated, the **contents** of the two records are almost identical, though some details are found only in **a** and others only in **b**. They record the setting up of two slabs as a seat (*dhā*-*śaṃ*), at a pond (*puṣkariyāṃ*, only in **b**), for the Holy Nolle Dēvi (*bhagavat* [ā] *ā* [ā] *ryāya* *dēvī*), only in **a**), by the son and daughter (*putrī*) of the saddler (*paṭṭā* [ā] *ra*) Śaṃ [ā] *ya*, the brother and sister born from the same womb (*śaṃ* [ā] *ya* *dhṛī*), only in **b**), the son and daughter of Māgali (*Māgali* *putrī*), Śanikā and Śhaṃ [ā] *ya*.

The two slabs were accordingly intended to form a seat for an image of Dēvi. It is then evident that the slab with the rounded top was to be placed vertically behind the image, and the rectangular one below it. In such circumstances we must evidently take **a** as the first record, and this inference is further strengthened through the fact that **a** begins with *siddham*.

It is further evident that there can never have been more than two such slabs in the *dhā*, and this makes it necessary to say something about the slab containing inscription **III**, published by Mr. Sahni.

A look at the plate published with his paper will show at once that the slab containing **III** has the same shape as that on which **a** is engraved. And a close examination of the facsimile will show that the text is the same as that of **a**, with some minor differences.

It is easy to see that the defaced *akṣaras* in the beginning are, as in **a**, *siddham*. Then the first line contains *muhūr* [ā] *harya* *śrī*-*Bhadravāṃ*, just as **a**, even with the same omission of the final

ē. In the opening of l. 2 we can still distinguish the first *akṣara*, viz. *gha*, so that we must read *ghasya*. After this *a* runs *sa(n)vataraṁ sap(ā)ntā 80 7*, but there is not room enough for so many *akṣaras* in III. Mr. Sahni read the defaced letters which can still be traced at the end of the passage as *at 80 8*, but that reading seems to me to be impossible. What he read as 8 looks like *da*, and what he took to be 80 can hardly be that numeral figure, which has a straight upright within a circle. Before the apparent *da* (Mr. Sahni's 8) I can see a distinct *tā*.¹ It almost has the appearance that the engraver had misread his draft. Then follows, as in *a*, *varṣa-pakṣha*, but instead of *a*'s *tritiya 3 dīnasa 5*, which runs into 4, 5, we find 3 *dīnasa 5* as the end of l. 2. The beginning of l. 3 is effaced, and about ten or eleven *akṣaras* are missing. What follows after the gap is clearly *aya Sapharasya putrī Mādgaṇī*, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that the gap must be filled by the help of *a* as *[atāyāḥ parvāṅgāḥ pallāṅkārā]ya putrī Mādgaṇī* [*putrī*]. Including the three letters of *putrī* fifteen or sixteen *akṣaras* are absolutely defaced at the beginning of III l. 4, and as the end of the line can be read *vatyā āryā . . . dā . . . a*, I have no doubt that we must restore the missing portion from *a* as *Śaṇḍīya Shāṇḍīyāśu śhu bhāya . . . a*.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that III is practically identical with *a*, and we must try to explain this state of things. Now the traces of *akṣaras* which Mr. Sahni mentions, are hardly visible in the plate of III below l. 4, and it is *a priori* not unlikely that the inscription was never completed, that the engraver, for some reason, did not proceed beyond l. 4. And if I am right in my explanation of l. 2, the reason was evidently that he had made some serious mistakes in copying his draft. In other words, the slab containing III was meant to form the back of the Dēvī-throne, but was discarded when the engraver's slips were discovered, and the slab containing *a* was dressed and provided with a new and corrected legend in its stead.

In such circumstances it would be permissible to make use of III for settling the reading of *a*, because the engraver may have made some mistakes even there. And I think that such must have been the case in the name of the *pallāṅkārā*. In *a* it is clearly *Ś[ā]pāsa*, while the second *akṣara* in *b* is entirely defaced. Now III almost certainly has *Saphara*, and I have little doubt that the actual form of the name was *Śāpāra*.

Our records are dated in the year 87, in the third pakṣha of the Rains and on the 5th day. Rāi Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni thought of the Gupta era, so that the corresponding Christian date would be in the summer of A.D. 406. The *Mahārāja Bhadrāmēgha* is not known from other sources, but we must apparently assume that he held sway in Kauśāmbī. Little as we know about the history of Kauśāmbī in early times, we cannot do more than to note the names of this *Mahārāja* and of the *Mahārāja Sivamēgha* of Mr. Sahni's Inscription II. The latter is probably identical with the ruler known from a Bṛhā seal, which Sir John Marshall² refers to the 2nd or 3rd Century, while the late Jayaswal³ thought of the 4th Century A.D. If Sir John is right, the era of our record must be the Kanishka reckoning, and the date correspond to A.D. 215-6, while the Kalachuri era would take us to 335-6. Sir John's dating is perhaps, after all, the most probable one. The two rulers mentioned above evidently belong to one and the same dynasty, but we have no means of ascertaining who is the older of them.

TEXT.

a

1 Siddham Mahār[ā]jasya tri-Bhadrām[ā].

2 *ghasya sa(n)vataraṁ sap(ā)ntā 80 7 varṣa-pakṣha triti-*

¹ [From the impression Mr. Sahni's reading appears to be correct.—Ed.]

² *A.S.I., An. Rep.* 1911-12, p. 61.

³ *J.B.O.R.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 294.

- 3 ya 3 d[ī]vāsa 5 t[ā]yāṁ puruvāyāṁ pallānak[ā]rasya Ś[ā]pa(pha)-
 4 rasya putrēhi [Mādgall]putrēhi Śānik[ā]ya Śaṇḍhak[ā]ya eha bhā[ga]va-
 5 ty[ā] n[ā]r[ā]yyāya *d[ī]v[ā]ya āsaṁpatā śh[ā]pit[ā] [*] P[ā]nya[m] vardhatu [*]

b

- 1 Mahā[ā]jasya śrī-Bhadrāmēghasya¹ sa[rin]vatsar[ā] sa-
 2 p[ā]t[ā]śitē 80 7 varsha-paksha t[ri]tīya 3 divasa [pa]-
 3 āchama 5 t[ā]yāṁ puruvāyā[m] pallānak[ā]rasya Śāpa(Śāpha)-
 4 rasya putrēhi saudāryyāḥ bh[rā]t[ri]yā Mādgallputrē-
 5 hi Śānikāya Śaṇḍhakāya eha puṣk[ī](śha)riṇyāḥ ā[sa]-
 6 napatā pratishohā(śh[ā]hā)pitā [*] Priyatāḥ dharmma Puṇyāḥ va-
 7 rddhatu [*]

TRANSLATION.²

[Hail] Of the *Mahārāja śrī-Bhadrāmēgha*, in the eighty-seventh-87-year, the third-3-paksha of the Rains, (the fifth)-5-day, at this date, by the son and daughter of the saddler Śāphara, (the brother and sister from the same womb), the son and daughter of Mādgall, Śānikā and Śaṇḍhaka, śhas for a seat [for the Holy Noble Dēv] were put up (at her pond. May Dharma be pleased). May merit increas=

No. 40.—SONEPUR PLATES OF MAHA-BHAVAGUPTA(II)-JANAMEJAYA; THE YEAR 17.

By R. C. CHARRA, M.A., M.A.L., Ph.D.(Lond.), Ootacamund.

These plates were first inspected by me at Sonepur Raj, the headquarters of the Sonepur State in Orissa, in November 1936 when I was on tour in that part. Regarding their discovery I have been told that some three years prior to my visit certain workmen, while digging foundations on a plot of land opposite the modern Khambhāvanī temple at Sonepur Raj, lighted upon a massive stone coffer which was forthwith made over to the State authorities. It was this box that contained the present plates. This along with its contents had since been kept intact at the Sonepur Police Station where it was shown to me. It is oblong in shape and measures 18½" long, 12" broad and 15" high. It has a slipping lid on it and was evidently designed specially for the safe deposit of the *tāmraśāṁsa*. It was not possible then to examine the writing on the plates, because they had been preserved just as they were found, stuck together with crust and verdigris.

Later, in April 1937, the plates were obtained on loan from the Sonepur Darbar by the Government Epigraphist for India, who got them properly cleaned by the Archaeological Chemist in India and had their impressions taken. This afforded me an opportunity of studying the record from the original as well as from its inked estampages.

The document consists of three copper leaves, held together by a ring of the same metal. Each leaf is slightly narrower in the middle and measures about 8½" long by 5½" high at either end. The ring is 4" in diameter. Its ends are secured under a circular seal (diameter 1½"). The seal is completely defaced, so that it cannot be ascertained whether it originally contained any legend. It shows, however, some very faint traces of the Gajalakṣmī symbol in the centre. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 202 *tolas*. The first plate is inscribed only on one face, while the remaining two bear writing on both the sides. There are altogether 51 lines of writing.

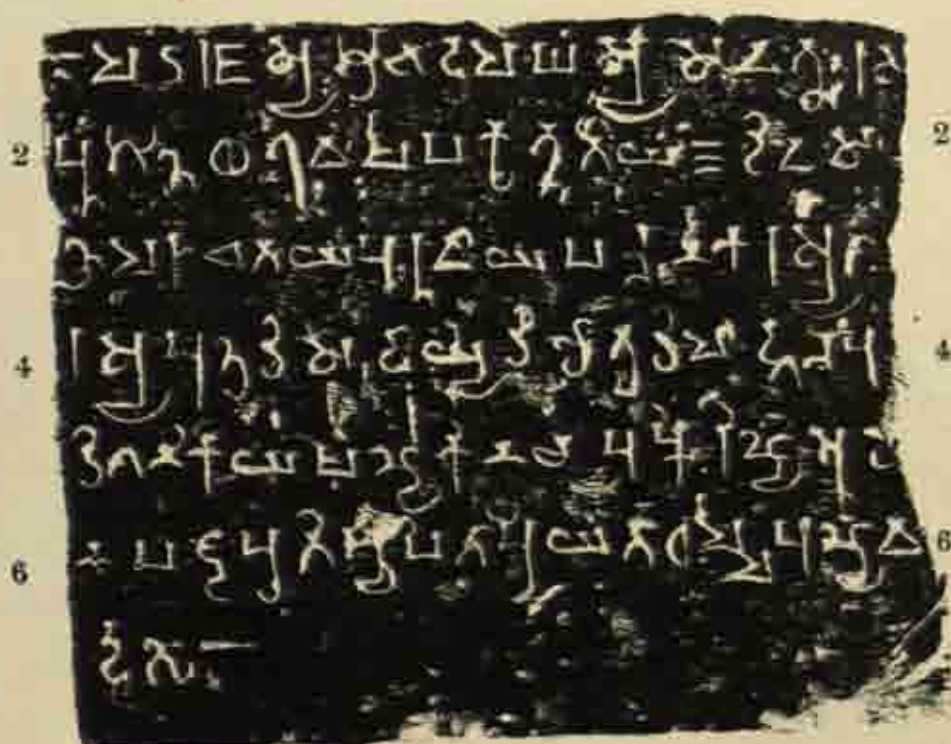
¹ [The name in question decidedly ends in *uṣha* as found in other inscriptions including those recently discovered. The stroke above it in this record may be accidental].—Ed.]

² Brackets — in a only; parentheses — in b only.

A.



B.



of which 11 are on the first face, 12 on the second, 13 on each of the third and the fourth and only 2 on the fifth.

The alphabet is of the same northern type as is usually found in the records of Sāmavamsī rulers of Kōśala. The language is Sanskrit. The record is composed in prose, except that twelve of the customary verses and a eulogistic one occur at the end. Of orthography the following points may be noted: (1) As a rule, *ś* is used for *ṣ*; *śudhyati* (l. 33) and *śula*² (l. 37) being exceptions. However, *ṣ* is correctly used in those conjunct consonants where it appears as the first member, e.g., *śrī*, *śva*, *śha*, etc. (2) *Ṣ* is invariably represented by the sign for *ś*. (3) The consonant after *r* is doubled in most cases. (4) An anusvara takes the place of a final *sa*. (5) The sign for *anuvāka* is employed twice (l. 21 and l. 45). (6) *Sandhi* is not observed in a few cases. Besides, the inscription contains various mistakes, such as wrong spelling, incorrect grammar, omission of letters and words, etc. They, too, have been pointed out partly in the text and partly in the notes below.

The inscription belongs to the Sāmavamsī P. M. P. Mahā-Bhavaguptarājadēva(II)-Janamējayadēva, the successor of the P. M. P. Śivaguptadēva. It records the donation of a village, called *Gōttakṣālā*, included in the *Lupatūrā-khaṇḍa* in Kōśalā. While the king himself is the donor, the donee is *Kumalavāna-vapik-śthāna*, by which term possibly a merchants' association is meant. This *vapik-śthāna* is described to have migrated from Khadirapadra and to be resident in Suvarṇapura. It is further stated that the Kumalavāna Merchants' Association transferred the same gift, as a registered grant, to *Śrī-Kāśapa-bhāṭṭāraka-dēvabala* and *Śrī-Ādityabhāṭṭāraka-dēvabala* (i.e., two temples, one of Viṣṇu and the other of Sūrya) for defraying the costs of offerings to the deities and of repairs to the shrines.

The charter was issued from *Ārāma* on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Aśvadhā* in the 17th year of the king Janamējayadēva's reign. It was written by Kai-lāsa's son, Alava, the *Mahāśchayatalin* (attached to) the *Mahāsandhivigraha Rājaka* Malladatta, and engraved by Haradīsa, son of Sivallā. The writer Alava is undoubtedly identical with Kailāsa's son, Alava, the *Kāyastha*, who wrote the Nagpur Museum Plates of the 8th year; in which he is explicitly mentioned to be connected (*prati-bandha*) with the *Mahāsandhivigraha Rājaka*, Malladatta, son of Dhāmadatta.³ This Malladatta appears to have served for a long time as Minister of War and Peace under Mahā-Bhavagupta(II)-Janamējaya, for he figures in his Pāṇi Plates of the 6th year⁴ on the one extreme and in his three Kāṭak Grants of the 31st year⁵ on the other. As may appear from the above references, several copper-plate grants of Mahā-Bhavagupta(II)-Janamējaya have already been published, from which we know the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 13th and 31st years of his reign.⁶ The record under discussion now adds the 17th year to that list.

The king had a minister, named *Sādhārāṇa*, who is highly extolled in a stanza towards the close of the present inscription. He is described there to be a profound scholar and an able administrator, in whom the king reposed great reliance. The same person acted as *Dātaka* in the Nagpur Museum Plates referred to above, wherein his father's name is stated to be *Sādhana* and he himself is styled *Mahāmahatama Bhāṭṭa*, but is not mentioned as *Maṇtrin*. Probably he was raised to ministership sometime subsequent to the 8th year of the king's reign. Evidently he, too, remained long in service, enjoying royal favours all along. He received a munificent gift of four villages from his master in the latter's 31st regnal year, as is recorded in the

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 142; Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 1556.

² J. P. A. S. B., Vol. I (1903), p. 13; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1558.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 339 and note 5; Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1562-64.

⁴ Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1557-1561.

⁵ Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1557-1561.

- 3 देसा(शा)नरादागतवन्दिजनविस्तारितिक(की)र्त्तव्यविधिविद्यालङ्कृतविद्वज्जन-
 4 नितकाव्यालापस्तुतधनपतिविभवस्था¹द्वितरचितविचित्रपासादाहा-
 5 लिकादेवकुलोद्यानवापौकूपतडागोपसो(शो)भाजितसुरपुरम-
 6 द्विस्तः ।² प्रचण्डदीर्घमण्डलाप्रतुण्डकाण्डितारातिमत्त-
 7 मातङ्गविभक्तमुक्ताफलप्रसाधितासे(शे)षमहीमण्डल³
 8 सक्कभूपालमीलिसालाविलम्बमाणिक्यमयु(यू)खत्राताभिरञ्चि-
 9 तक्रमकमलधुगलात्⁴ श्रीमदारामात् परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
 10 धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीसि(शि)वगुप्तदेवपादानुध्या-
 11 तपरममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 12 श्रीमकुलतिलकत्रिकलित्वाधिपतिश्रीमहाभक्तगुप्तराजदेवः कुस(श)-
 13 लौ लोमलाश⁵ सुपुत्रराखण्डप्रतिव(व)धमोत्तङ्कलाधामे ।⁶ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् संपु(पू)-
 14 ञ्च तद्विष-
 15 यीययथाकालाध्यामिनः समाहृतसन्निधातुदाण्डपासि(शि)कपिसु(श)नवेतुका-⁷
 16 वरीधज्जनराजवज्रभादीन् सर्वान् समात्रापयति । विदितमस्तु भवतां ।⁸ य-
 17 शास्त्राभिरयं ग्रामः सन्निधिः सोपनिधिः सर्ववा(वा)धाविवर्जितः सर्वोपरिक-
 18 रकरादानसमेतः साङ्ग्र(म्)मधुकः सगर्तोपरचत्तुः⁹ श्रीमाप-
 19 यन्ताः सजलस्वनसञ्चितः ।¹⁰ खदिरपट्टविनिर्गताय सुवर्ण-
 20 पुरवास्तव्याय श्रीकमलवनवर्णकथानाय सलिलधारापुरःसम्भाष-
 21 न्दतार¹¹कार्कचितिसमकालोपभोगार्थे साष्ट(ता)पिचोरात्मनश्च पुण्ड्रयसो(शो)-
 22 ऽभिवृद्धये साङ्ग्र(म्)मा(शा)मनेनाकरोक्तत्वं प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्वं समुचित-

¹ Probably the intended reading is *śākhā-sparśadhikā eva*.

² This diacritic is unnecessary.

³ Read *śrīmadbhīṣmaśākhā-mahā-maṇḍalaḥ*. This and the following compound qualify *Mahā-Bhāṣa-gaṇadhyaṭṭha* and not *Arīṣat*. These two attributes of the king occur also in his Katak Plates of the 21st year (above, Vol. III, p. 249, text ll. 24-27).

⁴ Read *paṇḍak* and see the foregoing note.

⁵ The word *Kōṣṭhikā*, which was recently first omitted by inadvertence and later supplied, is engraved in smaller characters on the space above the ring-hole opposite L. 17 and is to be read after *śaṣṭī* in L. 13, as indicated by a *śaṣṭī* sign after each of the two words.

⁶ Read *śaṣṭī*.

⁷ The letter *sa* appears below the line. Evidently it was first omitted and was later supplied.

- 22 भोगभागकरहिरण्यादिभिर्भवद्भिः सुखेन प्रतिवस्तुष्व(यम्) । धनेनापि प्रा-
 23 त्तं(प्र)सा(शा)सनेन सुवर्णपुत्रौयथोक्तमलवनवणिकयानेन व(व)निचरन्नेवद-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 24 खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिकरणाये(य or ये) शौकेस(श)वन्नीयादित्यभट्टारकाभ्यां । देवकुलो(ला)-
 25 भ्यां सा(शा)सनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः[*] । भाविभिच भूपतिभिर्दत्तिरिय(य)मस्तदौया धर्मगौ-
 26 रवाटस्तदतुरोहा(घा)व स्वदत्तिरिया(वा)नुपालनीया । तथा चोक्तं धर्मसा(शा)स्त्रे ।
 27 व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्व(भिः । य)स्य [यस्य*] यदा भूमि-
 स्तस्य तस्य तदा
 28 फलं(लम्) ॥[11]*॥ सा भूदफलसंका(शङ्का)वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः । स्वदानात्फ-
 ल[मा*]नन्त्यं प-
 29 रदत्तानुपालने ॥[12]*॥ यष्टिर्वर्ममहसाणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [1*]
 30 आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वज्रयन्ति पितामहाः [1*] भूमिदाता कुले जा-
 31 तः स नन्नाता भविष्यति ॥[13]*॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिशृङ्गा(ङ्गा)ति यव भूमिं प्रय-
 च्छति । उभौ
 32 तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गं(गं)सा(मिनी) ॥[15]*॥ तडागानां सहस्राणि(स्र्ण)
 वाजपेयस(श)-
 33 तानि(तेन) च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहता न शृध्यति ॥[16]*॥ स्वर्णमेवं
 गामिका भूमि-
 34 रप्यहेमकुलं(लम्) । हरत(स)रकमायाति यावदाहृतसंप्रवः ॥[17]*॥ अन्यायेन
 हता भूमि-
 35 अन्यायेन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयतवैव स हन्यात्सप्तमं कुलं(लम्) ॥[18]*॥
 स्रदता परद-

* This is clearly a mistake for -*śrany-ātilam-apanapudhāra*.

* This *danda* is unnecessary.

* The impression shows a superfluous scratch attached to it giving it the appearance of *tri*, but on the plate it is plain *ti*.

* The small vertical stroke seen after *ana* on the impression does not appear on the plate.

* The second half of this stanza has been left out through mistake. We may add it thus: *śakṣyāśa-
 sammanāśa śāṅg-īśa śāṅg-īśa* 2.

* Read *ananyam*: or the plate will be too short of a syllable.

* The *ananyā* over *śa*, which is clear on the plate, has not come out on the impression.

* Read *śranyāśaśa* or the quarter will have a syllable in excess.

f.

2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ १ ॥
 4 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ २ ॥
 6 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ ३ ॥
 8 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ ४ ॥
 10 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ ५ ॥

iii.

12 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ ६ ॥
 14 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ ७ ॥
 16 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ ८ ॥
 18 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ ९ ॥
 20 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ १० ॥
 22 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ ११ ॥

iiib.

50 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ १२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ १३ ॥

iii.

24 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ १४ ॥
 26 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ १५ ॥
 28 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ १६ ॥
 30 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ १७ ॥
 32 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ १८ ॥
 34 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ १९ ॥
 36 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ २० ॥

iiia.

38 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ २१ ॥
 40 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ २२ ॥
 42 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ २३ ॥
 44 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ २४ ॥
 46 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ २५ ॥
 48 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति महाभयगुप्तः ॥ २६ ॥

36 तां म्वा(वा) ।¹ यो हरेच वसुन्धरां(राम्) [1^{*}] स विद्यायां जमिभूमित्वा
पच्यते पितृभिः सप्त [19^{*}] च।

Third Plate: First Side.

37 दिव्यो वरुणो विष्णुवर्धना सोमो वृतास(ग्र)नः । शु(शू)लपाणिस्तु भगवान् ।²
चमिन-

38 नन्ति भूमिर्द(दम्) [110^{*}] सामान्योऽयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनोयो
भवतिः [1^{*}]

39 रिति³ सर्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः[1^{*}] [111^{*}]
इति-

40 कमलदलास्तु(स्व)वि(वि)न्दुलीलां ।⁴ श्री(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजि(जी)वितं च [1^{*}]
सकलमिदम्-

41 दाहृतं च वृषा(वृषा) ।⁵ नत्ति पुरुषैः परजि(की)र्तयो विनोदया [112^{*}] परम-
भट्टारकगङ्गाराजाधि-

42 राजपरमेश्वरसोमकुलतिलकचिकलिङ्गाधिपतिर्जी[म^{*}]जन-

43 मेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सख्य(संव)क्षरे सप्तदसमे⁶ आषाढ-

44 माससितपञ्चम्यां । यथाहृतः ।⁷ सख्य(संव)त् १० आषाढशुदि ५ । ज्ञेया-

45 श्रेष्ठार्थमा(या)चक्षुतिविमल⁸]धिया वेदवेदाङ्गविद्या । श्री(श्रि)लाकल्पेतिहासप्र-

46 कटसुसुगुणप्रभृतिषष्ठ्या । नाच्चा साधारणेन दिजवरतनुना म-

47 न्विणा यस्य राज्यं निर्वृ(व्यु)ष्टं मीयमुच्चैस्तु(स्त्रि)जगति विदितो देवजनमेजय-

48 श्रीः⁹ [113^{*}] " स " सुत ।

49 सुत " त्कि " हरद

¹ This *dinga* is unnecessary.

² This *ni* is superfluous; read *krinir-śakti*.

³ The two syllables *riti* are superfluous.

⁴ The portion *siddhi* occurs below the line.

⁵ Read *ayudhāt*.

⁶ The impression shows a small stroke attached to *sa*, which does not exist on the plate.

⁷ Instead of *Śrī-Janamejaya-deśa*, the writer has used *śrī-Janamejaya-riti* evidently to conform to the metrical scheme, which purpose still remains partly unfulfilled unless we read *Janamejaya* for *Janamejaya*. The corresponding reading in the Katak Plates of the 31st year is *śrī-Janamejaya-Kundurpallava*. The Katak Plates have two verses in praise of Śaṅkarācārya, one of which is the same as occurs here. [Above, Vol. III, p. 349, text L 37-42.]

⁸ Metre: *Śreyādhāt*.

⁹ It appears that the matter engraved after *riti* in this line and the next has intentionally been scored out by the original engraver himself, probably because some objectionable mistakes might have crept in. In spite of his attempt to erase the engraving of this part, certain letters can still be made out, which indicate that the contents of this portion mentioned the names of the writer, the engraver and so forth. If so, nothing of the original charter has been lost, as those names appear in the two lines on the reverse of this plate.

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 50 लोखीतमौदं ताम्ब्रमासनं महामन्थीवीर्यही राणकपीमद्भटतः ॥ महाचपट-
 51 नीना कैलाससुतेन योषलवेन ॥ उत्कीर्णञ्च मौडनासुतेन हरदामिनेती ॥०॥

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-13) *Gw* | Hail!

From the prosperous **Arāma**, which has (all) the ten quarters deafened by the fluttering noise of the flocks of pigeons frightened by the jingle of the anklets (*searn*) on the feet of the numerous excellent courtesans (*moving*) within the enclosures of mansions having floors (*studded*) with bright jewels, which has its fame spread by minstrels hailing from different countries; which *eriet* (*as opulence*) with the wealth of **Kubāra** (*lit. lord of riches*) exalted in poetic narrations produced by scholars endowed with various learning, (*and*) which has eclipsed the grandeur of **Amarāvati** (*lit. city of gods*) by the splendour of its array of magnificent palaces, lofty buildings, temples, gardens, step-wells, wells and tanks;

the illustrious **Paramahuttāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēvara Mahā-Bhavaguptarāja-dēva**, the overlord of **Trikalinga**, an ornament of the **Sōma-kula**, (*and*) a devout worshipper of **Mahāśvara**, who has meditated on the feet of the illustrious **P. M. P. Sivaguptadēva**, a devout worshipper of **Mahāśvara**, who (*i.e.*, **Mahā-Bhavagupta**) has the entire circle of the [battle] field decorated by the pearls loomed from the (temples of the) enemies' rutting elephants rent asunder with the point of the scimitar (*wielded*) by his eagle-like impetuous arm, (*and*) who has the pair of his lotus-like feet tinted by the collection of rays (*emanating*) from the precious stones attached to the wreaths over the coronets of all the princes, being in good health.

(Ll. 13-15) having paid homage to the **Brāhmaṇas** in the **Gōttakēlā** village included in the **Luputurā-khanda** in **Kōsalā**, issues a command to all (*his officials*) of that district, (*persons*) who may at any time be holding office, (*namely*) **Samāhartṛ**, **Sannidhātṛ**, **Dīradapāṭika**, **Pīraṇ**, **Pastrika**, **Aracōdhajana**, **Rājavalabha**,² and so forth—

(Ll. 15-21) "Be it known to you that by (*this*) copper-charter We have, for the accretion of merit and fame to (*Our*) parents as well as to (*Ourself*), donated this (*Gōttakēlā*) village, with libations of water, having made (*it*) tax-free, exempt from all hindrance, extending up to (*us*) four

² Mistakes of spelling in this and the next line are too many and too obvious to need correction.

As surmised in the foregoing note, these two lines seem to contain the same matter in its revised form as was written and cancelled in ll. 48-49. It may, however, be observed that the writing of ll. 50-51 is not by the same hand to which the engraving of nearly the entire grant is due, and differs from the rest in several respects; its mistakes of spelling are more numerous, its characters are bigger in size and some of them are quite different in shape, e.g. *v* and medial *a*. This causes a suspicion as to whether it was the original engraver himself who is responsible for effacing the writing of ll. 48-49 and adding that in ll. 50-51 or whether it was somebody else who sometime later tampered with that portion of the charter. If latter is the case, the motive of the tamperer is not clear. Any way, no material harm has been done to the original grant by altering or substituting the last lines in question.

³ Not all of these designations have been satisfactorily explained. **Samāhartṛ**, literally 'one who collects', probably answers to 'a collector of revenue'. **Sannidhātṛ** means 'one who approaches or ushers' and perhaps signifies 'an usher'. These two terms occur also in Kautilya's *Arthasastra*, where they have been rendered respectively as 'collector-general' and 'chamberlain' by Dr. R. Shamasastry in his translation of that work (second edition, pp. 63 and 60). **Dīradapāṭika** denotes 'one who holds rod and rope' and may stand for 'an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals' (see N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 185). **Pīraṇ** may correspond to 'a spy'. **Pastrika**, 'one who holds a stick', may be the same as 'a door-keeper'. **Aracōdhajana** can be mean either 'royal ladies' or 'a warden of ladies' apartment' or simply 'a watchman'. What exactly the function of a **Rājavalabha**, literally 'king's favourite', was is difficult to explain.

boundaries, along with (its) hidden treasures and deposits, mango and *Bassia latifolia* trees, pits and barren plots, water and land, with (the privilege of) collecting toll and revenue, to the illustrious Kamalavama Merchants' Association, immigrant from Khadirapadra (and) resident in Sovarnapura, to be enjoyed as long as the sun, the moon, the stars and the earth (endure).

(Ll. 21-22) "Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness, offering (to it its) customary share of income, rent, (tribute of) gold, and so forth.

(Ll. 22-25) "Being in possession of the charter, this illustrious Kamalavama Merchants' Association has, in its turn, bestowed (the same village), having registered it as a deed, on the two temples, (one) of the lord Kēśava (and the other) of the lord Āditya, for charity, oblation and offerings as well as for repairing wear and tear (in the temples).

(Ll. 25-26) "And, future kings should, through respect for the *dharma* and out of regard for Us, protect this Our grant as their own grant. For, it is declared in the *Dharmasūtra* :—"

(Ll. 27-41) [Here follow twelve of the customary verses.]

(Ll. 41-44) (This charter has been issued) during the victorious reign of the illustrious P. M. P. Janamējayadēva, the overlord of Trikalīnga, an ornament of the Sōma-kula, in the seventeenth year on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha, where in figures (it is) Anno 17 Āshāḍha *śukla* 5.

(Ll. 44-48) Highly renowned in (all) the three worlds is this very illustrious Janamējayadēva, the administration of whose kingdom has been carried on by his minister, Sādharāya by name, an eminent Dvija (lit. twice-born) by birth, whose intellect is clear owing to (his knowledge of) all the lore of polity and law worth knowing, who is manifestly a very Bṛhaspati (lit. preceptor of gods) in (expounding) the Vēdas and the Vēdāṅga-vidyās (such as) Śikshā, Kalpa, Itihāsa (and so forth), (and) who is (on account of all that) possessed of supreme glory.

(Ll. 50-51) This tāmarāṣaṇa has been composed by Kailāsa's son, the illustrious Alava, the Mahāśakapatalin¹ (attached to) the illustrious Mahāśāradhivigraha Rāyaśa Malladatta; and engraved by Haradāsa, son of Sivpillā.

No. 41.—KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA: [KALACHURI] SAMVAT 593.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Karitalai is now a small village twenty-nine miles North by East of Murwāri, the headquarters of a taluk of the same name in the Jalhulpore District. The place seems to be of great antiquity, for an inscription in shell characters² and another of the Gupta period³ have been discovered there. There are several old temples at Karitalai, from one of which, probably dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, a fragmentary inscription of the reign of the Kalachuri king Lakshmanarāja, the son of Yuvarājadēva I Kēyāravatsha was brought over to Nagpur⁴ and is

¹ This designation denotes 'the high officer in charge of the śakapatala office.' The latter term has been variously rendered by 'Record Office', 'Court of Rolls', 'Court of Justice', 'Archives' and 'Accountant General's Office'. The word mahāśakapatalin has been discussed by Prof. J. Ph. Vogel in his *Antiquities of Chaulukya State*, Pt. I, p. 125. Dr. Shamasastry translates the term śakapatala as 'accountants' office' in Kauṇḍīya's *Arthashastra* (p. 68).

² Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Ed.), p. 45.

³ C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 1173.

⁴ Cunningham has described the ruins at Karitalai in *J. S. E.*, Vol. IX, pp. 7-8. He mentions a huge statue of the Boar 8' long, 7' high and 2' 9" broad. The Karitalai stone inscription was probably put up at a temple of this Boar incarnation, see vv. 27 and 35 of it, above, Vol. II, pp. 173-8.

at present preserved in the Central Museum, Nagpur. The present inscription seems to have been discovered by the late R. B. Hirralal in 1928 when he visited the place on his way to the Silaharā caves which are situated not very far from Kārtālikā. A short notice of it appears in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, but the record has not been published so far. I edit it here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Director General of Archaeology in India.

From the account given by R. B. Hirralal the inscription seems now to be affixed to the temple of Dēvi Maṭhīa at Kārtālikā. It is fragmentary. The preserved portion measures 10½" in breadth and 1" 10½" in height. Originally there were fourteen lines only, of which thirteen were inscribed breadthwise. Each of these now contains on an average fourteen *akṣaras*. The fourteenth line runs along the margin on the left. In addition to these, there is one more line incised recently to record the date (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1981, which runs parallel to the original marginal line. As said before, the inscription is fragmentary. Nothing is, of course, lost at the top, the bottom and the left hand side; but on the right hand, sixty to seventy *akṣaras* have been lost in each line. The record, when entire, must have occupied a space of 4' 6" in breadth. Of this only about one-fifth portion on the left has been preserved and the remaining four-fifths broken away and lost.

The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet. They have been deeply and beautifully cut. The strokes of the medial vowels have, here and there, been ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *y*, one in *Lakṣmāparāṇjya* (l. 13) and the other in *Drūhika* (l. 2), etc., and to those of *gh* in *Asōghacaraka* (l. 12) and *Ghat-ṣmāya* (l. 14). The form of *y* is in many places closely similar to that of *rā*, compare *y* in *jaṇat* and *dṛg-ēva*, both in l. 2, *Nāgabhaṭṭa* in l. 9, etc., with *rā* in *yair-śvanta* in l. 6; *ā* has not yet developed a vertical stroke at the top, see *pariśrānti* (l. 4). Similarly *ā* is still circular and not flattened in the right side, see *prithvā* (l. 4). The medial *u* has been generally denoted by a *veśi*, (see *pāṇḍura*, l. 5; *rag-ānukāra*, l. 13, etc.), but in some cases by a curve turned to the left as in *śahīṣṭa* (l. 2). The *seṁāns* for medial diphthongs generally appear above the line (see *namō*, and *Upendra*, l. 1), but in two cases viz., *Rudrābhya* (l. 1) and *śrī-Lakṣmāparāṇjude* (l. 14) the medial *i* is obtained by continuing the top stroke of the consonant to the left to end in a small curve; while in two others we see fully developed *prishṭha-mātrās* also (see *Vedhō*, l. 3 and *pāṇḍu*, l. 12). The characters thus show a transitional stage of the Nāgarī alphabet and may be referred to the ninth century A. D.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the introductory obsequance and the marginal line recording the date, etc., the whole record is metrically composed. It seems to have originally consisted of thirteen verses. As regards orthography we may note that the consonant preceeding and following *ṣ* has in certain cases been doubled as in *chātur-viṣṣyaṇā* (l. 1) and *śāṭṭhaṇ* (l. 2); *ṣ* has been used for *ś* in *vula* (l. 7) and the guttural nasal for *amśāra* in *śahīṣ-ānukāra* (l. 6).

Owing to the unfortunate loss of a major portion of the record it is not possible to give a complete description of its contents. After the introductory obsequance to Drūhika (Brahman), Upendra (Viṣṇu) and Rudra (Śiva) come three verses invoking the blessings of the three deities. Ll. 6 and 7 seem to eulogize some persons possessed of strength, wealth, gaiety, liberality and courtesy. The next line refers to some personage who was to great kings what the fall of a thunderbolt is to high mountains. The ninth line mentions the rout of Nāgabhaṭṭa, while the eleventh refers to some saintly person whose mind was devoted to the observance of the rules of conduct laid down

* The second edition of his *Inscriptions in the C. P.*, etc. (1932) mentions it, while the first edition of it (1910) contained no reference to it. In 1928 R. B. Hirralal was accompanied by the Government Epigraphist (see *Inscriptions, etc.*, p. 45, n. 1), but there is no mention of this record in his report for 1927-8. Perhaps it was not considered as of sufficient importance.

in the Śruti and Smṛiti. From the twelfth line we learn that the illustrious king **Amoghavarsha** bowed to the feet of some one who was probably identical with the saintly person mentioned above. The thirteenth line speaks of the erection by him of a structure resembling a hill. Finally the marginal line states that the record was composed by **Prasannāditya** of the Ghatia family in the **year 593** (expressed in numerical figures only) during the reign of the illustrious king **Lakshmanarājadēva**.

The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal who first noticed this inscription read the date as 693 and as it evidently refers to the Kalachuri-Chōdi era which was current at least from the ninth to the twelfth century A. D. in Hāghalkhanḍ, he took it as equivalent to A. D. 941,¹ obviously identifying Lakshmanarāja mentioned in it with the king of the same name, of whose reign we have another fragmentary inscription from Kārttalai itself. As Yuvarājadēva-Kēyūrararsha, the father of Lakshmanarāja, was the father-in-law of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III, it is clear that he flourished in the beginning of the tenth and his son Lakshmanarāja about the middle of the same century. The mention of Amoghavarsha may be adduced to support this view. In A. D. 941, which, according to R. B. Hiralal, is the date of this record, Amoghavarsha III was no doubt dead; for his son Kṛishṇa III succeeded him towards the end of A. D. 939.² But this presents no difficulty; for the record does not state that Amoghavarsha was living in A. D. 941. It refers to him incidentally in connection with the holy person who constructed the temple at which the inscription was originally put up. Besides, from the Sudi inscription³ we learn that Amoghavarsha III was staying for some time at Tripurī where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter with Permāḍi-Buṭuga II. That inscription is no doubt taken to be spurious, but we need not for that reason reject all historical information in it, unless it is contradicted by other incontrovertible evidence. As there was no other Lakshmanarāja in the family of the Kalachuris of Tripurī known till then, R. B. Hiralal seems to have felt amply justified in reading the date as above.

But the reading is probably incorrect. The first figure closely resembles that of the *tithi* in the Chandrāhā inscription of Prabodhāsaya and the latter was read as five by Dr. Kielhorn.⁴ The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee first⁵ read it as 6, but it appears as 5 in his article on the Chandrāhā inscription.⁶ Other instances in which the figure stands for 5 can also be cited.⁷ So the date of the present inscription is 593 and this being referred to the Kalachuri era corresponds to A. D. 841-2.⁸ The mention of Amoghavarsha in this record does not also preclude this reading; for this Amoghavarsha would be the first Rāshtrakūṭa king of that name who ruled from A. D. 814 to 880. We know that the royal families of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kalachuris were

¹ See his *Inscriptions in U. P. and Benar*, (second ed.) p. 45.

² For Amoghavarsha III we have the dates 937 and 939 (see *B. C.*, Vol. XI, pp. 29 and 30). His son Kṛishṇa III's Dauli plates were issued in A. D. 940.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 379.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 82; above, Vol. I, p. 254.

⁵ *Memoria A. S. I.*, No. 23, p. 119.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 148. There is a similar difference of opinion about the reading of the year in 41. 67 of the Sāradā inscription from Hand, above, Vol. XXII, p. 98 and n. 3.

⁷ See for instance the figures of the year and the *tithi* of the Ballṛī plates of the Chaulukya Mūlārāja, above, Vol. X, plate facing p. 78; the figure of the year in the Kharjurīho inscription of Kālikālā, Cunningham's *A. S. I.*, Vol. XXI, pl. XIX and that of the *tithi* in the Pāṇapur plates of Bhīmāditya, above, Vol. XXI, pl. facing p. 172.

⁸ The evidence of palaeography is also in favour of this earlier date. I would particularly draw attention to the formation of the medial diphthongs by lengthening the top line to the left to end in a small curve (I, 14) and the round form of *ā*. In the later Kārttalai stone inscription of the reign of Lakshmanarāja (c. 900 A. D.) the medial diphthongs are in all cases denoted either by strokes on the top or by *prāthamaśrīṭṭa* and *ā* is flattened on the right side.

matrimonially connected in the ninth century also : for Amoghavarsha I's son Krishna II was married to Kōkalla I's daughter², though this marriage may not have taken place before A. D. 842.³ Besides, Amoghavarsha was of a spiritual temperament. He was a fervent devotee, at least in the early part of his life, of Hindu deities. The Sanjān plates tell us that he had cut off a finger of his left hand and offered it to Mahā-Lakṣmī to ward off a public calamity.⁴ It is not, therefore, unlikely that Amoghavarsha had gone to the Chāḍi country to pay his respects to the holy person who put up the present inscription. The mention of Nāgabhatta's defeat in l. 9 may also be adduced in support of the above-mentioned date. This Nāgabhatta is evidently Nāgabhatta II of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, who was completely routed by Amoghavarsha's father Gōvinda III.⁵ Nāgabhatta was not living in A. D. 841-2 the date of the present inscription ; for, according to the Jain work *Prabhāva-chaṭṭa*⁶ he died in V. S. 890 (A. D. 832-4) ; nor is Amoghavarsha known to have raided North India like his father and grandfather. The defeat of Nāgabhatta II mentioned in this inscription must be that inflicted on him by Gōvinda III before A. D. 800. The personage, who in the preceding line is described as a destroyer of great kings as a thunder-bolt is of high mountains, is therefore probably Gōvinda III. The name of the king whom he destroyed (*saṃjohat*) is lost at the end of that line. It is not known in what connection the defeat of Nāgabhatta is mentioned in l. 9 ; but as the name of Amoghavarsha occurs only after two lines, it is clear that the event must have happened not long before the reign of Amoghavarsha. The latter must consequently be the first king of that name ; for, otherwise, there would be a long gap of more than one hundred and thirty years between the two events, if the king is identified with Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III.

If my reading of the date is accepted the Lakṣmīnārāya mentioned in the present inscription becomes the earliest known king of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. He was the predecessor and may have been the father of Kōkalla I,⁷ who stands at the head of the genealogical lists in the Bihārī stone inscription⁸ and the Benares plates of Karka.⁹ The Sanjān plates of Amoghavarsha state that after his victorious campaign in North India, Gōvinda III returned to the bank of the Narmadā and conquering Kōsala, Kalinga, Vṛāṅgī, Pāṇala, Oḍṛaka and Mālava made his servants govern them.¹⁰ This seems to mean that Gōvinda raided these countries and either exacted tributes from the ruling princes or, deposing them, placed his own nominees in charge of their countries. That he did so in one case at least is known from other records. The Baroda plates of Karka, dated Śaka 734, state that Karka was made a door-bolt to protect the king of Mālwa from the Gurjara king who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauda and Vaṅga.¹¹ In some other records of the Gujjarāi Rāṣṭrakūṭas we find references to battles fought

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263-70.

² As I have shown elsewhere (above, p. 217) Amoghavarsha I was born about A. D. 799. He was, therefore, forty-two years old at the time of the present inscription, but it is not likely that in A. D. 841-2 his son Krishna II was already married to Lakṣmīnārāya's grand-daughter, for he is known to have reigned till about 914 A. D. Perhaps Amoghavarsha had gone to Tripuri to seek the Kalachuri king's help when he was deposed in the early part of his reign.

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 248.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁵ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 179, n. 3.

⁶ This Kōkalla was a contemporary of Bhōja I of Kanauj who flourished from, circa A. D. 835 to 885. His son-in-law Krishna II reigned from about A. D. 880 to 914. Kōkalla may have therefore flourished from about A. D. 850 to 885.

⁷ Above, Vol. I, pp. 254f.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 305ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 246.

¹⁰ See lines 20-27 of the Baroda plates of Karka, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 100.

by them with the Gurjara-Pratihāras in Ujjayini.¹ Mālwa was, therefore, made a protectorate and a subordinate branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas established in Gujārāt to check the advance of the Pratihāras. The same may have happened in the case of Dāhala also.² As Lakshmanarāja is the earliest known prince of the Kalachuri dynasty of Dāhala, it is not unlikely that the present record in its last portion mentioned the establishment of the Kalachuri family in Dāhala after the defeat of Nāgabhatta. Subsequently the Rāshtrakūṭas made many matrimonial alliances with the Kalachuris³ and thus made the Kalachuri kingdom a bulwark on the north of the Narmadā against any possible invasion of their territory by the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

It would not be out of place to discuss here the relation of this Lakshmanarāja with other princes of the same name known from two other records discovered in North India. The Kahlā plates of Sōghadēva⁴ mention a Kalachuri prince Lakshmanarāja in whose family was born the prince Rājaputra whose descendant in the eleventh generation named Sōghadēva made a grant in V. S. 1134 (A. D. 1077). The date of this Rājaputra is approximately settled by the statement in the record that Guṇambhōdhidēva I, his descendant in the third generation, helped Bhōja in his wars against a Gauda king. This Bhōja can be no other than the Gurjara-Pratihāra Bhōja whose known dates range from A. D. 836 to 882. Guṇambhōdhidēva I may therefore have flourished about A. D. 850. His third lineal ancestor Rājaputra can consequently be placed in circa A. D. 775. The indefinite manner in which the relationship of Rājaputra to Lakshmanarāja is mentioned in the Kahlā plates makes it difficult to conjecture the date of the latter, but that he did not flourish later than the beginning of the eighth century A. D. seems certain. He cannot, therefore, be identified with Lakshmanarāja of the present inscription.

There are three other kings named Lakshmanarāja known from a stone inscription found at Kasī⁵ in the Gōrakhpur District, U. P. Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni has assigned this inscription to the 11th or 12th century A. D., but on paleographic evidence it appears to belong to a period not later than the tenth century A. D.⁶ The princes mentioned in this inscription were ruling over a territory contiguous to the kingdom of the Kalachuris of the Kahlā plates. One would, therefore, expect to find some links connecting the two families in the genealogical lists of the two inscriptions, but none have been noticed so far. A careful comparison of the two lists would show, however, that there are two names common to them, viz., Rājaputra and his son Śivarāja. The former name is evidently a *byname* and we find it actually stated in the Kasī inscription that the real name of the prince was Lakshmana and that he was called *Rājaputra* because of his virtues. The *Rājaputra* of the Kahlā plates flourished about A. D. 775 which is, therefore, the date of Lakshmanarāja II of the Kasī inscription. Lakshmanarāja I, his great-grandfather, and

¹ See e. g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 67.

² So far as one can judge from the present fragmentary record, it seems to have contained glorification of the Rāshtrakūṭas rather than of the Kalachuris. It is noteworthy that the line containing the name of the reigning king is added in the margin.

³ See e. g., the Kasī plates of Karka III, ll. 16-25, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 263.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII, p. 89.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 128ff.

⁶ It may be noted here that in the Kasī inscription, (1) the medial diphthongs are denoted by small curves added to the left of the top line; (2) the medial *u* appears as a small scrib at the bottom of the vertical; (3) the left limbs of *ā* and *āh*, the tail of *ā* and the vertical of *āh* have not yet developed as in the Nāgarī alphabet of the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. Its *ā* has, however, developed a vertical stroke on the right. I would, therefore, assign the inscription to the tenth century A. D. The record seems to mention two successors of Lakshmanarāja and the names of one or two more may have been lost in the mutilated portion. As I have placed Lakshmanarāja III of the Kasī inscription in circa A. D. 850, the last Kalachuri prince mentioned in the record must have reigned some time during the tenth century A. D. This date is corroborated by the paleographic evidence detailed above.

Lakshmagarāja III, his great-grandson, must therefore have flourished about A. D. 700 and 850 respectively. Though Lakshmagarāja III of the Kasī inscription thus flourished about the same time as the Lakshmagarāja of the present inscription, the two are not likely to be identical; for none of the descendants of the former can be identified with the Kalachuri princes mentioned in the Biliāri inscription and the Beuares plates, who were evidently the successors of the Lakshmagarāja of the present inscription.

TEXT.

- 1 सिद्धम् [१^{*}] श्री नमोस्तु द्रुहिणीपेन्द्ररुदेभ्यः ॥ चातुर्वर्ण्यं [नि]^२ . . .
- 2 नमार्चं जगत् [१^{*}] द्रागेव द्रुहिणः क्षिणोत्^३ . . .
- 3 रुद्रवेधोदस(शः) । पायासुसंभुसदना[च]^४ . . .
- 4 कपहोत्पृथुनि परितुठन्ती यच्च मूर्धे[स्व]^५ . . .
- 5 न क्रमः परमिति स्वान्पुञ्जकान्पाठ[ये]^६ . . .
- 6 क्षीणाङ्गमो^७ जज्ञिरे यैरासन्तति सन्तत^८ . . .
- 7 इतिः । व(व)लविभवविलासव्यागदा^९ . . .
- 8 महामूर्धिमिन्द्रव्यपाता(तः) संजष्टे ज्ञा[१]^{१०} . . .
- 9 भूयसा चानेहसा ॥ भग्ने नागभटे^{११} . . .
- 10 कपथावदलको वराहव्याहारः स्म^{१२} . . .
- 11 तिष्ठन्त्याचारप्रवणधिषणः पु[ण्य]^{१३} . . .
- 12 श्रीमदमोघवर्णवृषतिः पादौ [न]^{१४} . . .
- 13 वापरः ॥ तेनाकारि नगानुकारि म^{१५} . . .
- 14^{१६} श्री^{१७} सम्यत् ५८३ श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवे राजनि चटान्वयवो-
प्रसन्नादित्यस्य कृतिरियम् [१^{*}]

^१ Expressed by a symbol.

^२ Metre: *Sūktā*.

^३ Metre: *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.

^४ Read मूर्धस्वले. Metre: *Māhāt*.

^५ Read पाठोत्. Metre: *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.

^६ Read क्षीणाङ्गमो.

^७ Read वराहव्याहारः. Metre: *Māhāt*.

^८ Perhaps जज्ञिरे was written here. Metre: *Grūpīḥarī*.

^९ Metre: *Sikharīḥarī*.

^{१०} Read इतिव्याचारः.

^{११} Read पुनःकरितः. Metre: *Sikharīḥarī*.

^{१२} Read यस्य *Indian* श्रीमद—

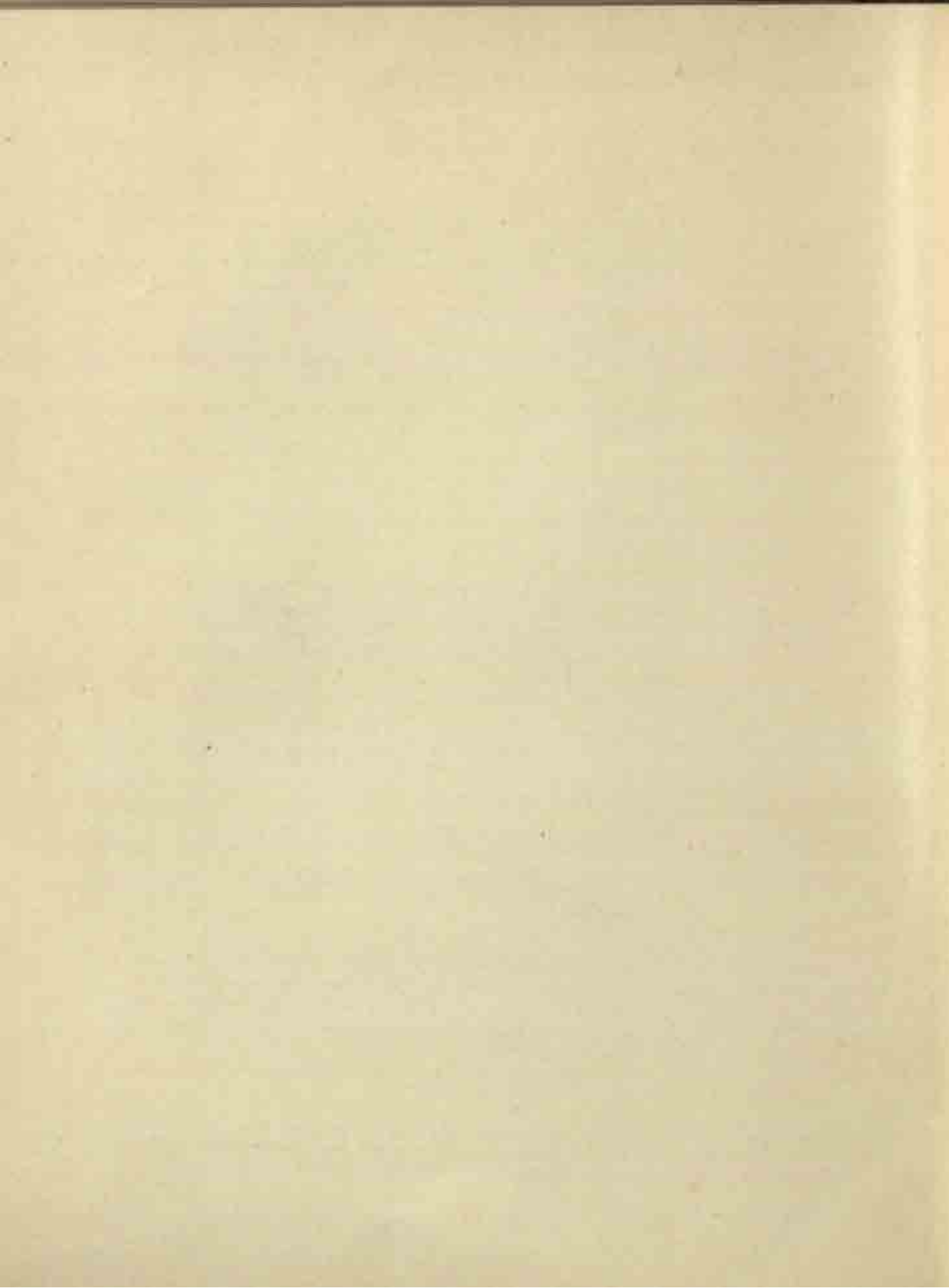
^{१३} Read सम्यक्पदम्. Metre: *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.

^{१४} Metre: *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.

^{१५} This line is written along the margin. Another line below it incised recently reads श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवे ५८३.

^{१६} Expressed by a symbol.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 वमा इन्द्राक्षरावदुदितः ॥ १ ॥
 सत्त्वोत्तमसंन्यायात्म्यं ॥ २ ॥
 कथं सत्त्वविरितं ॥ ३ ॥
 ननु मः यैरिति म्मा ॥ ४ ॥
 कीणादमो कश्चिरे ॥ ५ ॥
 वृत्तिवत् विरवित्तम ॥ ६ ॥
 मत्तमिन्द्राक्षरा ॥ ७ ॥
 नृपत्यासा नृपत्या ॥ ८ ॥
 कथं वा वत्तकाव ॥ ९ ॥
 तिस्रश्चाक्षरा ॥ १० ॥
 (मी) मरमाद्यवर्ष ॥ ११ ॥
 वाद्य रः ॥ १२ ॥



No. 42.—FOUR GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS

BY S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The four sets of copper-plate grants belonging to the Ganga kings of Kalinga were acquired through Mr. S. Rajaguru, Municipal Councillor, Parlakimedi, Ganjam. They have been found, as Mr. Rajaguru was told by the owner of the plates, in some villages of Northern Ganjam, and were purchased by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India. They are now deposited in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. I edit the charters by the kind permission of Mr. Majumdar.

A.—Plates of Mahārāja Jayavarmaḍēva.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined inscription are **three** in number and measure about $5\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{1}{4}$ ". Their rims are not raised. Each plate is inscribed on both sides. The inscription is damaged in several places. But practically the whole of it can be made out quite satisfactorily. The ring on which the plates were strung is about 3" in diameter. The small oval seal, below which the ends of the ring are secured, measures about $\frac{1}{2}$ " by $\frac{1}{4}$ ". It is damaged and the emblem on it is no more visible. The weight of the three plates, with ring and seal, is about 70 tolas.

The **alphabet** of the inscription resembles that of the Dhanantara Plates of Śāmantavarman,¹ and may be assigned to the 7th Century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except three of the customary verses in lines 28-35 the inscription is in prose. As regards **orthography** the following peculiarities call for remark:—*e* and *h* are not distinguished, both being indicated by the sign for *r*. A consonant after *r* is doubled only in a few instances, e.g., *Gōkarṇṇḍevara* (l. 5), and *hi*(*hi*)*ptayā* (l. 35). The letter *t* preceding *r* is doubled in *takti-traya* (l. 9), etc. *Vaṇṇa* has been wrongly used in *bhugavatahi*=*har-āchara* (ll. 1-2), *pitṛib* (l. 11), and *vāṇbhikṣu-samudhā* (l. 28); and wrongly dropped in *Sagar-ādibhi* (l. 29). The sign for final *t* has been used twice, though wrongly, in *śāhiś(hāsāt)-bhagavatuḥ* (l. 1) and *sa-karoṇāt* (l. 14).

The inscription is of the **Gaṅga** King of Kalinga, **Mahārāja Jayavarmaḍēva**, who was a devout worshipper of the lord *Gōkarṇṇḍēvara*, residing on the summit of the Mahendra mountain. From his residence at *Śvetaka* the king by this document informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned in the *Nṛdadāṅginga*(?)-*vishaya*, that he gave the village of **Bhusundā** in the said province to **Raviśarman**, a Brāhmaṇa of the *Kāśyapa-gotra*, the *Vājraṇḍya-charaṇa* and the *Kāṇva-sākhā*, who was a resident of the *Pratiśhāna-vishaya* of the *Maṭṭāraka* *Guptāvara*.² The *śūlaka* was the *Mahāśānta* *Pūrṇadēva* who had the title of *Pañchamūhāśāśaka*. The grant was written by *Khaṇḍa*, the son of the *Mahāśānta* *Śrīśānta*³ and engraved by *Vichitra-lasta*.

I am inclined to identify Jayavarman of the present grant with Jayavarman, brother of Anantavarman of the Parlakimedi plates⁴, which record the gift of the village *Talattāhā* in the district of *Krōśhṇukavaritani* by Anantavarman, son of *Dēvendravarman*, at the request of his brother Jayavarman, to *Vishṇuśākhārya*, a Brāhmaṇa of the *Paṭṭara-gotra*, who was an inhabitant of the village of *Sraṅgāṭikā* in the district of *Kamarūpa* or *Assam*.

¹ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff.² [See p. 262, nn. 8 and 12 below.—Ed.]³ [This may be only a title in which case the name of the official has not been given.—Ed.]⁴ *Annual Report of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1920-21*, pp. 15, 93; H. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 232-33; *J. A. S. B. S.*, Vol. 14, pp. 272 B.

TEXT.¹*First Plate; First Side.*

- 1 Om² svasti ([*]) Śvetaḥ-ādhiḥsthānāt³d-bhagavataḥ⁴
 2 ē-char-āchara-gō⁵ śakala-śasāṅka-śekhara-
 3 [dha]ra[eya*] sthity-utpatti-pralaya-kāra-
 4 [pa-hā]tōh Mahendr-āchala-ākṣara-nivāsi-
 5 mah śrīmad-Gaṅga-guṇḍa-śvara-bhaṭṭarakāḥ⁶ chara

First Plate; Second Side.

- 6 ga-kamal-ārādhanād-avāpta-punya-ni-
 7 chayō Gāṅg-āmala-kul-ambar⁷-āndh⁸ sva-bhu-
 8 ja-va(ba)la-parākram-ākṛānta-sakala-Ka-
 9 lāṅg-ādhirājya[ḥ*] śakti-trayaḥ⁹ praka-
 10 rāh-ānuraḥjit-āh¹⁰śeṣha-sāmantah para-
 11 mamāhēśvarō mātē-pitṛih¹¹-pād-ān(n)-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 12 dhyātō mahārāja-śrī-Jayavarmadēva[ḥ*] kuśa-
 13 ḥ Nṛadāśrīṅga¹²-vī[sha*]lyē yathā-kāl-ādhyāsi-
 14 nō vyā(vra)vaḥarīṇaḥ sa-karaṇḍi(n) vrā(hrā)hmaṇa-
 15 purōg-ādī-rājanaka-rājaputtra-pra[dhā]-
 16 nū(na)putraha-rāṣṭrakūṭa¹³-dāyānūyaka-bhō-
 17 gi-bhūgīnā¹⁴-nivāsi-janapadāḥ¹⁵-jchāta-bhaṭa-va-
 18 la(ha)hā-[jātiyā]-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 19 āc-cha(mā-cha) yath-ārham pu(pū)jayaty-ājñāpayati cha ([*])
 20 Veditam-astu bhavatām-ētaḍ-vishaya-samva-
 21 adha¹⁶-Bhusuṇḍā-grāmō-yath chetuh-simha(sim)-ōpala-
 22 kṣitah bhaṭṭa(tā)raha-Guṇḍa-śvara-Pratiśṭhā¹⁷-
 23 yath vishaya-vāstavya-vrā(hrā)hmaṇa-Raviśa[r*]mma(nā*) Kā-
 24 śyapa-gōṭṭrāya Vājasanī(nō)ya-charuṇāya
 25 Kāyab¹⁸-śākhinā sālila-dhārā-purahearō

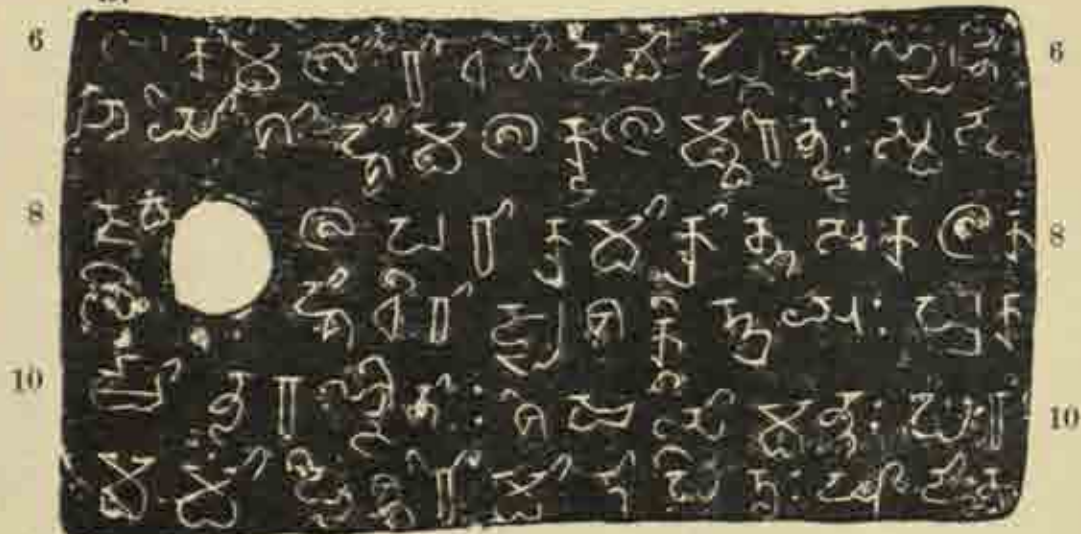
¹ From the original plates and impressions.² Expressed by a symbol.³ The sign for *i* is superfluous; read "ādhiḥsthān".⁴ The *viṣṇu* is superfluous.⁵ Read *gaurā*.⁶ Read *bhattacharakṣa*.⁷ Read *kal-āmbor*.⁸ [The reading may be *Jatapatāśrīṅga*.—Ed.]⁹ Read *rāṣṭrakūṭa*.¹⁰ Read *ādhyānūyaka-nivāsi*.¹¹ Read *śaśhodhā*.¹² Read *Pratiśṭhānta-viṣṇu*. (It is more probable that the grant was made on the occasion of the consecration of the image of Guṇḍa-śvara (Śiva) and that the name of the viṣṇu or district to which the donor belonged has been omitted by the scribe through oversight.—Ed.)

FOUR GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS:
A.—PLATES OF MAHARAJA JAYAVARMADEVA.

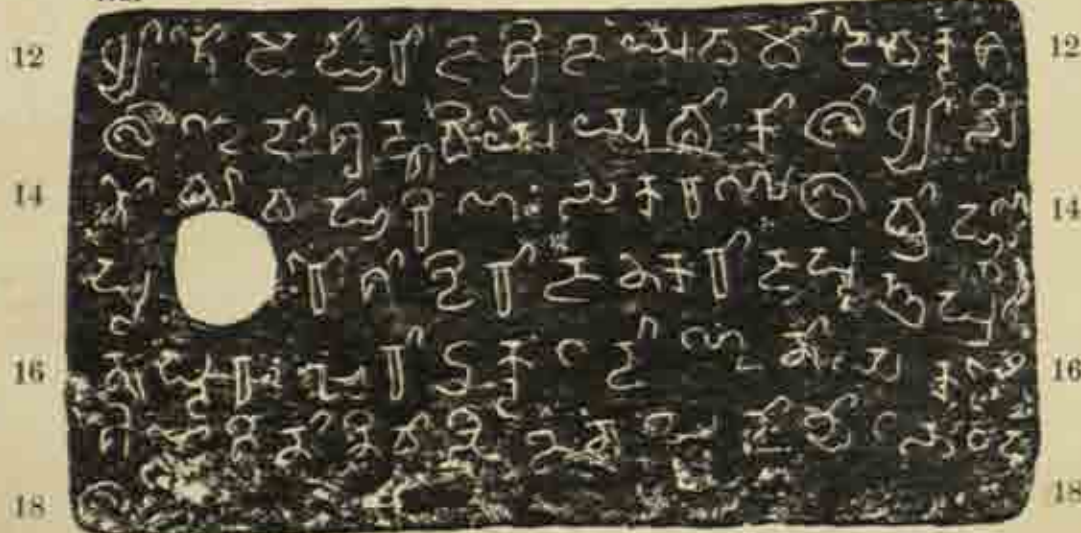
ia.



ib.



iii.



iiib.

20 22 24

20 22 24

20 22 24

iiia.

26 28 30 32

26 28 30 32

26 28 30 32

iiib.

34 36 38 40

34 36 38 40

34 36 38 40

Third Plate : First Side.

- 26 n=ā-chandr-ārka-kṣiti-sams-kālam-akari(r)kṛitya datō(ttō)=
 27 amābhī(h) [*] Ētad-bhavatāh pālaniyēti¹ || Uktam
 28 eha dharma-sāstrō [*] Vē(Ba)hubhīh²e-vasudhā datā(ttā)
 29 rājabhīh Sagar-ādibhī(bhīh) [*] yaaya yaaya
 30 yadā bhu(bhū)mita(=ta)sya tasya tadā phalaśh(lam) [*] Mā bhu(bhū)-
 31 d-aphala-sankā vah para-da(tt=ē)ti pārthivā(h) [*] eva-
 32 dānāt-phalam=ā(nantyaśh) para-datt=ānupālā-

Third Plate : Second Side.

- 33 nari(nam) [*] Iti kamala-dai-ā-dai⁴-ānvu(bu)-vu(bijudā-lōlām-āriya-
 34 m-anuchietya manushya-pi(i)vitaśh oha | sakalam-idam=udā-
 35 hṛitaśh-cha vu(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) na hi puruṣaiḥ para-ki(kīrtitayō vilōpya(pyāh) [*]⁵
 36 Iti [dāta]*kō-dh(i)*kṛita-prāpta-paṇcha-mahā-śavda(bda)-āri-ma-
 37 hāsāmanta-[Pūṛṇa]dēva(h) [*] Likhitaśh mahāśandhivi-
 38 [grā]hi-Śrīhāsāmanta-(sā)juna(nā) Kṣaṇḍēna [*] Utki(tkī)ṇṇaśh āri-Vi-
 39 chittrahastēna [*] Vyā(vya)vahāriṇō dēva-[pra]tīh-
 40 [ṇa]h [*]

B.—Plates of Dānārṇavādēva.

The inscription is incised on **three copper-plates**, each measuring about 5½" long by 3½" broad. The plates are strung on a copper ring about 3" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered below a circular seal, which measures about 1½" in diameter. The seal is much damaged and broken on one side. It bears in relief on countersunk surface the figures of a crescent at the top, a seated bull in the centre and an indistinct emblem at the bottom. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 118 tolas. The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-four lines of writing. Though the plates have no raised rims, the writing on them is well-preserved. The engraving has been carelessly done. Wrong spelling and omission of syllables are common mistakes.

The record is **not dated** but on palaeographic grounds may be assigned to the 10th century A.D. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five of the customary stanzas in lines 23-31, the record is written in prose. In respect of **orthography** we may note the following points: The letter *ḥ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. The consonant after *r* is, as a rule, doubled, e.g., *chandr-ārka-* (l. 18), *svaryga-* (l. 27), but *m* has not been doubled in *-hātō=Mahēndr-āchala-* (l. 2). Anusvāra has been used instead of the dental *s* in *śmala* (ll. 29-30). The dental *s* represents the palatal *ś* in some cases, e.g., *-śaśāka-* (ll. 1-2), *-śikhva-* (ll. 2-3). The sign for *avagraha* has been used in *-grāṇō-* 'yam' (l. 15) and *pratepādikā* 'śandhīh' (l. 21). The final *i* has been used in *anyat* (l. 14).

The inscription is of **Prithvivarmman's son**, the devout worshipper of Mahādeva, the *Paramāvara Paramahastātaka Mahārājadhīrāja*, the ornament of the spotless family of the Gāṅga, the *Rājaka Dānārṇavādēva*, who had obtained a store of merit by worshipping the lotus-feet of the holy lord Gōkarṇṇōvara, dwelling on the summit of Mount Mahāmira and who

¹ Read *Ētad-bhavatāh pālaniyēti*.

² The *svaryga* is superfluous.

³ Metre: *Anuśṭubh*.

⁴ The two syllables *dai* have been wrongly repeated.

⁵ Metre: *Paśyadipīṭh*.

by the excellence of his threefold power had endeared himself to all his vassals, and had acquired by the strength of his own arms the overlordship of the entire Kālīnga country. From his residence at **Svāta**, evidently the same as **Svātaka**, the king informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned, that on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun he gave the village **Kāsiḍḍā**, situated in the **Jayaḍā-vishaya** to **bhōtta** Bōdhana's son **bhōtta Durggakhapḍika**, (a Brāhmaṇa) of the **Vātsa-gōtra**, who was a student of the **Chhāndōga-shāstra**, and had the threefold **pravara** and **anuvavara**. The inscription was written by the *Sandhivigraha* Dhanadatta and engraved by **Dāmōdara**.

Dānārṇava, by whom this charter was issued, cannot at present be identified. He is evidently distinct from and later than another **Dānārṇava**, who was the father of **Indravarman** of the **Purī**² and **Tekkālī**³ plates, which are written in much earlier characters and are dated in the **Viṅga** years 137⁴ and 154 respectively, roughly corresponding to A.D. 631 and 648.

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Om⁶ svasti [||*] **Svāt**-ādhish[thānād-bhagavatas-chur-āchara-gurōsa(=sa)kala-sa(ka)sā(ṣā)-
- 2 āka-ākhara-āha[raasya*] sthity-utpatti-pralaya-kāraṇa-bhōtōr-Mahēndr-āchala-s(ā)
- 3 khara-nivāśinah ārimed-Gōkarṇāśvara-bhattārakaśya chara-
- 4 ṇa-kamal-ārādhan-āvāpti(pta)-pūgyapichaya(h*) śakti-traya-prakaraḥ-ā-
- 5 nuraṇi(ji)ḥṇi-t-āśśha-sā(sā)mantu-chakra(h*) sva-bhūja-va(ba)la-parā-
- 6 kram-ākraṇta-sakala-Kula(h)ag-ādharā(yō(j)yaḥ) [paramamā-
- 7 bhēvarō mātā-pitri-pāt-ānandhātah paramāvara-paramabha-
- 8 [tā]ra*[kō mahārī]ā[dhī*]rāja-Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilaka-Rāṇaka-śrī-Dā-
- 9 nārṇavadēvaḥ **Prithivīvarma**-antaḥ kuśālī [Jayaḍā-vishay

Second Plate : First Side.

- 10 yathā-hāi-ādhyāś(s)-āśśāmantā-mahāśāmantā-rājanaka-rāja-
- 11 putra-kumārāmāy-ōpari(ka*)-danḍanāyaka-vishayapati-grāma-
- 12 pati-danḍapāl(s)(ka*)-e bhāṭṭa[ra]-bhapa-vallabha-jāṭiyānaṇu bhōg(g)(ka*)-jana-
- 13 padān⁷ [yath-ārham mānayati⁸ vō(bōj)hayati⁹ samājjāpayati cha
- 14 sevataḥ āvam-samākam-anyaṭ [veditam-asu bhava-
- 15 tām [etad-vishayam(ya)-shativedha¹⁰ **Kāst**(gā)-grāmō-yath sa-ja-
- 16 la-sthala sa-padr-āranya¹¹ sūta¹² viṭapa-samanvita(taś)chatus-s-
- 17 m-ōpalakshitaḥ [lē-siva sūrya-grahapō mātā-pitrōr-ātmanah¹³
- 18 pūy-ābhivṛiddhaya sa-salbhāśapuranakṛitā¹⁴ chandira-ārka-kūlam-a-

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 390 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 308. Originally this date was read as 149.

⁴ From impressions and the original plates.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The conjunct *ipa* appears as *pl*. The left limb of *sa* is elongated downwards, so much so that it looks like the *c*-symbol.

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Note that the *kalanta* mark is expressed by the omission of the top line. The right hand short downward stroke with a bend at about the middle is a constituent of the dental *sa*.

⁹ Read *prithibaddha*.

¹⁰ Read *śravya*.

¹¹ Read *s-stavikah*.

¹² Read *stamāśa*.

¹³ Read *śūlo-dhāt-purāṇa-danta*.

i.

1 स (मौल्ये) नाथि म्मा द्वा त दध्वा व र म्मा म्मा कं पं म मा
 2 क्ता धि धु र म्मा (मि) पि वि य व य क्ता र पा क्ता म्मा क्ता म्मा म्मा
 3 ध र नि वा मि नः श्री म्मा क्ता क्ता क्ता क्ता क्ता क्ता क्ता क्ता क्ता
 4 प क्ता म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
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 9 म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा

ii.

10 यथा क्ता म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 11 म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 12 म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
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 17 म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा
 18 म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा म्मा

[illegible][illegible]

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 19 karikṛitya bhāṣṭa-Vōdhūna¹-sutāya Chetibāndōga-charaṇāya Vachchha²-gōtrā-
 20 ya pañchārishaya³-pravarāya pañch-ānupravarāya bhāṣṭa-Durggākha-
 21 ~~u~~ḍikāya tīnvyā(ma)-śānēna pratipādikā(16)=smābhiḥ [1*] śāsa-
 22 na darśanād-dharmma-gauravāch-cha na kṛō-āpi paṇi⁴ paripanthinā
 23 bhavitavya(vyam) | Tathā cha paṭhyatē dharmma-sāstrē [1*] Va(Ba)hubhir-vva-
 24 sudhā datā(ttā) rājābhiḥ Sagar-ādibhir(bhiḥ) [1*] yasya yasya ya-
 25 dā bhūmi-tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [1*] Sva-dānā-phalam-ānanta-
 26 m=para-datt-ānupālano⁵ [1*] Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇā(hyā)ti yāś-cha bhūmi-
 27 m=prayaśchhati [1*] ubhau tau puṇya-karmamāṇau na(ni)yatan svargga-ga(gā)mi-

Third Plate.

- 28 nau [1*] Sva-datām(ttām) para-dattām-vā yō harēd-vasundharām⁶ | sa viś(hāyām) kṛi-
 29 mīr-bhātva(tvā) pitṛibhiḥ-saha pachyatē [1*] Iti kamala-dal-āmva(nub)-vibh-
 30 du(bīndu)-lōlām śriyam-anuśintya manushya-jiv[ta*]h-cha | sakalam-idam-u-
 31 dāhitaṇ-cha vudhvā(buddhvā) na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrtayō vilōpyāḥ [1*] Iti [1*]
 32 Lākṣ[ta*]h-cha sakala-karma-vīditēna saritī(dhī)vigrahī(hī)-
 33 śrī-Dharmadata(itēna) | mahādēvi | yuchha(yuva)rāja mahā-ā[ma*]nta-
 34 dharmma(rmmā)dhika(rā*)ṇa | mahā(ha)ta(tta)ra | pratihāra | Utkarṇa(rṇaṇa) Dāmō-
 darṇa [1*]

C.—Plates of Bhūpēndravarmadēva.

The inscription is on **three copper-plates**, each measuring about 3" in breadth and 2½" in height. The plates are held together by a ring, about 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured by an oval seal, which contains the figure of a seated bull. Above this bull is a crescent, and below it a lotus, of which five petals are visible. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 54 tolas. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-six lines of writing, each side having nine lines. The plates have slightly raised rims in order to protect the writing, which is well-preserved.

The characters are of what Dr. Burnell named the South Indian Nāgarī type, and may be assigned to the 10th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 20-34, the inscription is in prose. In respect of orthography the following points may be noted: *h* and *r* are not distinguished; *r* is used for *ṣ*, as in -śaṣṭha- (l. 2), and for *dh*, as in munuṣya- (l. 32); *śh* is used for *ś*, in śaśvadbharām (l. 29); the *visarga* has been wrongly dropped in many instances, e.g., -garō (l. 3), -śaśvaton (l. 4), -nichaya (l. 5); and the *unvowel* has been used instead of the class nasal, as in -Kaliṅga- (l. 7), pañcha (l. 19), -sūmanā- (ll. 6, 12).

The inscription is of the time of the Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhūṭāraka, **Śrī-Bhūpēndravarmadēva**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who was the ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas, who had accumulated a store of merit by worshipping the lotus-

¹ Read bhāṣṭa-Bhāṣana-. Note the close-topped dh. But the open-topped form of the letter is the commonest.

² Read Vata-.

³ Read pañch-ārshī- or pañch-ārshya-.

⁴ This paṇi is intended to be paṇi and is superfluous.

⁵ The first half of this verse has been omitted, which is Nā śāśvadbharāśaśvato parā-dattāni pāṭikāni.

⁶ Read karīṣa vasundharām.

⁷ Metre: Paṇḍitāyā.

feet of the god, Gākarnēśvara (Śiva), situated on the summit of the Mahendra mountain, and who had acquired the overlordship of the entire Kālīnga country. The grant was issued from the capital city of Śvētika (Śvētaka), and seems to record the donation of a plot of land, the boundaries of which are given in lines 15-19, in the Vāḍōḍē village of the Khalugakhanḍa-vishaya, to bhāṭṭaputra Māṇikadēva, (a Brāhmana) of the Vatsa-gotra, who had the fivefold pravara, by the Rājaka Gāṅga-Kaṇḍāsa (Gāṅga-Kaṇḍāsa ?). According to ll. 10-11 the charter seems to have been issued by his son whose name is not given. The inscription was written by the Samādhivāgrakṣa Aśṭakadanta, engraved by the hrazier Vimalechandra and registered by the chief queen.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm* svasti[?]* Śvētk-ādhiśṭhānād-bhagavataś-char-āchara-
- 2 gurō[h*] śakula-śasāka(śāka)-śekhara-dharaśya sthity-a-
- 3 tpati(tti)-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōr-Mahēndrāścha(r-ācha)lla-si(śi)kha-
- 4 ra-nivāśi(sī)na[h*] ārimad-Gākarnē(rnē)śva(śva)ra-bhāṭṭārakasya charaṇa-ka-
- 5 mal-ārādhan-āvāpta-puṇyā(nya)-nichaya[h*] śakti(śakti)-maya-pra-
- 6 karsa-ānūrāmji(rāmji)-t-āśvō(śō)śha-śāmantha(manta)chakra[h*] eva-bhūja-va(ha)lla-pa-
- 7 rākram-ākrauta-śā(śa)kala-Kalibg(līng)-ādhirājō(jya) parama-mā-
- 8 hāśva(śva)rō mātā-pitri-pād-āmadhyātō Gang-āmala-
- 9 [ku]lla-tilaka-mahārājādhirāja-paramō[s]vara-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 10 paramabhāṭṭa(tti)śaka-śrī-Bhu(Śhū)pēndravarmadēva[h*] kuśh(śa)li [?]* Gaṅga-
- (Gaṅga)-
- 11 Kaṇḍāsa-śu(su)ta[h] Khalugakhanḍa-vishayā yathā-kāl-ā-
- 12 dhyāsinō mā(ma)hāśāmantha(manta)-śrīśāmantha(manta)-grāmapati-vrā(brā)hma-
- 13 ṇa-pu(rō)hita-rāśi(hakutṭa-kutumbinaś chāṭa-bhāṭṭa(bhāṭa)-vala(lla)bhā-jati(jāti)-
- 14 yā[n*] yath-ārha(rhā) mānayati samādhi(śā)ti [cha*] viditam-a-
- 15 śta bhava(tām) śta-vishayaś-śāśvamaṇḍa(badika)-Vāḍōḍē-grāmasya madhi(dhyē)
- 16 khaṇḍa-kalētra(tram) pu(pū)śva-dīśā(śā)-varō vrita-maira-ali-śi(śi)mā-sā(śa)-
- 17 udhi[h*] [a]g[n*]jyāś-dīśā(śā)-varō mvātūrtigāḍa-parichh(ebh)āda[h*] paichhi(śchi) ma-di-
- 18 śā(śā)-varō maira ali [?]* uta(tta)ra-dīśā(śā)-varō tatth-aiva cha[?]* E-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 19 ta[ch*]-chātuh-si(śi)m-ōpāhikahitāś cha Vachha(Vatsa)-gōtrāya patichā-
- 20 vishayaś-pravarāya bhāṭṭaputra-mahātra-Māṇikadēva-
- 21 ya iva Gaṅgakaṇḍāśa[?]* rājakēna datam(ttam) mātā-pitrō-

* As the expression Gaṅga-Kaṇḍāsa-śasāka comes after kuśhli it does not seem to have any connection with Bāpēndravarmadēva.

* From impressions and the original plates.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* Read *śāśvamaṇḍa-kutumbinaś*.

* Read *śāśvamaṇḍa-kutumbinaś*.

* Read *śāśvamaṇḍa-kutumbinaś*. I believe that the word intended is *śāśvamaṇḍa*, for the already incomplete *n* in *śāśvamaṇḍa* seems to have been altered into *śā*.

* Read *paich-śāśi* or *paich-śāśvamaṇḍa*.

* Read *śāśvamaṇḍa*.

* The intended reading seems to be *śāśvamaṇḍa*.

i.

२ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ १० ११ १२ १३ १४ १५ १६ १७ १८ १९ २० २१ २२ २३ २४ २५ २६ २७ २८ २९ ३० ३१ ३२ ३३ ३४ ३५ ३६ ३७ ३८ ३९ ४० ४१ ४२ ४३ ४४ ४५ ४६ ४७ ४८ ४९ ५० ५१ ५२ ५३ ५४ ५५ ५६ ५७ ५८ ५९ ६० ६१ ६२ ६३ ६४ ६५ ६६ ६७ ६८ ६९ ७० ७१ ७२ ७३ ७४ ७५ ७६ ७७ ७८ ७९ ८० ८१ ८२ ८३ ८४ ८५ ८६ ८७ ८८ ८९ ९० ९१ ९२ ९३ ९४ ९५ ९६ ९७ ९८ ९९ १००

ii.

२० २२ २४ २६ २८ ३० ३२ ३४ ३६ ३८ ४० ४२ ४४ ४६ ४८ ५० ५२ ५४ ५६ ५८ ६० ६२ ६४ ६६ ६८ ७० ७२ ७४ ७६ ७८ ८० ८२ ८४ ८६ ८८ ९० ९२ ९४ ९६ ९८ १००

iii.

० २ ४ ६ ८ १० १२ १४ १६ १८ २० २२ २४ २६ २८ ३० ३२ ३४ ३६ ३८ ४० ४२ ४४ ४६ ४८ ५० ५२ ५४ ५६ ५८ ६० ६२ ६४ ६६ ६८ ७० ७२ ७४ ७६ ७८ ८० ८२ ८४ ८६ ८८ ९० ९२ ९४ ९६ ९८ १००

iii.

२८ ३० ३२ ३४ ३६ ३८ ४० ४२ ४४ ४६ ४८ ५० ५२ ५४ ५६ ५८ ६० ६२ ६४ ६६ ६८ ७० ७२ ७४ ७६ ७८ ८० ८२ ८४ ८६ ८८ ९० ९२ ९४ ९६ ९८ १००

and *vice versa*; *ś* stands for *ś* in *śaśki-traya* (l. 5) and for *s* in *carakavāḥarā* (l. 27); *vāṃsya* has been wrongly read and wrongly dropped in several instances.

The grant was issued by the *Paramamahēsvara Rājaka* *śrī-Jayavarmadēva* of the Gaṅga family from his residence at *Śvēta*. Its object is to register the gift of a plot of land in the *Paṇḍala[sujāga]* village situated in the *Khalugakhanda-vishaya* on the occasion of an equinox, to *Bhagya* *putra* *Padma*, (a *Brāhmaṇa*) of the *Vaiśya-gotra*, the *Pañchārashi-pravara*, and the *Kāśya-sākhā*. Lines 16-19 give in detail the boundaries of the plot of land. The grant was engraved by *Vimaladharmā*; written by *Sāmanta*, and registered by *Tri-Kalīṅga-mahādēvi*.

The inscription is dated in the hundredth year (in words and numerical symbols) apparently of the Gaṅgēya era.

Jayavarmān, by whom this charter was issued, is distinct from and later than the *Mahārāja Jayavarma* of grant *A* above¹.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti [[*] Śa(Śvēt)-śāśthānāl-bhagavatas-char-śhara-gurā(h*)] m(śa)ka-
- 2 la-saś(śaś)āśka-śāśhara-dharmaya(h)aya thity-utpati²-pralaya-kāraṇa-lā-
- 3 tār-Mahēndrāśeṣa(cha)la-śāśhara-nivāśina) śrīmad-Gākarṇāśva(rpāśva)-
- 4 ra-śhaṭṭārakmeya charaya-kamal-ārādhan-āvāpta-punya(gya)-ni-
- 5 chaya(h*) śmāki(śakti)-traya-prakarā-ānraṇjit-śa(ś)śha-sāmanta-chakra(h*) śva(śva)-
- 6 bhujā(ja)-va(ha)la-parākram-ākṛānta(h)nta-śakala-Kalug-ādhirājya(h) parama-
- 7 mahēśva(śva)śō mātā-pitṛ-pa(pā)d-ānudyātō Gaṅg-āmala-kula-tilaka-
- 8 Rājaka-śrī-Jayavarmadēva(h*) kusa(śa)lī [*] Khalugakhā(kha)ṇḍa-viśha-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 9 2(yā) śāśmānta-mā(na)lāśmānta-rājāśka-rājā(ja)putra-kumā-
- 10 rāntā-utpati²-dandāśyaśka-viśhaya-pati-grāmapāṭi-ānyā(m)-
- 11 śaśha-śāśha-lāś(ha)ja-vāla(vāla)śha-jāti(tī)jā(n*)³ yath-ārha(rāṭi) mānaya-
- 12 ti-vāśhāśhāyati śamāśhā(śa)ti [cha*] viditam-asta bhavātā(m) [[*] Śta-
- 13 ā-viśhaya-sama(mba)niha(dāha)-grāmō-ya(yam) Paṇḍala(śu)ṇḍa-nāma(mā) tasya mātho-
- 14 (madhyā) khūṇḍa-kāśhēra-kariyā chāśhāśhātā chatu-simā-paryānta-va-
- 15 śatigrāma-māthā padra-sāhitēna dātām kshitrāya simā

¹ [There is enough room for suspicion about the genuineness of this record. The donor Jayavarmadēva, though only a *Rājaka*, is given such titles as are found in the records of the paramount rulers of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty and like many of them he issues the grant from *Śvēta*. It cannot be argued that he is only a late ruler of the family and has copied portions from earlier grants. The year 100, which is given in decimal figures, is apparently meant to refer to the Gaṅgēya era. But the script used in the inscription though containing a mixture of early and late forms as found in many Gaṅga records must on the whole be placed at a date much later than the 8th century A.D.—Ed.]

² From impressions and the original plates.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read *śhāy-utpati*.

⁵ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁶ Read *śha-śhāśhā*.

⁷ From here onward the text is given uncorrected, as it contains too many mistakes.

viii.

[illegible]

iii.

32 ॐ त्रिपुल्लङ्गुलासुद्विपुलांशुगणेशाय नमः ॥ ३२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३६ ॥

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 16 parikkhitaṃ purva-kōṇeṇa gādari dīrvaṇi tasya tathā dakkhiṇ-
 17 ṇ-ābhinnakkhēṇa gātari dakkhiṇeṇa tu vakkā-vivakkēṇa gātā paṇḍhi-
 18 mā mukhaṇi gātari grāmaṭaḥ Tāntura-gr*āma-ānḍhi tathā utar-ābhinnakkhē-cha.
 19 utarēṇa paṭha-paryānta āta chaṭṭam-ōpakkhitaṇ-cha Vachha-gē-
 20 trāyaḥ pañch-ārishaya-pravarāyaḥ Kanva-sākhāya bhajattaputra-Paṭma-mā-
 21 hatrayaḥ ita va Viṭṭva-sakrāntya datam || mātā-pitrō-ātmāna-
 22 -cha puṇyāpividhhaṇ salila-dhā[ni*]-puraḥsarēṇa chaṇḍi-ārka-thiri-sama-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 23 kālā akarikkītya pratipādītō-smākhir-yutam sāana-daraḥana
 24 dharma-gauravād-smād-gauravā cha na kēnachit-paripathinō bhavi-
 25 tarya tathā cha pathyatē dharma-sāstra [1*] Vabubhir-vasudhā datā rājāna(Sa*)ga-
 26 -ādhilāhi [1*] yasya yasya radā bhūmi tasya tasya tadā phalam [1*] Sa-datā para-da-
 27 tāna-ā yō lūcētī vashudhārī [1*] cha viśvāyā kīṇi bhutvā pītūhi
 28 saha paṇyātēḥ [1*] Shasthiṇ varisha-sukārāpi āvarga mōdati bhūnūda [1*] aṇḍhi-
 29 ptā cha-ānumatyā dvā āva naraka-vrajyētā || Sa dānū-phalam kuryō para-da-
 30 -t-ānupālanam [1*] ubbau tō puṇya-karmāṇaṇ niyutaṇ sarga-gāminan [1*]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 Iti kamala-dal-āmya-vinda-tōḥ ārim-anuchintya nana(chya)-
 32 jvutaṇ-cha sakalam-idam-odāḥṛitaṇ va[dhyā] na hi parashai pa[ra]-
 33 kitayō vilōpyā || Utkirnaṇ-cha Vima[la*]chandr[pa*] || Sāma[nitē]-
 34 na lāṇchitaṇ cha āri-Tri-Kaṇ[ḥ]ga-mā(ma)bhādēvyā..... pra-
 35 varddhamaṇa-vijaya-rājyē samvachharō sa[tē] amkēn-āpi varsha 100 [1*]
 36 Uyy-ākaharam-aḍḍik-ākahara yā.....tat-sarvvaṇ pramāṇam-i-
 37 ti ||

No. 43.—SIX SILAHARA INSCRIPTIONS IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

By H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (LOND.), AND S. C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., LL.B.

The following **six inscriptions** of the **Silāhara dynasty** lying in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, are collectively published here from the stones themselves as well as with the help of the ink-impressions and photographs. Though their contents have been briefly referred to at some places,¹ their regular publication now enables us to correct many conjectural readings of dates and names. We take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for kindly allowing us to edit these inscriptions and also to Mr. Acharya, Curator of the Archaeological Section, for giving considerable help at every stage of the work.

All the inscriptions have been found, as noted in detail under each inscription, in the vicinity of Bombay and they refer to lands donated therein. Hence the epithet "the Silāhara of Northern Konkan" as applied to the kings of these inscriptions² seems to be correct, though it

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 18-21; Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 428; Vol. XIV, Appendix A, pp. 283, 298; also *Altekar, Indian Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 430-31.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 19-21 and 328; also *Altekar, op. cit.*, p. 401.

must be noted that the inscriptions give no pedigree; even the dynastic title 'Śilāhāra' is not found except in inscriptions B and C. The relationship of the kings mentioned in these inscriptions, which are arranged below in chronological order, therefore, remains undetermined. These records extend over a period of about 125 years from the time of Aparāditya (I), Śaka 1060 to that of Sōmēśvara, Śaka 1182.

The find-spots of these inscriptions and the places mentioned therein indicate that the sway of the Northern Śilāhāras extended at least over the modern Panvel, Bassin, Bhiwandi, Thana and perhaps Kalyān Talukās of the Bombay Presidency.

One peculiarity of these inscriptions may be noted. Below every inscription there is a sculpture of an aśv covering a woman, and this is a representation of the curse in old Marāṭhī which can be partly read only in C.¹

The curse and the sculpture are also found in an inscription, (now in the P. W. M.) of the Yādava Rāmachandra of Śaka 1223 which is published below. We are unable to trace back at present, the existence and use of the curse² and its representation, but it seems to have become popular after the 10th century.³

The script is Dēvanāgarī with a few traces of the earlier Nāgarī letters seen, for example, in *ya*, and in the use of *mātrā*.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit and the text is usually in prose except for II, 1-2 and 17-18 in F, containing a prayer to Gaṇapati and the usual imprecatory verse about the violation of the grant.

As regards orthography, may be noted the use of—(i) the dental *sa* for the palatal *śa*; (ii) the anusvara for the nasal, e.g., *māṣṭhala* for *maṣṭhala*; (iii) *ya* for *ya*; *śūrpa* for *sūrya* and (iv) *chha* for *sha*.

Prākṛit formations are found usually in the names of ministers and other officers, in those of villages and in the grant portion. In the last may be noted the words like *dyāse* (D, I, 11), *bhāṣeṇa* (E, I, 10), *phākurāchi* (F, I, 11). *Dyāse* seems to be the old Marāṭhī form of *dyāse*; *bhāṣeṇa*, if the reading is correct, is perhaps a local dialectical formation; and the genitive formation with *chi* in *phākurāchi* is even now common in modern Marāṭhī.⁴

A word may be said about the method of punctuation in these inscriptions. In inscriptions A, B and F either one or two dots (which at first may be mistaken for a *visarga*) are placed as stops instead of *daṣṭas*. Inscription E has no stop at all; whereas in inscriptions C and D the usual *daṣṭas* are found.

A.—Chānje Inscription of Aparādityadāva (I) : Śaka 1060.

This inscription was found from the village Chānje near Uran in 1881.⁵ The stone on which it is inscribed is 2' 9½" × 1' 2½" and the inscribed portion which contains 17 lines of writing is 1' 1½" × 1' 2½". The average size of letters is ½". At the top of the stone are

¹ Also in an Inscription of Aparāditya (II), *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333.

² Its echoes are still heard in the language of the masses.

³ Bhagvanlal Indraji notes (*J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333) that inscriptions with such sculptures were seen by him in Gujarat and Kāthiawār and at some places on the Commandal coast. [Such representations are also found outside the Bombay Presidency; e.g., at Gooty fort in the Madras Presidency there is an inscription with similar depiction. See also copper-plate from Rājapurn in Bastar State, E. & A. (Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 179).—Ed.]

⁴ I am obliged to Profs. Bhagavat and Sheshavasthak, of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, for this information.—H. D. S.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, n. 2.

figured in low relief, on the left, the Sun; and on the right, the Moon. Below the inscribed portion is cut out a square 9" x 9" and this contains a representation of the cures mentioned above.

It is dated in Śaka 1060, Māgha Śuddha 1, both in words and in numerals. This is equivalent to Thursday, 13th January, A.D. 1138, when the Southern cyclic year (which is not mentioned in the inscription) was Piṅgaśa.¹

This inscription records the grant of a mango (?) field in Nāguma village to one Śrīdhara for the welfare of the king's mother Lilādēvi and also the grant of some land² in Chaḍija village by the King Aparādityadēva himself. The latter grant, it appears, was made separately on a solar eclipse.

The King styles himself as a *Mahāmāyājāitirādhipati* and the administration was carried on by the *Mahāmāyā śrī-Śoḍha* (?) Nāyaka,³ the *Mahāsūmādhivagrāhika śrī-Amuka*, the *Mahā-pradhāna śrī-Lakṣmaṇayaprabhu* in charge of the *śrī-karuga* and *bhāṣajāyara*, in the first instance, and in the second, Sēna Amuka, etc.

King Aparādityadēva⁴ is to be identified with the ruler of the same name mentioned in the Vajavali plates⁵, (also called Aparājita), as the son of Anantapāla of the Silāra family. According to these plates he was the ruler of the whole of Kōṅkan, though the title he claims there is that of a *Mahāmāyājāitirāra* only. Aparāditya of our inscription is further identified with Aparāditya, King of Kanḥaga who sent an ambassador called Tejakaṇṭha⁶ to Kashmir.⁷

However, Aparāditya of this inscription is different from the one mentioned in D, whose minister Lakṣmaṇanāyaka gave some land to god Sōmanātha of Śarābhya. That king, as it has been pointed out below, is Aparāditya II.⁸

This is the first stone inscription of Aparāditya I⁹ published so far; if we include the Vajavali plates, it would be his second inscription.

The villages Nāguma and Chaḍija may be identified, as already suggested,¹⁰ respectively with the modern Nagaon, which is about 2 miles¹¹ S. W. and Chānje, which is about 2 miles W. of Uran in the Panvel Tāluka of the Bombay Presidency.

¹ Cf. S. K. Pillai, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. III, p. 278.

² According to *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 19, n. 2, "of a garden".

³ There are stope indicated in the original by a dot placed on the right hand top corner of the letter. That this interpretation is correct is shown by referring to the copper plate of Anantadēva of Śaka 1010 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 33) where the divisions are clearly indicated by vertical bars. See also *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333.

⁴ Altekar calls him Aparārka (I), op. cit., p. 411, and attributes the Vajavali plates to him. These plates, however, mention this ruler as Aparāditya (also Aparājita) and not as Aparārka.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 508, l. 30.

⁶ According to Mankha's *Syāntathakavāda*, surya 25, śloka 108—111, first cited in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. B, p. 19, n. 2.

⁷ Sōmēvaradēva had a minister called Tatjaprabhu. See E below.

⁸ Altekar, op. cit., p. 411, who identifies him with Aparāditya I, is wrong. For he bases his argument on an inscription of Aparāditya (in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. V, p. 169) of (V. S.) 1176. The reading of the date, as has been pointed out below, is wrong for in V. S. 1176 the cyclic year was not Viśvāram as mentioned in the inscription. [See below p. 277 n. 2—Ed.]

⁹ Another inscription of Śaka 1031 is cited from *Festgabe der Hermann Jacobi* by Kane, *History of Dharmastotra*, Vol. I, p. 333 and by Altekar, *The Śilāharas of Western India* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 411, and n. 5). [This stone inscription is now preserved at Cutra, near Lisbon, in Penha Verde (Green Rock) which had been the country seat of Dom João de Castro, the Portuguese Viceroy in India. The date of the record as given by Hultsch, the editor, is Śaka-samvata (1)032 *Pimpala-samvataet Chaitra-buddha 12* and not Śaka 1031 as stated by Kane—Ed.]

¹⁰ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 19, n. 2 and Vol. XIII, Pt. I, p. 426 gave 4 miles but referring to the modern Tāluka map (1924) the distance seems to be 2 miles only.

TEXT.

- 1 स्मृति जयस्वा(या)भ्युदयश्च शक्यपकाशान्तोत्तमं वक्त-
- 2 [र^{*}]म(ग्रा)तेषु दशसु षष्ठि(ष्टौ)त्यधिकेषु द्वाकतोपि शक्यमवत् १०६०
- 3 माघ सुध^१ र पु(पु)र्वसमस्तराजावन्नीविराजितमहामंडलेख(श)रा-
- 4 धिपतिश्रीमदपरादित्यदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तथैतन्ममादा-
- 5 [न] ममस्तमंडलचिंताभा[र] समुद्भवति । मज्जामालयीमोदद[ना^{*}]-
- 6 यकु^२महासाधिविग्रहोक्त[यी च]मुक्त^३ यौकरणे भांडागा[रि^४]
- 7 प्रथमच्छे(स्त्रे) पाटो^५ महाप्रधानशीलकामैयभो^६ द्वितीयच्छे(स्त्रे)
- 8 [पा^{*}]य^७ सैन योधसुक^८ इत्यादि यौकरणे मत्वेतस्मि^९ काले प्रव-
- 9 [तै^{*}]माने श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवेन स्वकीयपरिषदे [चाक्येयोर्धे]
- 10 नागुममग्ने(ध्व)वर्ति चावलेषं स्वकीयमातु[:^{*}] यौलीलादेव्या[:^{*}] ये-
- 11 [यो^{*}]र्धे यौधरकमविदारामकरसिया[ना]दायाकस्य च पाराम[क^{*}]-
- 12 मध्यंतरीकृत्य सवचमानाकुल[:^{*}] सतृणकाछोदकोपेत[:^{*}] स्व[सी^{*}]-
- 13 म(मा)पयंत । पूर्वत^{१०} [धंज:] दक्षिणत^{१०} चंडडा पश्चिम पगारा । उत्तरमे^{११}
- 14 [मा^{*}]र्धे ।^{१२} उदकातिसर्गेण प्रदत्तं । तथा श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवेनै(न) सु-
- 15 र्यपर्वणि । [सुरु]चेने ॥ वादु — — ^{१३}विधिकेभ्यः चडित्तमामात्
- 16 ^{१४}—मकः उदकातिसर्गेण धम(र्म)स्य इत्या(स्या) प्रदत्त(त): ^{१५}इ(त्यस्य यो)-
- 17 न्यया करीति तस्य पु(पु)ञ्चपूरुय एक विंशति — — ^{१६}क रौरव सु^{१७}

^१ There might be a symbol for om before this as found in other Śiāhāra grants.

^२ Read *śuddha*.

^३ The small circle signifies a stop.

^४ A broken letter can be seen on the stone; it has not come out on the impression.

^५ Whether this word should be *pāṭi* (*pādī*) or *pādhi* cannot be ascertained. In an inscription of the Paramāra of Aṭṭa, V. 8, 1294, now in the Vaiṣṇava Śrīrama at Aṭṭa, I found the words *maṭṭhāpādhi* in the same context as above.—H. D. S.

^६ Read *pāṭyān*.

^७ Read *śaśi*.

^८ Read *pāṭyān*.

^९ Apparently a place-name.

^{१०} Read *dakṣiṇatā*.

^{११} Read *uttarān*.

^{१२} The *śaśi* should precede the stop.

^{१३} Two letters illegible. [Reading seems to be *Vālu-jyāśāhārikānāḥ Chudhī-prāśānta-jyāśāhārikā*.—Ed.]

^{१४} This letter is broken.

^{१५} The initial *ś* can be clearly seen on the stone. The rest of the line is illegible.

^{१६} Letters illegible. [Reading is *śaśāhārikā*.—Ed.]

^{१७} The following letter and the next line have partly peeled off.

B.—Agāshi Stone Inscription of Haripāladēva : Śaka 1072.

This inscription was found near Agāshi in 1881.¹ It is inscribed on a stone which is 2' 8½" by 1' 4½". The inscribed portion measures 14" × 16½" and contains 16 lines. The last line is not complete and it appears that the inscription contained a line or two more which are now peeled off. The average size of letters is ¾". Below the inscribed portion is a sculpture similar to that in A, cut in a rectangle 12" × 3½". At the top are the Sun on the left and the Moon on the right and between them a kalasa.

It is dated Śaka 1072, Pramōda Samvatsara, Mārgaśīrsha sūddha 1, which corresponds to Wednesday, 22nd November, A.D. 1150.²

The inscription records that in the reign of Silāhara Haripāladēva, Āhevamalladēva, who was in the enjoyment of the Vattāra village in Sūrpāraka, granted something (†)³ for the (worship of) Śiva of Anōvaḍi in charge of Patakila Rājānaka to Upādhyāya, Brahma-dēva-bhaṭṭa, Divākara-bhaṭṭa and Gōvardhana-bhaṭṭa⁴, on the Uttarāyana saṁkrānti day. The witnesses to the grant were the headmen of the Vattāra village, to wit, Rasi Mahattara and also Nāgaji Mahattara, Anantānāyaka and Chāṅgadēva Mahattara. The king styles himself as a Mahāpradhānaśrī-Vasupadavala and the administration was carried on by śrī-Vasupadavala, the Mahāpradhāna śrī-Lakṣmanaprabhu, the Mahāpradhāna śrī-Padmasiṁha Rāja, and the Pradhāna Vasugi Nāyaka.

This is the first inscription of King Haripāladēva so far published. On the strength of his other dated unpublished inscriptions,⁵ he may be regarded as the successor of Aparāditya I and the predecessor of Mallikārjuna (A.D. 1155—1170). But it must be noted that he is not mentioned in the subsequent inscriptions of the dynasty. Perhaps his relation with his predecessor is shown by the name of his minister the Mahāpradhāna Lakṣmanaprabhu; the same name figures among the ministers of Aparāditya I.

Sūrpāraka is the modern Nala Sopara and Vattāra is to be identified with Vatar, a village about 6 miles N. W. of Nala Sopara, and 4 miles S. W. of Agāshi. All the villages are in the Basseri Tāluka of the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री । स्वस्ति त्रयशब्दुदयं स(ग)कनृपवासालातीतसंवत्सर(र)गतिसु दस(श)सु
- 2 दिसप्तसंवत्सरेषु यथांकतीपि संवत्स(त्) १०७२ प्रमोदसंवत्सरा-
- 3 तर्गतमार्गमि(शि)र सुध १ पूर्वक शब्देह समधिगता(ता)शेषपंच[म*]वाग-
द(द)-

¹ Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, n. 3; also noticed by Alcock, *Ind. Cat.*, II, p. 431, No. 14.

² Cf. Pillai, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. III, p. 203.

³ According to Bhagwanlal Indraji, "the permanent income of Shrinēvaḍi in charge of a Patakila (Pātā) named Rāja." *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, n. 3. [In my opinion the sense of the passage is that the Mahāpradhāna Āhevamallā granted to Brahma-dēva upādhyāya the fixed income (siddhānta) of (the village) Anōvaḍi which was probably in charge of the Patakila Rājānaka. According to this interpretation Rājānaka would be a proper name and not a title. See also p. 274, n. 5, below.—Ed.]

⁴ Bhagwanlal takes Brahma-dēvabhaṭṭa as the son and grandson of the two latter respectively; he also reads Gōvardhana for Gōvardha. [See p. 274, n. 3, below.—Ed.]

⁵ Of Śaka 1071 and 1075 referred to by *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 19, n. 3.

⁶ Denoted by a symbol.

⁷ Should be "yaka-cha."

⁸ This letter *sa* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *śūddha*.

- 4 श्रीसीलाहारनरेंद्रजीमूतवाहनाम्बयप्रसूतसमस्तराजाव-
 5 लीसमस्तुतमहामण्डलेस(ख)राधिपतिश्रीमद(द)हरिपालदेव-
 6 कल्याणविजयराज्ये ।¹ तथसादावातसमस्तमंडलचिन्तामा-
 7 (रं) समुद्रवृत्ति श्रीवैसुपडवल ।¹ तथा महाप्रधान श्रीलक्ष्म(अ)ण-
 8 प्रभो ।¹ तथा महाप्रधान श्रीपद्ममि(शि)व राउल ।¹ तथा प्रधान वासु-
 9 गिनायक ।¹ सत्येतस्मिन् काले प्रवृत्तमाने ।¹ श्रीसू(शु)र्षारक-
 10 तवहारयामप्रभु(भु)ज्यमान्(न)महा[प्र]धान्[न]श्रीपाद्वमहदेवेन ।¹
 11 श्रीमोवहभटउपाध्याय च दिवाकरभट उपाध्यायुत व्र(ब्र)ह्मदेव-
 12 भट उपाध्ये ।¹ महापर्वणि उत्तराण संक्रांतिसमये धर्मेण उदकपू-
 13 र्वक(क)।¹ पटकील राजानक श्रीमवहसि(शि)वाय² प्रदत्त[ः*]।¹ श्रीचंद्रार्क-
 14 तारक जावतु³ तिष्ठति मेदिनी केनापि — —⁷ वा(वा)धा न करणीवा ।¹
 15 श्रीचार्थे साक्षि वहारयामप्रमुख⁴ रिमिस्तारा ।¹ तथा साक्षि¹⁰ नागजिन्ह-
 16 तारा ।¹ तथा साक्षि¹⁰ अनंतनायक ।¹ साक्षि¹⁰ चांगदेव स्त(ता)र — — — —¹¹

C.—Bassein Stone Inscription of Mallikārjuna : Śaka 1083.

This inscription is reported to have been brought from Bassein, and it is briefly noticed in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.¹² The stone measures 3' 5½" by 1' 6½" and the inscribed portion 14" by 14". It contained 18 lines, but, now, the last line is almost illegible. Below the inscribed portion, in a rectangle there is a representation of the ass-curse similar to that noticed before, though it is much worn out. At the top, between the inscribed portion and the figures of the Sun and the Moon, in a rectangle there are two figures and between them are two—one big and the other

¹ Stop indicated by two dots which look like the *visarga* sign.

² The last syllable of this line and the first of the next are not clear. (Reading may be *Śa(Śa)ppārka(Śa)-anargata*.—Ed.)

³ May stand for *Chandrakāra* as suggested by Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, n. 3). [To me the reading appears to be *Gōṣṇas-śāpa-apāthya(ga)-ata-Divākara*, etc. In this case the stones would be only Brahmadēva.—Ed.]

⁴ Read *Uthargana*.

⁵ [Reading seems to be *Ānandī-siddh(dā)-aya*. See p. 273, n. 3, above.—Ed.]

⁶ Read *śrāvaka gaur*.

⁷ These two letters are not clear.

⁸ The last syllable is not clear: it looks like *kaka*.

⁹ Stop indicated by two dots which look like the *visarga* sign.

¹⁰ Read *śikhā*.

¹¹ This portion of the line is not clear.

¹² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 425, n. 4; Vol. XIV, p. 386 and Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20, n. 1; see also above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 56, n. 4. Altakar, (op. cit., Vol. II, p. 415) calls this the Chiplūy stone inscription. But this inscription is dated, according to Kielhorn, in Śaka 1078 (?) *Dhātī Sōṣṇasara, Vaiśākha Śuddha 3, Tulasīp*. See above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 56, No. 311, and *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, and Vol. XIV, p. 386. So the inscription that Altakar seems to have "traced" in the P. W. M. is the Bassein stone inscription and not the one from Chiplūy.

small—Śiva-liṅga. The figure on the right, probably a woman with peculiar head-dress is seated facing the full front and its left hand is held over the big liṅga. The figure on the left is seated similarly, with its right hand supported by the left resting on the small liṅga. The big liṅga is placed on a very high *yāni-paṭṭa*.

It is dated Śaka 1083,¹ Vṛisha² Saṁvatsara, Pushya (Pausha) Vadi 15, Sōma-dinē which would correspond to January 17, A.D. 1162, when there was a solar eclipse. This seems to be the intended date in our inscription though the week-day would be Wednesday.

It records that in the reign of Śilāhāra king Mallikārjunadēva, lord of Tagarapura, something was repaired and a garden called Lōna³ in Paḍhālasaka in Kaṭashadi⁴ Vishaya was granted to a teacher (*rajha* = Skt. *upādhyāya*). The name of the donor cannot be read with certainty.⁵ The ministers mentioned are the *Mahāsāmbhavi-grahika* Prabhākara Nāyaka, and the *Mahāpradhāna* Ari-Aṇata (Ananta)paiprabhu.⁶

There is no evidence at present to connect Mallikārjuna with other kings of the dynasty of the Northern Śilāhāras. But he seems to be identical with Mallikārjuna mentioned in the *Kumārāpālacharita*⁷ and hence a contemporary of the Gujarāt Chaulukya king Kumārpalā (c. 1145-1171 A.D.). The other known date of Mallikārjuna is Śaka 1078.⁸

Mallikārjuna is called '*Tagarapura-parambhōra*, the Lord of the city of Tagara'.⁹ As the title is also assumed by the kings of the Kolhapur branch of the Śilāhāras, it only implies, as has been suggested,¹⁰ that the original home of the Śilāhāras was Tagara.

Among the place-names, Lōna may be identified with Lonad, a village 6 miles E. of Bhivndi¹¹ in Bhivndi Talukā. Paḍhālasaka, though it cannot be identified now, must be a

¹ It is neither 1082 (as read in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20, n. 1 and Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 426) nor 107(9) but is 1083 as once read in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 386, for the last digit is definitely 3 on the stone, though on the impression the lower half of 3 seems to form a circle. The numeral before it is 8. For an identical form of it see the date portions, lines 5 and 9 in the two inscriptions of Sombhāradēva below, where no doubt exists as to the numerical value of that sign. Moreover, on going through the *Epigraphia* it will be found that it is only in Śaka 1083 that Vṛisha Saṁvatsara occurs and in no other. [It appears to me that the last digit was first written as 9 and then corrected into 3. The penultimate digit is different from the symbol for 8 in E and F below and looks more like 7. But as 1078 would be too early for Mallikārjuna and neither this date nor 1078 would admit of verification, it may be that the intended date is 1083 and the engraver wrote the figure of 7 instead of that of 8 by mistake.—Ed.]

² The reading in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20, n. 1 and Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 426, n. 4, is "Vishva", whereas in Vol. XIV, p. 386, it is "Vrisha".

³ Perhaps identical with the modern Lonad. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 212.

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.* Vol. XIV, p. 386 reads "Shikarvayak" and "Katashadi" instead of "shadi".

⁵ It is definitely not the king. Perhaps the grantees are Rājaguru Vālasiva and the Bhāṇaka (temple priest?) Vyōmadīva as suggested in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 386.

⁶ Ministers with the same names are mentioned in the Pārel Inscription of Aparādityadēva Śaka 1109, *J. B. R. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 333.

⁷ See ante VI, verses 65 to 70. The relation was first pointed out in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20, n. 1. For details regarding this relation see *Skt. As. Digvijaya-kīrti*, another work by Hemschandra, does not mention it, it appears that the war with Mallikārjuna took place after the events described in that work.

⁸ According to a stone from Chiplūn, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19.

⁹ Exact identity of this city is not yet established. Place identified it with Ter, 95 miles S. E. of Paithān (*J. B. R. A. S.*, 1901, pp. 537-52). For other suggestions and references see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 3, n. 4; p. 16, n. 4, etc.

¹⁰ *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 336; subsequently *Atkhar, Ind. Cal.*, Vol. II, p. 398, following Jain, who cites relevant extracts from *Karabandha-Vijayin*. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 1-11.

¹¹ This is as it is spelt in the modern Talukā map. It should be Bhivndi.

D.—Inscription of Aparādityadēva : [Śaka] 1107.

This inscription was formerly in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and seems to be identical with the one mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.¹ However, it seems to be different from another inscription of this king which is dated in (Vikrama) Śativat, 1176, Sunday the 14th of the bright half of Chaitra.² The stone measures 1' 11" by 1' 5"; and the inscribed portion 1' 4" by 12½". At the top the stone is in the shape of a triangle, within which is carved a *kalāśa*, resting on a *śaṅga*.

The inscription is dated [Śaka] 1107³ Viśvāvasu Samvatsara, Chaitra Śuddha 15, Sunday. This is equivalent to Sunday, 17th March, A.D. 1185.

The inscription records that in the reign of Aparādityadēva⁴ the Mahāpradhāna Lakṣmīnāya Nāyaka, son of Bhāskara Nāyaka, after having bathed in a *śattha* (probably Somanātha in Kāthiāwār) near the sea gave away something in a *śattha* in *Śhāna* (modern Thāna) and a sum of money for the worship, etc., of the god Somanātha in Saurāṣṭra. The grant closes with the words "hail to the illustrious Chāhādēva".

This inscription resembles in some respects⁵ an inscription of Aparādityadēva of Śaka 1049⁶ and to A above belonging to Śaka 1050. Our attention is drawn to the names of the king and the minister Lakṣmīnāya Prabhu, but it is otherwise different from the latter inscriptions. The present record is dated about sixty years later and we have dated records of two other rulers, viz., Haripālādēva and Mallikārjuna in between.

The inscription therefore belongs to the reign of Aparāditya II and not Aparāditya I as mentioned by Altakar.⁷

The inscription shows that even in the last quarter of the 12th century,⁸ the temple of Somanātha in Saurāṣṭra, though once destroyed by the Muhammadans, was still a popular shrine and that among its property could be counted some land in Kāthiāwār.

¹ Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20, n. 2. The date here mentioned is Sunday the sixth of the bright half of Chaitra, while the grant under question is dated on Sunday the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra. As there cannot be two Sundays within 9 days, and as it can clearly be read in the inscription, the reading of the *śattha* seems to be incorrect. (The date is wrongly given in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 40, n. 42. The correct date has been noticed by Kielhorn in his *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 50, No. 312.—Ed.)

² *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. V, p. 170. Even if they were identical, as they are in their contents, the reading of the year and date seems to be wrong, for in Vikrama 1176 the Northern cyclic year was Śuddhākrat, and the Southern Vikram. The Viśvāvasu samvatsara occurs in Vikrama 1176; see Pillai, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. III, pp. 240 and 247. [An examination of the text will show that this inscription is identical with the record under consideration. Mr. Desai's reading is apparently wrong in the reading of the date and referring it to the Vikrama era.—Ed.]

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20, n. 2, reads 1100 and mentions the *śattha* as the sixth. This is wrong because the Southern cyclic year in 1100 was Plovāṅga and not Viśvāvasu; also the *śattha* Chaitra, had it a would fall on Saturday, whereas the day mentioned in the inscription is Sunday.

⁴ Neither any title of the ruler, nor the name of the dynasty is mentioned, though in his other inscription of Śaka 1100 he is called Mahārājāditya and Kāthiāwārāditya; *J. N. B. R. I.*, Vol. XII, p. 233. (This inscription is dated Śaka 1108 and not Śaka 1100 as given in the Journal and read by Kielhorn (*List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 313). The Southern cyclic year in Śaka 1100 was Plovāṅga, not Parādhara.—Ed.)

⁵ Rather an unusual ending in a Silāhara inscription.

⁶ Cf. specially ll. 4-5 and ll. 37-39 of the inscription of Śaka 1049.

⁷ *J. N. B. R. I.*, Vol. XXI, p. 505.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 411, though the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20 had already credited it to Aparāditya II.

⁹ At this time Kāthiāwār still formed part of Gujjarāt, and the king of the latter was Chāhādēva Bhāna II.

TEXT.

- 1 श्रीम् संवत् ११०७ विस्वा(शा)वसुसवच्छ(क्ष)रे चंचयड १५ रवो(वौ) दिने
 2 यद्येह श्रीमदपरादिखदेवराज्ये । नोराष्ट्रीययोमो-
 3 मनाशदेवाय पूजासत्कारार्थं मन्त्रामात्वयोलक्ष्म-
 4 नायकेन प्रमोदधो सुतोर्थे स्नात्वा गगनेकचक्रचूडा-
 5 मणये कमलिनीकामुकाय भगवते सवित्रे नानाविध-
 6 कुसुमग्राह्यमर्घ्यं दत्वा(त्वा) सकलसुरासुरगुरुचैलोक्यस्ना-
 7 मिन् भगवंतमुमापतिमभ्यर्च्यः ॥^{*} भास्करनायकपुत्रेण श्री-
 8 नक्षत्रनायकेन त्वात्मसेवा(श्रेयो)र्थं^१ श्रीदेवाधिदेवस्य श्री-
 9 स्थानकीयपा[ट]नवाटिकांमध्ये [दानवि]धौ दातव्यभा[म]
 10 दम ४ द[स्वावधीउप(स्व)त्तिसमप्रस्य] — — — — — दाम २४
 11 देयावे । शुभने पूजापंचपूर्वेण — — — — — शि-
 12 वराविदक्षिणायण(म)डनरायण स्वप्ति श्रीचाहडदे[वा]य [४^२]

E.—Inscription of Sōmśavaradēva ; Śaka 1181.

This inscription was found in Ranvad near Urañ.³ The stone measures 3' by 1' 6". The inscribed portion is 1' by 1' 5" and contains 11 lines of writing, the average size of letters being 1". Below this is an aes-sculpture differing slightly in position of the woman from those noticed before, carved in low relief in a rectangle (16" × 11"). At the top, above the inscription, are the Sun and the Moon and between them a double kalasa.⁴

The inscription is dated Śaka 1181 Siddhārtha Samvatsara Chaitra Vadi 15 (†) Monday, and reference is made in l. 9 to a *śargaparnā* but it is not clear whether it implies a solar eclipse, and whether the grant was made on that occasion.

The reading of the date however remains uncertain, for though according to Pillar⁵ in Śaka 1181 the Southern cyclic year was Siddhārtha, Chaitra *vadi* 15 fell on a Thursday and *vadi* 13 on Tuesday, while Monday, the day mentioned in the inscription, was a *śukra tithi* and no solar eclipse occurred in that year. Under the circumstances we may read the *tithi* as 13, the date corresponding to 21st April, A.D. 1259, Monday.

It records that Sōmśavaradēva, the paramount Lord of Kōṅkara, granted some land (†)⁶ in the village of Padivasa in Uraṇa to Dāmōdarabhaṭṭa on the occasion of *śargaparnā* (solar eclipse †) for (the worship, etc.) of Śarabhu.

The ministers of Sōmśavarata were the Mahāmātya Jhaṇṇapadaprabhu, the Mahāśāsthiśreyaśika (Tiljaprabhu and Chandraprabhu in charge of the *śikharāṇa*.

^{*} Expressed by a symbol.

^१ This anusvara is placed in the left of the letter.

^२ Should be param-śāsthiśreyaśika.

^३ Both the *śargaparnā* and the *śargā* are unnecessary.

^४ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 21, n. 1; also noticed by Alcock, *Ind. Cal.*, Vol. II, p. 431, No. 27.

^५ For a similar sculpture from Beirli see p. 274 below.

^६ *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. IV, p. 120.

^७ Details are not clear to us.

The inscriptions do not give any important information about Sōmēśvara. He is merely called *Kākaṇachakravartin* and *Mahārājādēvārāja*, titles which are mentioned in connection with Aparājitayādēva II also. Neither is there any hint as to his relationship with his predecessor Kāśirāja whose two unpublished inscriptions are referred to in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.¹ Probably he was a son of the latter as suggested by Altekar.²

According to our present knowledge of the history of this family, Sōmēśvara seems to be the last king of the Northern Śilāhara dynasty. He was defeated and perhaps killed and the country conquered by Mahādēva³ of the (Dēvagrī) Yādava dynasty. Cousens thinks that the scene of the battle between Sōmēśvara and Mahādēva is sculptured on some stones lying about Borivli.⁴ In this connection it may be noted that the *kalāśa*-like sculpture which appears on the middle stone, figured by Cousens, very much resembles in ornamentation the *kalāśa*-like figure on the stone F described below.

Among the place-names *Urapa* is the modern Uran, and *Paḍivasa* may be identified either with Phunda about 2 miles north-east of Uran or with Panja, another village about 3 miles to the north of Uran, in the Parvel Talukā of the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री । स्वस्ति श्रीः । [॥*] चद्योऽ समस्त राजावलीममलंकृतमहाराजाधि-
- 2 राज कौक[ण*] चक्रवर्त्ति श्रीमद(त्) सोमेश्वरदेवरायकल्याणविजयराजे
- 3 तयैतप्र(त्)सादाव्या(वा)मसमस्तमंडलांचत्ता(ता)भारं समुद्रहति महामाख्यो-
- 4 हंपडप्रभु महामाधिपविमही[ते]जप्रभु श्रीकरणी चंद(द)प्रभु इत्यादि श्री-
- 5 करणभांडागारं सखेतस्मिन् काले प्रवर्त्तमाने[न] सति शक्रसंवत्(त्) ११८१ सि-
- 6 ध(हार्)संवत्(त्)रे वैश्वदि १[३] सामाड(सोमे) दामोदरभट्ट तवा भ्रातर वासु-
- 7 द्वि[व*]भट्ट लेऊन २ नारियले पावें निमित्ते श्रीश्रुवं दामोदरभट्टं विवा
- 8 उरणें पडिवसे[षाम]प्रतिवडां खंडपलास्यानि चा भाग १ देउलेचंद
- 9 समग्रहिमाहती ३ — — — — — निमित्ते सूर्यपर्वे ज्येष्ठोदकपु-
- 10 वंक दामोदर भटावें — — — — — — — — — करतिदीप
- 11 ली—मंगलमहाश्रीः ॥

F.—Inscription of Sōmēśvaradēva : Śaka 1182.

This inscription was found from Chanje near Uran.⁵ The stone measures 3' 5" by 1' 7" and the inscribed portion is 1' 6" by 1' 5" and contains 18 lines; the average size of letters is ½". Below this, in a rectangle (16" × 11") was an asc-sculpture as in B, but now it is completely worn out. Above the inscription, between the Sun and the Moon, on a pedestal is a *yāga-kalāśa*; on its

¹ Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 20, n. 3.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 417.

³ This is according to Hāmidulī's *Chaturmuktamūrti*, first cited in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 216; then Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 417; Cousens, *Mahomedan Temples of the Deccan*, p. 21; *Chhatrapati's Architecture*, p. 143, pls. CLIII–IV.

⁴ Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 21, pl. XV.

⁵ Denoted by a symbol.

⁶ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 21.

bulging part is a band and leaves on either side. The *kalasa* is crowned with what looks like a smaller *kalasa* and may be a coconut.

It is dated in Śaka 1182, Raudra Samvatsara Chaitra vadi 15, Monday on a solar eclipse. The date thus corresponds to Monday, April 12, A.D. 1260, when there was a solar eclipse.¹

It records that Sōmēśvaradēva, lord of Kōṅkaṇa, granted land² (whose limits are mentioned) in Kōṁthala vāṭikā in the village of Chāṁdijē in Uraṇa³ and 162 *Pāṇṭha*⁴ (1) *dravama*⁵ to god Uttarēśvara of Śrī-śthāna on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.

The king is the same as in E but the names of the ministers are different, except that of the *Mahāmāyga* who is, as before, Jhāmpadaprabhu. Other ministers are the *Mahāśākhivirahika* Mānaka, Bēhalaṇṇabhu, Pōmadēpaṇḍita, and Gōvānaka.

The places mentioned in the inscription, Uraṇa and Chāṁdijē⁶ are the modern Uraṇ and Chanja respectively, while Kōṁtha(dha)śthāna may be the same as Kaladhonda, a place a little north of Uraṇ.

TEXT.

- 1 श्रीं नमो विनायकाय ।¹ लंबो(बो)दर नमस्तुभ्यं सततं मोदकपूर्य ।²
- 2 अविन्नं कुरु मे देव सर्वकार्येषु सर्वदा ।³ अथोह समस्त-रा-
- 3 जावलीममलंकृतमा(म)हाराजाधिराज⁴ कौकणचक्रव-
- 4 र्त्तिश्रीसोमेश(श्व)रदेवरायकक्ष्याणविजयराज्ये तद्यैतद्व्यमादा-
- 5 व्या(वा)सममस्तुभ्यं डलचिंताभारं समुदहति महामात्यश्रीज्ञापडप्रभु
- 6 मा(म)हासाधिविश्वज्ञौ माहनाकुं देवस्तप्रभुं⁵ पोमदेपंडितं⁶ श्रीकरणभां-
- 7 जामारे प्रथमच्छे⁷ पाटी मीवेनाकुं इत्येतस्मिन्काले प्रवर्तमाने सति श-
- 8 कन्धपकानातीतसंवच्छ(क)रमणे⁸ कादशसु⁹ हासोत्पद्योकेषु¹⁰ अत्रांकतोपि
- 9 मकुसंवतु¹¹ ११८२ रौद्रसंवच्छरेसु(करे) चैववदि १५ मोमेदिने¹² सूर्योपरागे¹³ उ-
- 10 र(र)णचामखभूव¹⁴ चांडिले पासा(म)प्रतिव[र]¹⁵ कौबले स्थानवाटिकाम्¹⁶ अथ चा-

¹ Pillai, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. IV, p. 122.

² In the inscription the word for this is *śāṇ*.

³ [The inscription seems to record the gift of some building-site at Uraṇa and some garden-land at Kōṁthala in the Chāṁdijē village.—Ed.]

⁴ *Bauh. Ges.*, Vol. I, Pl. II, p. 21, n. 1, suggests that this might stand for Parthian *dravama*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21, n. 1, takes the *dravama* as a fixed income of a garden to which does not seem to be correct, for if no land were granted it would not be necessary to mention its boundaries. [Apparently the money was granted in addition to the land.—Ed.]

⁶ This name occurs also in inscription A, see p. 272, Text, l. 15, where.

⁷ Denoted by a symbol.

⁸ The stop is indicated by two dots.

⁹ Read *praya*.

¹⁰ This stop is superfluous.

¹¹ Read *śāṇ*.

¹² Read *śāṇḍika*.

¹³ This dot which stands for a stop is unnecessary.

¹⁴ Read *dravita-śāṇḍika*.

¹⁵ Read *śāṇ-śāṇḍika*.

¹⁶ [Reading seems to be *Uraṇa śāṇḍika-śāṇḍika*.—Ed.]

- 11 घाटनानि^१ पूर्वे^२ सानुठाकुराचौ इति(त्ति)^३ दक्षिणे विष्णुनाचौ इति(त्ति)^४ पश्चिमे
 12 राजमार्ग^५ उत्तरे^६ विरा^७ एवं चे(च)तुराघाटनानि^८ सु(स्व)सौमार्पयंतं सत्तुगकाष्टो-
 13 दकोपितं रुग्णदायाद्यदि(संबंधविवर्जितं^९) सर्वोत्पत्ति(त्ति)सहितं मिधां—घोरुल्यद-
 14 माणां दमविमो च द्विपष्ठो द्रुमाल्यधीकमिकग्रतानि^{१०} अंकतीषि द्वे १६२ ॥
 15 श्रीस्नानकीय योउत्तरेस्व(स्व)रदेवाय^{११} शासनप्रतिबध(धं) कृत्वा^{१२} महाराजयो-
 16 सोमस्व(स्व)रदेवेन^{१३} उदकातिसर्मेण प्रदत्तं ॥ वर्तमानस्याय धर्मस्य परिप-
 17 यना न चे(के)नापि कार्या^{१४} छदतां(त्तां) परदतां(त्तां) वा यो हरेत्(त)
 वसंधरा(रां) । घट्टि(ट्टि)वधसह-
 18 स्नाणि विद्यायां जायते क्षमि(भिः) ॥ मंगलं मा(म)हात्री[ः] सु(शु)भं भवतु ॥

No. 44.—A STONE INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA RAMACHANDRA; SAKA 1222.

By H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (LOND.) AND S. C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., LL.B.

This inscription is now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is not known whence it came. The trustees of the Museum and the Curator, Mr. G. V. Acharya, have been good enough to allow us to edit it.

The stone on which it is inscribed measures 2' 8" by 1' 3", and the inscribed portion, which contains 17 lines of writing, is 1' 4" in length. The average size of letters is 1". Above the inscribed portion is cut out a rectangle 13" by 3½". In this are carved in low relief, on the left the Sun and on the right the Moon. Above this on the apex is a *kirtimukha*. Below the inscribed portion also there is a rectangle, now half broken off, which contains the figure of an ass facing right as found in many other Śilāhāra and Dēvagiri Yādava inscriptions.¹

The record is dated in Śaka 1222 Śārvārī Sāhivatsara, Śrāvaṇa Vadi 7, Monday and regularly corresponds to Monday 8th August, A.D. 1300.

The inscription is of Jaidēva, a governor appointed by Rāmadēva, to rule over Kōṅkaṭ. Rāmadēva himself was a commander-in-chief, and lord of the Western coast under Rāmachandra-dēva, who bore the *hīruda* *Pradhānapratāpachakravartin*.

From the date and the *hīruda* it is evident that the inscription belongs to the reign of Rāmadēva or Rāmachandradēva the last king of the Dēvagiri Yādavas. Though many copper plates and stone inscriptions of his or his reign are noted and a few published,² this would be the first stone inscription from Kōṅkaṭ (?) published so far.³ However, so far as the date is concerned,

¹ This dot which stands for a stop is unnecessary.

² Band - *śilāpāṭh*.

³ Road - *śilāpāṭh*.

⁴ Road - *śilāpāṭh*.

⁵ Cf. above pp. 270ff. and Vol. VII, Appendix, pp. 66 and 68, Nos. 372 and 381.

⁶ See *Rise, Mysore Inscriptions*, and Graham, *Kollāpur*, extracts from these are noted above, Vol. VII, Appendix, pp. 66-68 (Nos. 368-382).

⁷ Even the copper plate is only one, see *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178.

we learn nothing new, as one more inscription of this year and one of a later date are already known.¹

The names of the governor and the viceroy, Jāidēva and Rāmadēva respectively, are not found in earlier inscriptions. But Jāidēva seems to have succeeded Kṛishṇadēva, who is mentioned in an earlier grant as the governor of Kōṅkaṇ.² Rāmadēva, however, may be identified with the person called Śrī-Rāma mentioned in the Thāpā plates of the reign of the Yādava Rāmachandra of S. 1212,³ according to which Kṛishṇadēva was ruling over Kanakkaṇ under the orders of Śrī-Rāma, provided that Śrī-Rāma whose *śiṅṅāḥ*, etc., etc. are not given, is regarded as a different person, as suggested by the context, from the Yādava king, who in the two cases in which he is mentioned in the plates, is called Śrī Rāmachandra-dēva.

The object of the grant is to record the donation of a village, the name of which seems to be Supali. To the east of it was a village called Ghāravali, and on the other three sides a river.

The inscription is in prose and the language incorrect Sanskrit and old Marāṭhī. As regards orthography there is nothing particularly to note but the frequent use of dental sibilant for the palatal.

TEXT.

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति श्रीं सकु(शक)संवत् १२२२ सा(शा)वरीसंवत्(स)रे । सा(शा)-
- 2 वणवदि ७ सीम । अथोह श्रीमन्मोठप्रतापचक्रव-
- 3 तिं श्रीरामचंद्रदेवविजयोदयो तत्पादपद्मोपजीवी(वि)-
- 4 महामंडलेस्व(स्व)रसकलसैन्याधिपतिपद्मिम-
- 5 मुद्राधिपतिश्री — श्रीरामदेवेन(न) निरोपितकीकण
- 6 [अ]धिकारी(रि)श्रीजावदेव — श्रीन श्रीरामदेवा(व)रा-
- 7 ज्ये जंवल्ले वीनवुनिकीकणमंघठाणा चादठ
- 8 — सा पैस्सावहिं चाराचे चाळपाकरनिप्रसा-
- 9 दिदंत निरुल्ले मंघ । चलय वाहेधामसुप-
- 10 ली । तस्य चाघाटनान् । पूर्वे चारवलोसासु(म) । प
- 11 चिमे नदी । उत्तरे नदी । दक्षिणे नदी । एवं चतुरा-
- 12 धि चाघाटनान् । स(स्व)भौमापयेत तृष्काष्टोद-
- 13 कोपित सवचमालानिधिनिलेपमहित महां-
- 14 दोषविवर्जित करुनि चंद्रसूर्यतपितं चरेसव-
- 15 ङ्गिं वाहरनपुचपोची भोगावा हागाई । पाल्लि-
- 16 तापुठीन् । श्री सीपी तेहाची माण गाठउ झवे । मं-
- 17 गेलं माताश्री सुमं भवतु ॥

¹ See above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 68 (Nos. 381 and 382).

² Third plates of S. 1212, *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178.

³ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 178.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ [The reading, according to me, is *Rāga* in l. 5 and *Rāghava* in l. 6. This title is also found in the unpublished Velāpur inscription of the year Śaka 1227, belonging to the same ruler.—Ed.]

⁶ The language is so corrupt from here that the text has mostly been left uncorrected.

⁷ This letter cannot be made out for certain; it may be *ci*.

⁸ This letter may also be read as *rai*.

No. 45.—FOUR PANDYA RECORDS FROM UKKIRANKOTTAL.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined Pāṇḍya records¹ come from Ukkirankōttai, a village in the Tinnevely taluk of the Tinnevely District. Three of them are in the Tamil language and are engraved in Vatteḷuttu characters assignable to the 10th century A.D., while the fourth in Sanskrit is in Grantha characters of the same period. There are no new points worth mentioning about the graphic peculiarities of these Vatteḷuttu and Grantha scripts, as they are of the usual variety employed in other contemporaneous records of the locality.

Record A is dated in the 13th year opposite to the 2nd year of reign of the Pāṇḍya king Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ and registers a gift of sheep by a lady named Tuḍarūri, wife of Tennavaṇ Pallavadiāraiyāṇ alias Māraṇ². Śūraṇ for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of god Āḍitya-Bhaṭṭara³ at the eastern entrance of Karavandapuram in Kalakkudi-nāḍu. Record B is a Sanskrit version of the same endowment made by Tuḍarūri, here called the wife of Śrīkantha-Śūra to the temple of god Vikartana at Karavandapuram, but the king's name is not mentioned in it. Record C was originally engraved on a broad slab of stone, which has been cut longitudinally into two and planted in the temple compound to serve as gate-posts, and in the process, its first line containing the king's name has suffered mutilation. But the regnal year quoted for the king, viz., 2+9, as well as the fact that the same Tennavaṇ Pallavadiāraiyāṇ alias Kaṇḍaṇ (Śrīkantha)-Śūraṇ is herein mentioned as being in charge of Kalakkudi (*Kalakkudi mahāśayalam veṇṇaṇṇa*) helps us to attribute this inscription also to the Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ of record A. Further, as it is stated that this Pallavadiāraiyāṇ erected an *ambalam* (wayside choultry) called 'Nagaratāṇ' in the name of the trading guild (*Nagarattār*) of the colony called Rājasiṅga-pṛeṭaṇḍi, newly founded by him, apparently in the name of his sovereign, the Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ of these records can be identified with Rājasiṃha III, who is already well-known from the Sīgamamūr plates⁴ issued in the 2+14th year of his reign, and to whose period the characters employed in all these epigraphs can very appropriately belong. Record D, though it does not mention any king's name, can, palaeographically, be attributed to the same king's reign.

The village now known by the name of Ukkirankōttai has been called Karavandapuram in Kalakkudi-nāḍu in A, while in D it is simply called Kalakkudi. Karavandapuram alias Kalakkudi⁵ (and Kalundai) has been mentioned as the birth-place of Māraṇ-Kāri, the excavator of the rock-cut shrine of Narasiṃha at Āṇimalai in the Madura District, and of his brother Māraṇ-Eyinaṇ, both of whom successively held the office of *Uttaramantri* under the Pāṇḍya ruler Māraṇ-Śaḍaiyaṇ, and also that of Śātraṇ-Gaṇavali, the king's *Mahāsāmanta*⁶, and it was

¹ Nos. 194, 195-196 and 199 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² The first part of the name 'Māraṇ' is based on the name of the reigning Pāṇḍya king.

³ The temple in which this record is found is now called the Cakkalings temple and a *Śūra* is installed in its central shrine. It was probably a temple dedicated exclusively to Śūra in earlier days. But as the people in the locality say that the present temple was built from stones brought from the adjoining hills, it is also possible that the temple of Āḍitya-Bhaṭṭara may have existed as a separate shrine in the vicinity, and that when it fell into ruins, its stones were built into the present shrine. In this connection it has to be remembered that north of a fort, a Śiva temple should be constructed in the north-east, and that of Śūra in the east. (Gopinath Rao, *Et. of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, p. 22.)

⁴ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 444.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 319 and Vol. XVII, p. 303. The name Kalundai mentioned as the native place of Māraṇ-Eyinaṇ, appears to be only a poetic form of the word Kalakkudi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 71 and above, Vol. XVII, p. 296).

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 67, wherein is quoted No. 37 of 1908.

In the Larger *Sūnamahūr* plates, an earlier Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha¹ is stated to have fought a battle at Kuppūr and his conquests are said to have extended from Kuppūr to Śiṅga-jam. If this Kuppūr is identical with the native place of the dowatrix Tujarūri mentioned in record A, the geographical detail that it was situated in Karuṇākkuṇḍi-nāḍu is of some interest. The same village Kuppūr is stated to be located in Nūlakkuṇḍi-nāḍu (probably a shortened form of Karuṇākkuṇḍi-nāḍu) in an epigraph from Palliṇaḍam² in the Aruppukkōṭṭai taluk of the Ramnad District.

The colony which Tennavaṇ Pallavadiāraiyāṇ founded in front of the *logavāyil* or palace at Karavandapuram was, as stated already, called Rājashāga-ppēraṅgāḍi in honour of the reigning king. It must have been a fairly influential community, for in record D Inban Dēvaṇaṣetti, a member of the **Ayyapoil-500** guild, who was probably the agent in charge at this place, is stated to have built a circumambulatory verandah (*tiṛuchokkuraṭṭai*) called 'Nagarattāṇ' round the temple of Vajavāyil-nāḍu, in the name and on behalf of the *Nagarattār*. **Ayyapoil** which is the Tamilised form of the word Ayyavole (i.e., Aihole in the Hanguad taluk of the Bijāpur District, Bombay Presidency) is famous as the headquarters of a very influential and prosperous trading corporation which boasted of branches even in distant parts.³ Several trading centres were called 'Ayyavoles of the South', apparently because they were branches founded by the merchants or agents of the Ayyavole guild proper. The elaborate *prastāvi* of the Ayyavole guild found in an inscription⁴ in Mysore describes the guild as having been composed of 500 *śūmas*, and this conventional numerical strength of the guild is also indicated by the title 'Ainūṛṅṅavaṇ' borne by the local agent mentioned above.

One other point of interest in these records is that the endowments were not only left under the protection of the merchant-guild of the place, but that the *malit-chēraṅgar* or 'the soldiers on guard at the ramparts'⁵ were also enjoined to supervise the proper conduct of the charities. As already noted in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1932-33, page 68, endowments made in the time of the Pāṇḍya king Sundara-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1225) to the temple at Peruṅguḷam, a medieval military cantonment in the Tinnevely District, were left in charge of a governing body composed of representatives from the several battalions stationed at the place. In an inscription from Tiruvāliavaram⁶ in the same district, it is stated that the temple of Tiruvāliavaram-Uḍaiyār, its treasury and the temple servants were placed under the protection of the Chōḷa garrison called 'Mūṅṅukai-Mahāśēṇai' stationed at that place. Similarly in a record⁷ copied at Saṅgrāmanallūr in the Coimbatore District, which was evidently fortified and garrisoned in olden days, the soldiers were required to protect the *gōpura*, the temple and its premises. It is therefore evident that in places which were under the control of the military, a body composed of some military officers and men functioned in respect of religious and other institutions under their charge, in a manner similar to that of village assemblies in purely civil stations.

TEXT.

A

1 Śri[(*)](Kō)-chChadaiya-Mārarku yāṇḍu iraṇḍu idan-ēdir paḍimūṅṅu, tēv-([āṇḍu])
Kajakkūḍi-nāṭṭu-kKaravandapurattu kūṇivāḷi śrīkōi.

¹ A. I. L., Vol. III, p. 461.

² No. 436 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sk. 118.

⁴ The term *malit-chēraṅgar* (*malit*=rampart + *chēraṅgar*=soldiers) means 'the soldiers guarding the rampart' in the fort at the place. Compare *malit-chēraṅgar* and *Mālayā-ayyāchēraṅgar* in the sense of 'soldiers' (*Tamil Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 159 and f. n. 8).

⁵ No. 126 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No. 167 of 1909 of the same collection.

- 2 ill 'Ādityabastāraku **Tēggaṇa Pallavadiārāiṇa-āṇa Mā[ra]ṇ-Śōraṇ** mapavā[ti]t[ti]ṇ
Karunilakkuḍi-nāṭṭu-kKuppūr Tuḍarūri itta ti.
 3 runundāvilakku onṇuṇṇu adutta iḍa aṇbadu [*] ivv-iḍu [ai]ṇbadum ivv-ūr
 [ai]ṇga-āvarattu veṭṭikkūḍi Pūdi-Pōraṇ nīadippa-
 4 ḷi uḷakku ney Śōḷyattāl aṭṭuvadāga koṇḍa śāvā-mūvā-ppērā[ḍu] aṇbadu [*] avichcharu
 kal* irāṇḍum iṭṭuṇṇu nagaṇattār rakṣhai [*] maḍi-ehchēvagar kēval [||*]

B

- 1 'Śrīkaṇṭha[Śrīkaṇṭha]-Śōra- dayitā **Tuḍarūri-nāmaḷ** Vākaritaṇāya **Kara[va]nta-**
pur-ālayāya [*] prādā[d-dhi]
 2 dīpam amalākrīvaṇṇa-lōkaṇi yan-tiś[ti]ṭṭatāt-ss bhuvi yāvad-aśāṣa-lōkaṇi [||*]

C

- 1
 2 ōku yāṇḍu irāṇḍu iḍan-eḍir o].
 3 ḷbadu ivv-ā[ḍu] **Kalakkūḍi** mabā
 4 *nāḷakaṇ=eyypaṇṇa **Tēggaṇa-**
 5 **ṇ Pallavadi[ā]raiṇa** ivv-ūr-
 6 kkoravāyilīṇ munbu kuḍi
 7 ōravitta [itā]ṇaṇṇapp-
 8 raṇḍāḍiḷ maḷga[ṭattār] pērāl
 9 Tēggaṇa Pallavadiārāiṇa-
 10 ṇ-āṇa **Kaṇḍaṇ-Śōraṇ** eḍuppi-
 11 itta aṇbalam Nagaṇattāṇakku
 12 itta tuḍarvīḷakko-onṇuṇṇu
 13 vīḷakku-neypṇuramāḷa ivv-ā-
 14 r-ppaḍaittalaivaṇ **Nakkaṇ-Mun-**
 15 **nūrravaṇ** nīyadippaḍi uri-
 16 y ney aṭṭu[va]ḍāga adutta ā-
 17 vā mūvā-ppērāḍu mūṇṇa nīyāyat-
 18 [tā]ṇ nūra [*] ivv-āṭṭukkum(n)-ne-
 19 y aṭṭuvippaḍaṇṇakku
 20 irāippuṇai ivv-ūr-ppaḍait-
 21 talaivaṇ **Vēggaṇvāppōṭi** [*] i-
 22 ney mūṭṭāmaḷ nagaṇattāṇam
 23 maḍi-ehchēvagarum kāṭṭu aṭ-
 24 ṭuvippaḍāga vaṭṭadu [||
 25 Ambala[m*] Nagaṇa[ti]tāṇ meḷṇa-
 26 v-āḷakku nagaṇa[tā]r kaivvāḷi Te-
 27 ggaṇa-ṇPallavadiārāiṇa-
 28 ṇ-āṇa **Kaṇḍaṇ-Śōraṇ** koḍutta
 29 iḷakkāṇu pattu [*] i-kkaḷaiṇ-

* 'Āditya' is engraved in Grantha letters.

* This is not understood.

* The meter is Paṇṇatillakā.

* Mahānāḷam is properly Mahānāḷam.

2		2
4		4
6		6
8		8
10		10
12		12
14		14
16		16
18		18
20		20
22		22
24		24
26		26
28		28
30		30
32		32
34		34
36		36

B.
Left half



C-2



38

40

42

44

46

48

50

52

54

56

58

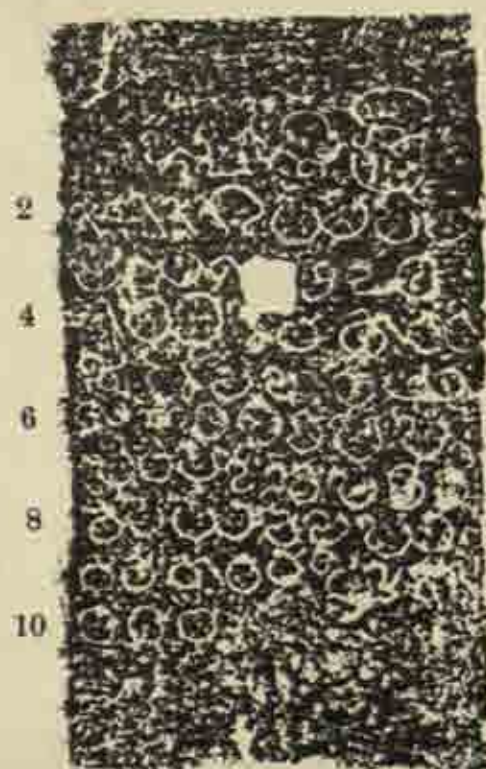
Right half



1

2

D.



2

4

6

8

10

2

4

6

8

10

- 30 ju-mudal mudalai [u]rpadāga iva-
 31 rin poli me|uguv-ā|ukku
 32 niyadi aiññāli nellum-a-
 33 iiva selavum vaittadu ||
 34 mērpōdi n[k]kāṣu irapdu ōrri ūjakkā-
 35 ōu paṅṅirapḍum na[ga]rattōm ivv-ū-
 36 r vētkōvar Vira . . . nāyanum kō-
 37 n Sāttagum
 38 kō[n*] Nagarattā-
 39 gum Tattāñ-
 40 Śendila-
 41 m oruvar-k-
 42 koru[var] tuja-
 43 rvi . . āka i-
 44 [va]||i . . chela-
 45 vum ka-chi-
 46 . . vū meluga-
 47 vum ivaga|
 48 va| va| ō-
 49 yvadāga ku-
 50 ḍuttaga ||
 51 Tennava-
 52 n Palla-
 53 vadiārai-
 54 yaṇ-ēva A-
 55 raiyamāpi-
 56 kka[n] [ku]ḍu-
 57 ppitta-
 58 du i-

- 1 Svasti Śri [i*]
 2 Kaḷakkuḍi Va-
 3 ḍavAyil-amaudā-
 4 i² tiruchinagā-
 5 lai Ayyapo|l-
 6 i Aiññāgruva-
 7 [u]-Iyban-Dēvaṇach-
 8 cheṭṭi ōyvi-
 9 ch[cha] śūṇṇālai Nagara-
 10 ttiñ [i*]

* As this place a rectangular hole has been cut into the slab damaging some letters.

* The more correct form is avarādāi.

TRANSLATION.

A

Prosperity !

The thirteenth year opposite the second year of king Śaṭaiya-Māraṇ—in this year, Tudarūri of Kuṇṇūr in Karunilakkuḍi-nāḍu, wife of Tēggaṇaṇ Pallavadiāraiyāṇ alias Māraṇ-Śūraṇ, gave fifty sheep for (maintaining) a perpetual lamp endowed by her to god Āḍitya-Bhaṭṭāra of the temple at the eastern entrance of Karavandapuram in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu. These fifty sheep which neither die nor grow old, Pādi-Pōrān a *cettikkūḷi* of the ſiṅga-Ivāratam (temple) of this village, took over, agreeing to supply daily one *ṇḷakku* of ghee by the (measure called) Śāḷiyam.

This shall be under the protection of the *Nagarattāṇ* and of the *Madi-ḥēccay* (soldiers guarding the ramparts).

B

The wife of Śrīkaṇṭha-Śūra, named Tudarūri, gave to the temple of (god) Vikarttana at Karavandapura, a lamp which has brightened the world; may it last as long as all the worlds (exist).

C

(Lines 1 to 18) The ninth year opposite the second year of—in this year, the (number of) sheep which the *Paḍaṭṭalaiccu* Nakkaṇ-Muṇḍārruṇaṇ of this village received, agreeing to measure daily one *uri* of ghee for a chain-lamp which had been presented to the *ambalam* (called) *Nagarattāṇ* erected in the name of the *Nagarattāṇ* by Tēggaṇaṇ Pallavadiāraiyāṇ alias Kaṇḍaṇ-Śūraṇ who was the *Mahānūyaka* of Kaḷakkuḍi in Rājasiṅgappamāḡāḍi, (a settlement) which had been formed by him in front of the *korraṇḍiyil* of this village, is one hundred.

(Ll. 18-21) For these sheep and for the (proper) supply of ghee, the surety is the *Paḍaṭṭalaiccu* Veṅṇavāyppēṣi of this village.

(Ll. 22-24) This was left under the care of the *Nagarattāṇ* and the soldiers of the rampart so that they may arrange for the unfailing supply of this ghee.

(Ll. 25-33) The amount which Tēggaṇaṇ Pallavadiāraiyāṇ alias Kaṇḍaṇ-Śūraṇ deposited with the *Nagarattāṇ* for the maintenance of the sweeper¹ of the *ambalam* called *Nagarattāṇ* is ten *ṇḷakkāṇ*. This *kaḷāṇṇ* amount is to remain as capital, and from the interest thereon five *ṇḷāḷi* of paddy shall be given to the sweeper daily.

(Ll. 34-50) Two *kāṣu* together with this, (i.e.) twelve *ṇḷakkāṇ* (in all), the *Nagarattāṇ* gave to the Vēṭkōvar Vīra nāyaṇ, Kōṇ Śāttāṇ, Kōṇ *Nagarattāṇ*, Tattaṇ-Śeṇḍil, so that the work of² and of sweeping may be performed by them and their descendants.

(Ll. 51-58) By order of Tēggaṇaṇ Pallavadiāraiyāṇ, Araiyamāḡikkaṇ gave this (*śilp*).

D

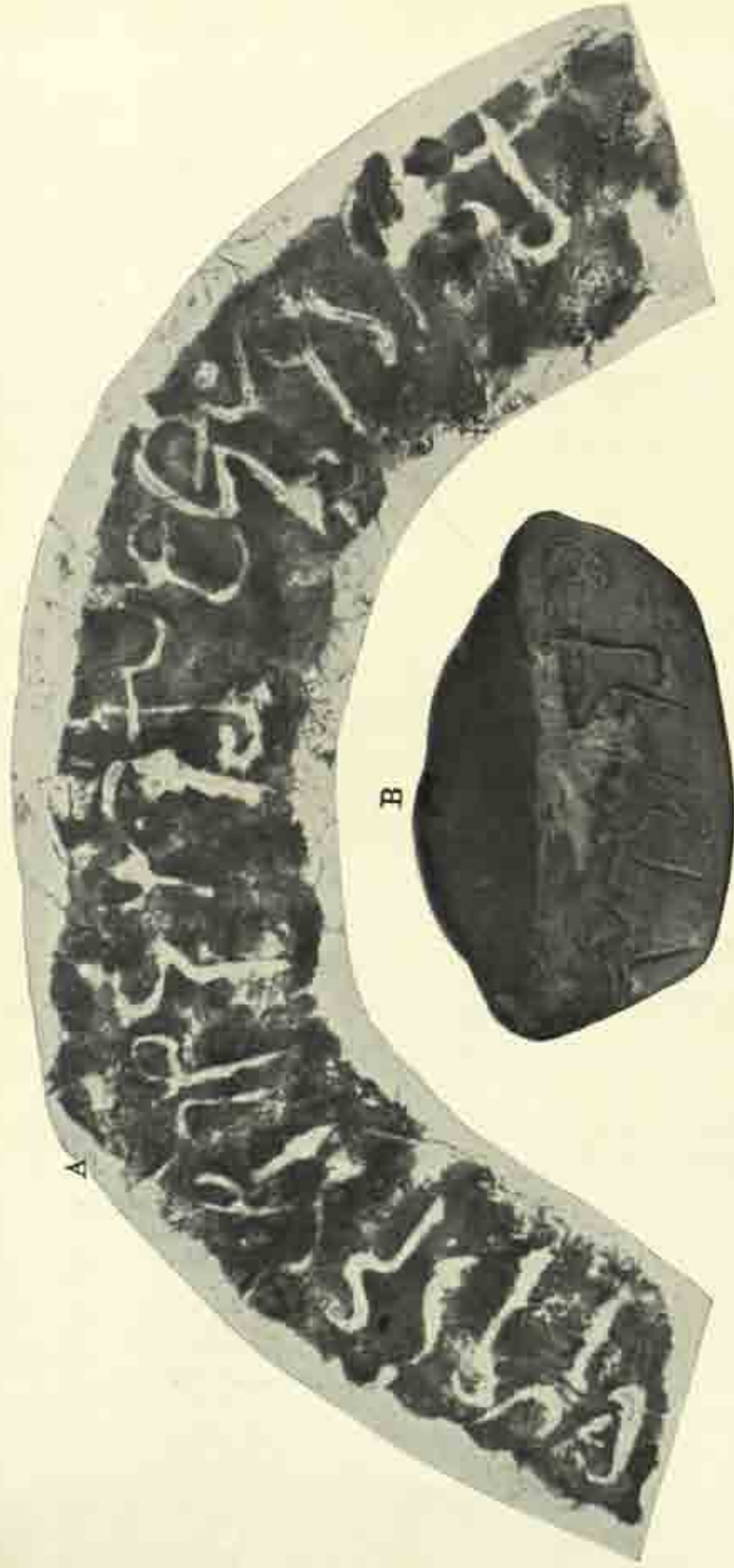
Hail ! Prosperity !

Nagarattāṇ, the circumambulatory verandah (*tiruchchurṇāḷa*) of (the shrine of) the goddess Vāḍavāyil-amandāḷ at Kaḷakkuḍi was erected by Inban-Devaṇachcheṭṭi, a (member of the) Ayyapojil-Aiṇṇārtuṇaṇ (guild).

¹ The service expected of the *śaḷagun-3ḷ* was smearing the floor with cow-dung and sweeping.

² The inscription is damaged at this place, and the details of service which had to be rendered in addition to sweeping, cannot be made out.

UTMANZAI LAMP INSCRIPTION IN KHAROSHTHI.



A



B



D



S. P. CHAKRAVARTI

A. From impression; letters actual size.

B, C, D. from Photographs.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. 46.—UTMANZAI LAMP INSCRIPTION IN KHAROSHTHI.

By R. CH. CHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Lond.), Ootacamund.

This inscribed stone lamp comes from **Utmānzai**, Tahsil Charsadda, District Peshawar. Mr. Gobind Ram Joneja, a druggist of that village, in whose possession the object is and who has kindly lent it to me for studying the inscription on it, informs me that he acquired it from a Pathān boy of a place near Dargai in the Malakand Agency. Its exact find-spot is not known, but from what Mr. Joneja wrote to me it appears that in the neighbourhood of Dargai there are ruins of an ancient *stūpa*.¹ Possibly the same site is the provenance of our piece.

The lamp is made of sandstone of dark grey colour. It weighs 32½ tolas, stands 1·6" high and measures 4" at its broadest. One line of inscription, which is in Kharoshthi characters, appears on its outer side, running the whole length. The size of letters varies between 1" and 1½". With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *ma* in *danamukhe* where the *u*-stroke is not clear. Similar raised *ma* is found in Yākubi Image Inscription.² Other forms are quite regular. The language is the same northern Prākṛit as is found in most of the Kharoshthi inscriptions from the N.-W. Frontier Province.

It may be observed that the words *thuvami danamukhe* in the beginning are redundant³, as the purport of the inscription is fully expressed by the remaining portion which states that the lamp was a gift of **Saṅgharakshita**⁴ to the Grāma-stūpa. The name of the donor shows that he was probably a monk (*bhikkhu*).

Stone lamps figure among the utensils that are often the objects of donations⁵. One such inscribed lamp was discovered at Taxila⁶. A fragment of a stone lamp, also inscribed, was unearthed at Jamālgarh.⁷

I read the inscription from the original.

TEXT.

Thuvami danamukhe (Grāma-thuvami) Saṅgarakshitaṃ danamukhe.

TRANSLATION.

Gift in the Stūpa. Gift of Saṅgharakshita, in the Grāma-stūpa.

¹ It may be pointed out that the region north of Peshawar abounds in Buddhistic relics. Remains of stūpas and saṅghārāmas are met with at short intervals. See *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra* by A. Foucher, translated into English by H. Hargreaves.

² *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pl. I, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, p. 133, pl. XXIV, 4.

³ The donor may have wished to have the whole of the available space inscribed, hence the repetition of the words in question.

⁴ In the Bodhi Copper Ladle Inscription (*C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pl. I, p. 89), the donor of the ladle is an individual of the same name, but, I think, he is not identical with Saṅgharakshita of the present record.

⁵ *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pl. I, p. cxxv.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89, pl. XVII, 5, 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116, pl. XXII, 7.

⁸ In transliterating this letter as *th* I have followed Stein Konow (above, Vol. XIX, p. 2, n. 2). The same sign has generally been taken for *chh*.

⁹ It is not certain whether this is the proper name of the Stūpa or whether this simply means 'village stūpa.'

No. 47.—NALANDA PLATE OF DHARMAPĀLĀDEVA.

BY P. N. BRATTACHARYA, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate was unearthed in course of excavations in 1927-28 by Mr. J. A. Page of the Archaeological Survey of India at Nālandā, Patna District.¹ It was lying among burnt debris in the north verandah of Monastery No. 1, at the same level where the grant² of Dēvapālādēva was found. The plate has already been noticed by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1927-28, p. 158.

This is a **single plate** of copper, measuring about 7½" broad and 10½" high, having the usual highly wrought seal soldered on the top. The seal bears the legend *Śrīmān-Dharmapālādēva* in raised letters in one line below the emblem of the *dharmacakra*. The emblem consists of a wheel flanked on each side by a deer, indicating the Buddha's first sermon at Sārnāth.

The plate is inscribed on both sides. The obverse contains 24 lines³ of writing. On the reverse, which is very much defaced, some 12 lines can be clearly recognized. Of the rest of the writing it is not possible to offer even a tentative reading. The destruction of the monastery by fire was no doubt the cause of the defacement of the copper-plate.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets resembling those of the Khalimpur plate.⁴ The following peculiarities may, however, be noted. The left limb of the letter *ṣ* is not so elongated as in the Khalimpur, Mungir⁵ and Nālandā⁶ plates. The forms of the letters *kṛ* (l. 12) and *ku* (ll. 5, 10, 14) are almost identical. Separate signs have been used for final *i* (e.g., *akṣandhāṣṭrāt*, l. 2) and *u* (e.g., *nāṣṭitāt*, l. 15). The medial *ṣ* is expressed in some cases by full strokes and in others by half strokes (cf. *rājāḥ*, l. 4; *mahā*, l. 8, etc.). It is worthy of notice, however, that not a single instance of half stroke is found in the Khalimpur, Nālandā and Mungir plates. Similarly the medial *ṣ* is also expressed both by full and half strokes. The latter form appears in *viśaya*, l. 10; *kulika*, l. 14; *kṛtā* and *śrīṣṭāḥ*, l. 15; and *likhita*, l. 17. The medial *ṣ* has been expressed by a short curve in continuation of the *mātrā* on the left side. The medial *ṣ* has been expressed in two different ways, sometimes with the half stroke of *ṣ* together with the vertical stroke for medial *ṣ* on the right side (cf. *purūṣa*, l. 16; *carjyitā*, l. 22) and sometimes with a curved line above the consonant together with the right vertical stroke (cf. *pālā-pālā-ṣpaṣṭvīnāḥ*, l. 15; *gath-ṣpaṣṭvīkṣita*, l. 17) as in the Khalimpur and Nālandā plates.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, the text being wholly in prose. As regards orthography the only point to be noted is that *ṣ* is throughout expressed by the sign for *ṣ*. After the opening words *Om evaṁ*, the inscription proceeds to record the subject matter of the plate, namely a grant by the *Paramēśvara Pannabhaddāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dharmapālādēva**, the son and successor of the devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e., Buddha) the *Mahārājādhirāja Gōpālādēva*. It was issued from the royal camp of victory at **Kapilā** (?). The object of the document is to record the gift of the village of **Uttarāma** near the village of **Nigūha** in the *Gayā viśaya* of the *Nagara bhukti* (ll. 5-7) and belonging to **Jambūnadi vāṭī**.⁷ The purpose of this grant cannot be made out owing to the damaged condition of the

¹ *J. A. S. I., Annual Report*, 1927-28, p. 159.

² *Above*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-327.

³ [See below p. 292, n. 1-53.]

⁴ *J. A. S. I.*, Vol. LXIII, pt. III.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. XVIII, p. 306, l. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 320, l. 9.

⁷ *Vāṭī* is found here to denote a small sub-division of the *viśaya*. This term occurs also in the Nālandā plate of Dēvapāla in connection with the village granted in the *Gayā viśaya*. From the Nātheti grant (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 74) of Vallabadeva it is found that *śRAI* formed a part of a *maṇḍalā*. See also *above*, p. 159.

- 18 [rāma-grāmakāḥ*] [sva-simā-tpiṇa-yūti]-gōchāra-paryantāḥ s-ōparikara(h*)
 19 [sa-chaṇ]rōddharapāḥ sarva-piḍa-parihṛiti-
 20 [r-s*]chāṭa-bhāṭa-pra[vaśṣ-kīnchi]t-pragrāhyo rāja-bhāvya
 sarva-pra-
 21 [tyāya-samātō bhūmichchāḍra-nyāyē]u=ā-chā(cha)ndr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālī-
 22 [pa] pū*]eva-bhuktakā-bhūjya[māma]-dēva-vrā(bra)hma-dēya-varjjitō mayā
 23 [mātā-pitrō*]-ātmanas-cha p[ri]ya-yasō-bhividdhayō vandyā-āchārya-Dharmma-
 24 [bhāṭa]kō ārya-Tārā-bhāṭārī[kā*]

Second Side.

- 1 [prativā*]sūbhā-cha-ā]nā-śravapa-vi-
 2 (dhēyair-bhūtvā*) samuchita-dēya-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādī-
 3
 4
 5 [ma]hāsēnāpati-krī datt[ā]
 6 [likhi*]tam-ila[m] sāana[m] mahākshapaṭāli[ka]
 7 [Ku]la-da]ttē[na] Dharmmadatta-putrō-āti
 8 chatuḥśaśhika datt[ā]
 9 pratipādītā
 10 tathā tasya mūlān [chatuḥśa]śhika
 11 ka[m] sakāraśya
 12 [u]tkrīṇa[m] *[ā]tradhāra

* [This line ends with vi. Traces of another half line are visible below it.—Ed.]

* [There seem to have been six lines of inscription before this line which are completely destroyed.—Ed.]

* [Reading seems to be Gōrindan-ā—Ed.]

No. 48.—A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE MANNE PLATES OF STAMBHA RANAVALOKA.

BY PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.Litt., BENARES.

The question of the genuineness and the date of issue of the Manne plates of Stambha Rana-valōka¹ has been recently raised in the pages of this journal (see above pp. 215-217) by Prof. V. V. Mirasah, while editing the 'Two Copper-plate Inscriptions from Benar'. Prof. Mirasah concludes that the plates are genuine, that they were really issued in the Śaka year 724, and that all the important conquests of Gōvinda III seem therefore to have been made before the date of this charter, i.e. during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

I propose to show in this note that though the Manne plates are genuine, they were not really issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa in the Śaka year 724, when they purport to have been issued. They were issued a few years later, probably in Śaka 730 or 731, when the permission of Gōvinda III was received for making the contemplated grant in favour of the Jain *śavās* at Manne.

Prof. Mirasah has rightly drawn our attention to the fact that the stereotyped account of Gōvinda's exploits, which has been used in as many as ten grants made during his reign, has been used for the first time in the Manne plates. It cannot be however conceded that it was prepared at the order of Stambha, who has issued the Manne plates, or that he was the first to use it. We must in this connection note that Stambha had rebelled against Gōvinda in the beginning of his reign, forming a formidable confederacy of 12 kings for this purpose. Gōvinda was successful in crushing this rebellion. The two brothers were however reconciled afterwards, and Gōvinda showed the magnanimity of reappointing his brother to the governorship of Gaṅga-valāḥ. Human nature, however, being what it is, it is not likely that a court poet of Stambha would prepare a draft of Gōvinda's exploits, which would specifically refer to the defeat of his patron's rebellion. The Manne plates however mention his defeat in v. 13. It is therefore clear that the draft of the Manne plates was prepared by a court poet of Gōvinda III, and was primarily intended for his charters. As a matter of fact it cannot suit a charter issued by any ruler, other than Gōvinda himself. For, after describing Gōvinda's exploits, the charter says:—

तेनैदमनिवृत्तविद्युच्चञ्चलमवलोक्य जैवितमसारम् ।

चिन्तिदानपरमपुण्यं प्रवर्तितं देवभोगाय ॥

Obviously this verse is out of place in a charter intended to be issued by Gōvinda's brother Stambha.

The Manne plates state later on that Stambha had asked for the permission of Gōvinda for granting the village concerned to the Jain *śavās* at Manne². It would appear that when the imperial government granted the necessary permission, it forwarded a draft approved by the emperor with orders that it should be incorporated in the charter. Stambha carried out the order rather too literally; he did not omit even the verse beginning with *te-ā-ā-ā-*, which was quite out of place in his own charter.

The draft that was sent to Stambha seems to have been prepared under the special instructions of Gōvinda by one of his favourite court poets. The emperor had liked it so much that he is seen to be using it throughout his reign after this period in as many as eight other charters.

¹ *Ep. Carr.*, Vol. IX, pp. 61-3.

² तेन जौवर्तमदेवेन रणावलोकाय रणावा राजादिशङ्करमेव च मृतवर्षादुक्तमतेन . . . विजयवर्षाय . . . दानं (श्री)
. . . इति.—*Ep. Carr.*, Vol. IX, Kalamangala 61.

It is unlikely that a draft, which had so strongly appealed to the emperor, should have been first allowed to be used in a grant issued by his elder brother, who was erstwhile a rebel. We may therefore presume that it was first used by Gōvinda himself. This he does for the first time in the Nēsarī plates¹ issued in the Śaka year 727. As far as our present knowledge goes, the draft seems to have been prepared just about this time.

How then is it used in the Maṅge plates issued in the Śaka year 724? It would appear that Stambha had no doubt promised to grant a village to the Jam establishment at Maṅge in that year, but he could not immediately issue a charter. He had to wait till the permission of the imperial government was received. This seems to have required a fairly long time, because Gōvinda himself was engaged in a number of campaigns and the necessary *prastāvi* was not yet ready. By the time this permission came, the exact date and month of the first promise was forgotten. The plates purport to be issued in the Śaka year 724 on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Pūshya *nakṣatra*, i.e. in the month of Pausa. But there was no lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa in that year, as would appear from a reference to *The Indian Ephemeris* of Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai. The same work shows that a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa occurred in the Śaka years 730 and 731. It would appear that Stambha got the necessary permission at the end of one of these two years. At the time when the supplementary portion of the charter of Stambha, containing the date, was being drafted, this lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa was fresh in the mind of the donor, the donee and the drafter. They further had a dim idea that the original promise was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the winter. They therefore transferred the lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa from the Śaka year 730 or 731 to the Śaka year 724, when the original promise was made. This has given rise to the irregularity of the date of the Maṅge plates. We need not therefore suppose that the stereotyped account of Gōvinda's exploits was really ready in the Śaka year 724, when the Maṅge plates purport to have been issued. The earliest undoubted year in which it is known to be definitely used is the Śaka year 727, when the Nēsarī plates were issued. Gōvinda's exploits mentioned in this stereotyped draft have therefore to be placed not before the Śaka year 724 but before the Śaka year 727. The various exploits mentioned in this draft were therefore achieved not within the first seven or eight years of his reign, but may have required as many as 11 or 12 years. Seven or eight years is too short a period for them, when we remember the conditions of the roads and the means of transport of the period.

A reconsideration of the whole problem has now led me to the conclusion that the sensational victories of Gōvinda III in his north Indian campaign, during which he humbled down Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla and his armies penetrated right up to the vicinity of the Himalayas,—as maintained in the Sanjan plates of his son Amoghavarsha I,—are not mentioned or described in this stereotyped draft. The verse mentioning the defeat of the Gurjara king merely refers to a raid of Nāgabhata being repulsed. The poet, who drafted this charter, was well acquainted with the complications of the northern Indian politics, as is clear from his specific reference to the exploits of Gōvinda's father Dhruva in snatching away the white umbrella from Vatsārāja, which he had carried as a trophy from the king of the Gaudas. A poet, who mentions the submission of a third rate Vindhyan chief like Mārātarva, would certainly have grown eloquent over the discomfiture of such celebrated rulers as Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha. Nor would Gōvinda have approved a draft, which did not refer to the feat of his forces in approaching the Himalayas after penetrating into the Doab. This famous northern expedition of Gōvinda has therefore to be placed at a date later than the issue of this stereotyped charter. We cannot however discuss the complicated question of its approximate date in the present note.

¹ Khuts, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. I, p. 13.

No. 49.—A FURTHER NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE MANNE PLATES OF STAMBHA.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

I am obliged to the Government Epigraphist for giving me an opportunity to state my views on the points raised in Dr. Altekar's note on the date of the Manne plates of Stambha Rāṇavalōka. This date¹ is admittedly imperfect, as the name of the month in which the lunar eclipse occurred is not mentioned in it. The mere mention of a *nakṣatra* in connection with a lunar eclipse is not sufficient to specify the exact month in which it occurred, as the *purnimā* of a month is not invariably associated with the *nakṣatra* after which the month is named. In my article² on the Lohācā grant I have suggested that some words like *Mārgaśīrṣa-purnamāsyā* are inadvertently omitted in the date of the Manne plates, as the only lunar eclipse³ which could have been intended is that in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa. Even then the date does not become quite regular; for the asterism on the full-moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa in Śaka 724 was Rōhiṇī, not Pushya. But we can easily explain this irregularity by supposing that though the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 13th November A.D. 803, the plates were actually issued four days later, on the 17th November, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya. Those who are familiar with the dates of our ancient records know that copper-plates were sometimes issued a few days after the particular grants recorded in them were made and that such irregularities in their dates are by no means rare. In my article I have cited the date of the second set of Manne plates, which belongs to the same period, as another instance of the same irregularity. These latter plates purport to have been issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Monday, the full-moon day of Pauṣa, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya, in the Śaka year 732. A reference to Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* will show that the lunar eclipse did, indeed, occur on the full-moon day of Pauṣa in A.D. 810 (corresponding to the expired Śaka year 732), but the week-day was Saturday and the asterism at the time of the eclipse was Punarvasu, not Pushya. It seems plain therefore that though the grant was made on Saturday, the 11th December A.D. 810, the plates were actually issued two days later on Monday, the 16th December, when the moon was in conjunction with Pushya. The irregularity in the date of the Manne plates (first set) is exactly of the same type as that in the date of this grant.

Dr. Altekar prefers to account for the irregularity in the date of the Manne plates (first set) in a different manner. He concedes that the grant was made in Śaka 724, but he supposes that the plates were actually issued six or seven years later in Śaka 730 or 731, when there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Pauṣa. The reason for this unusual delay in the issue of the plates, according to Dr. Altekar, is that Stambha did not receive the permission of the imperial government earlier, as Gōvinda was himself engaged in a number of campaigns and the necessary *prastāvi* was not yet ready. Dr. Altekar further supposes that the drafter, the donor and the donee had no accurate information about the occasion of the original grant, but only remembered that it had been made at a lunar eclipse in winter in Śaka 724. They therefore mentioned, as the occasion of the grant, the lunar eclipse which had occurred recently in the month of Pauṣa in Śaka 730 or 731. Hence the date is found to be irregular.

¹ The wording of the date is *chatur-viṃśaty-uttarīṣa sapta-tuṭṭaka Śaka-sarabāha samantīkha*.....
śiṣa-grāhaṇa Pushya-nakṣatra....*Ep. Cur.*, Vol. IX, Nelamangala 61.

² Above, p. 217.

³ There was another lunar eclipse in this year, but it occurred much earlier, on Jyēṣṭha-purnimā, the 11th May A.D. 802.

This explanation of the irregularity of the date is, I submit, too farfetched. It is incredible that it took Śaṃbha six or seven years to obtain the imperial sanction to his grant. Even granting that Gōvinda could not give the required sanction in Śaka 724 because he was then constantly engaged in fighting, one fails to understand why the sanction was not forthcoming in Śaka 727 at least, by which time Gōvinda had finished all his important campaigns both in the north and in the south and the draft of the *prastāvi* was also ready for use, as we find it actually used in the Nāgarī plates¹ of that year. The *prastāvi* was of course composed by a court-poet of Gōvinda III, not by that of Śaṃbha. Gōvinda must have used it in his own grants made before Śaka 727, though they have not been discovered so far.

Let us next examine the reason which has led Dr. Altekar to offer the foregoing farfetched explanation. He thinks that the various exploits mentioned in the stereotyped *prastāvi* could not have been achieved during seven or eight years (A.D. 794-802). But are there not instances, in our ancient history, of equally remarkable victories being achieved by great military commanders in the same or even smaller periods of time? I will mention here only one or two cases of this type. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III invaded North India and pressed as far as Kanauj, the imperial capital, which he conquered and devastated. As Dr. Altekar himself has shown,² Indra came to the throne in A.D. 915 and died in A.D. 917. So this brilliant achievement of his could not have taken more than two years. Is it then impossible that Gōvinda finished his campaigns in Northern and Central India within a period of four or five years (Śaka 717-21) as suggested in my article? Another instance is that of the Kalachuri Karna. We know from his Benares plates³ that he succeeded his father in the Kalachuri year 793 (A.D. 1040). The Rewah stone inscription, which I have recently edited in this Journal,⁴ describes his victories over a king, probably of the Chandra dynasty, in the East, the Pallavas, Chōlas and Chōlukyas in the South and the Gurjara in the West. As this inscription is dated in the Kalachuri year 800 (A.D. 1048-49), it is plain that these victories of Karna must have been attained within a period of only seven years. The adversaries of Karna were surely not less powerful than those of Gōvinda III and the means of transport had not probably improved much during the period of about two centuries and a half that separated these two kings.

Dr. Altekar thinks that Gōvinda's sensational victories in North India, during which he humbled Chakravyūha and Dharmapāla, were attained after the stereotyped draft was prepared, as they are not mentioned in it. This is at best an *argumentum ex silentio* and should be used with caution: for we know of several cases⁵ in which conclusions based on such absence of mention have been disproved by fresh discoveries. Besides, we do not know for certain the exact length of the stereotyped draft when it was first prepared. Though it has been used in as many as eleven charters,⁶ it is well-known that it is not of uniform length in all these cases. The longest form of it known so far is that noticed in the Nāgarī plates in which the eulogistic portion consists of 24 verses.⁷ In other charters the draft is shorter by from 3 to 10 verses.⁸ We

¹ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Indian (Marāṭhī)*, Vol. I, pp. 15 ff.

² See his *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 100 and 103.

³ Above, p. 217.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff.

⁵ Below, Vol. XXIV, pp. 103 ff.

⁶ See e.g. above, Vol. XIX, p. 63.

⁷ Ten of these have been mentioned above, p. 216. Since then I have noticed one more charter of the same type, see *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (New Series), Vol. III, pp. 187-89.

⁸ These do not include the opening *saṃkalpa-śloka* and the concluding verse *śloka-dharmarāja*: etc.

⁹ The Bādhāpur plates, for instance, have 10, the Lohārd grant 16 and the Bahallwād plates only 14 verses.

cannot therefore conclude that the original form of it did not contain any verses descriptive of Gōvinda's sensational victories over Dharmapāla, Chakrāyudha and others,—much less that these victories had not been attained when it was prepared.

Besides, the Sanjān plates¹ show that these sensational victories of Gōvinda III in Northern and Central India were achieved before his encampment at the capital of *Mahārāja* Śarva. Verse 23 of this grant describes the march of Gōvinda's army to the Himālayas, during the course of which Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha submitted to him. The next verse (24) tells us that returning from there (*tataḥ prativerītya*) he came down to the bank of the Narmadā and conquered the Mālava, Kōśala, Kālīnga, Vēṅgī, Dāhala and Ōdraka countries which he placed in charge of his feudatories. He then returned (*pratyaśeyitāḥ*) again to the Narmadā and encamped at the capital of *Mahārāja* Śarva at the foot of the Vindhya, where his son Amoghavarsha was born (vv. 25-6). The wording of the verses 23-26 makes it plain that these events occurred in the chronological order stated therein. The existing versions of the stereotyped draft do not, of course, refer to Gōvinda's victorious campaigns in Northern and Central India (except that in which he defeated a Gurjara king) and the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha; but they almost invariably mention his encampment during the rainy season at Śrībhavana, the capital of Mārāsarva. Scholars² are now agreed that this Mārāsarva is none other than the *Mahārāja* Śarva mentioned in the Sanjān plates. It is plain, therefore, that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha must have submitted to Gōvinda long before the stereotyped draft of the latter's grants was prepared; for the draft describes also Gōvinda's expeditions against the southern kings of Chōla, Pāṇḍya, Kēṇala, Vēṅgī, etc., which followed his campaigns in Northern and Central India.

If the Manne plates of Stambha were, therefore, issued, as I have tried to show, in Śaka 724, all the important victories of Gōvinda III—including the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha—must have been attained before Śaka 724 or A.D. 802 *i. e.*, during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

² Dr. Alcock also has accepted the identification, see his *Illustrations* etc., p. 68, n. 35 (iv).

INDEX.

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[The figures refer to pages; n. after a figure to footnotes and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used:—ca.—capital; ch.—chief; ci.—city; co.—country; com.—composer; di.—district or division; do.—ditto; dy.—dynasty; E.—Eastern; engr.—engraver; ep.—epithet; f.—female; k.—king; l.—locality; l. m.—land measure; m.—male; mo.—mountain; myt.—mythic or mythological; n.—name; N.—Northern; off.—office; q.—quart; r.—river; S.—Southern; s. a.—same as; sur.—surname; t. d.—territorial division; te.—temple; tit.—title; vi.—village; W.—Western.]

A		PAGE
a, initial,		88, 162
ā, do.,	9, 88, 123, 162	
ā, medial,	9, 45, 53, 81, 123, 200	
ābhaya,		193
a-bhaya-cākhāra-prāśāda, privilege,		88
Abhidhamma, Buddhist work,		242
Abhidhamma-lakkhaṇa, do.,		241
Abhidhamma-piṭaka, do.,		241
Abhidharmasamuccaya, work,		126
Abhinava-Srīkṛiṣṭa, s. a. m. Sannalaya,		194
Ābhira, tribe,	48, 173	
Abhiraṇḍaśāstra, off.,		291
ābhyaṅga-sūtra,	16, 211, 221	
Ābā, mo.,		272 n.
Achala, m.,	106, 110	
Achalapura, di.,	11, 13, 16	
Achalapura, vi.,	13 & n.	
Achaptapura, vi.,	39, 60, 61	
a-chāta-śāstra-śāstra, privilege,		87
āchārya,		292
a-chāta-śāstra-prāśāda, privilege,		292
a-chāta-śāstra-prāśāda, do.,		132
a-chāta-śāstra-prāśāda, do.,	21, 143 n., 211, 221	
a-chāta-śāstra-prāśāda, s. a. a-chāta-śāstra-prāśāda,		143
āchārya, Buddhist term,		242
Āchhāda, donor, s. a., Uchhāda,	132 n.	
achha, tax,	29, 27	
Achynaputram Plates of Indravarman II,	62, 78, 94 & n.	
Ājakkamalla, Gakkamalla k.,	188, 189, 189	
Ākṣa, vi.,		117 n.
Ābhayaśāstra, work,		227
adhikarsa, 'court',	54, 201, 202, 213	
adhikarsaśāstra,		156 n.
Ādhārīka, off.,	15, 106, 151, 210, 229	
Ādhārīka,		88
Ādhārīka Indra, s. a. Ganga & Indravarman I,		92
adhikāśādhikāra, 'city court',		159
Āditya, vi.,		117 n.
Āditya, k.,		224 n.
Āditya, deity,	284, 286 n.	
Āditya, s. a. god Śūrya,	240, 252, 253, 255	
Āditya L. Chola k.,		146
Āditya-Śhakti, deity,	283 & n., 284, 286, 288	
Āditya-Bhūgita, com.,		64
Āditya-Bhūgita or Āditya-Mantrin, engr.,		59
Āditya-manchin, com.,		64
Ādityanaga, m.,	148, 152, 155	
Ādityanaga, god,		49
Ādi-Varāha, incarnation of Vishnu,	156, 226	
Ādyāra, vi.,	190, 202	
Āgama,		284
agambhāsaṇḍali,		177 n.
Agastī, vi.,		273
Agastī Inscription of Haripala,		273
Agastya, sage,	7, 188	
Agastya Dīkṣita, donor,	212, 221	
Agī, s. a. god Agni,	142 & n.	
Agastya, f.,		142 n.
Agī or Agastya, goddess,	142 & n., 143	
Agni, god,		142 n.
Agastya, mahāyāna,	18, 55 n., 148, 152, 155, 157 n., 211, 221	
Agastya-Purāṇa, work,		164
agastya,	33, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 67, 86 n., 89, 98, 99, 107, 107, 159, 160, 243	
Agastya, off.,		157, 159
agastya, 'holder of agastya',		167, 159
agastya, s. a. agastya,		159
agastya, 'first born son',		29 n.
agastya, 'elder brother',		29
agastyaśāstra, s. a. agastyaśāstra,		41, 42
agastyaśāstra, s. a. agastyaśāstra,		41
agastyaśāstra,		41
agastyaśāstra,		41
agastya,		41

	PAGE
<i>agri</i> , s. n. <i>agrā</i> ,	41, 42
<i>ākāra</i> , l. s.,	148, 151, 159, 201, 202, 203
<i>a-kāra-prakāśanīya</i> , privilege,	17, 211, 221
<i>Āharanalla</i> , s. n. <i>Somāvara</i> I,	163
<i>Āharanallādīva</i> , <i>Sūmāra</i> id.,	273 & n., 274
<i>Āharanara</i> , 'sun',	108
<i>Āhāra</i> , <i>Gurjara</i> l.,	147, 149, 150, 153
<i>ai</i> , medial,	204, 230
<i>Aibola</i> , s. n. <i>Ayyavola</i> ,	285
<i>Aihola</i> Pratihara of <i>Palahāra</i> II,	88, 89, 93, 94, 119
<i>Ais. l. dīva</i> , work,	201
<i>Aiśārya</i> , 'guilt' composed of 500 members,	285
<i>Aitāya-Brāhmaṇa</i> , work,	43, 44 & n.
<i>Aiyani</i> or <i>Aiyani</i> , <i>donor</i> ,	11 & n., 16 & n., 18
<i>Ahmad</i> or <i>Ahmada</i> , s. n. <i>Ahmad Shāh</i> I,	233, 234, 236, 239
<i>Ahmad Shāh</i> I, of <i>Gujarāt</i> ,	234
<i>Ajanta</i> Cave XVI Inscription No. 3,	84 n., 173 & n.
<i>Ajanta</i> Inscription,	92
<i>Ajñānāśīl</i> , <i>Uchchakulpa</i> g.,	171
<i>Ajñānāśīl</i> , off., s. <i>śāstra</i> ,	111
<i>Ajñānāśīl</i> , off.,	89, 98, 164, 170
<i>Ajñānāśīl</i> , off.,	89
<i>Ajñānāśīl</i> , off.,	202
<i>Akalabha</i> or <i>Akalabhattavarjya</i> , s.,	145, 146, 147
<i>Akharachha</i> , s. n. of <i>Śyāha</i> ,	102
<i>a-kāra-dīva</i> , privilege,	66
<i>a-kāra-dīva-prakāśa</i> , s.,	292
<i>a-kāra-dīva-prakāśa</i> , 'land' without any yield of revenue,	54
<i>akāra-dīva</i> , 'accountant's office',	265 & n.
<i>akāra-dīva</i> , off.,	223, 224, 229, 230
<i>akāra-dīva</i> , off.,	70, 74
<i>akāra-dīva</i> , 'perpetual endowment',	34, 35 & n., 38
<i>Akalaga</i> <i>pāramitā</i> ,	105, 108
<i>Akalaga</i> <i>pāramitā</i> , <i>śāstra</i> ,	140
<i>Akalagapara</i> , s. n. <i>Akalagapara</i> ,	12 & n.
<i>Akalaga</i> <i>Śyāha</i> , s.,	179 & n.
<i>Akalaga</i> <i>Śyāha</i> , s. n. of <i>Palahāra</i> id. <i>Kōppanāga</i> ,	176, 177, 180, 181
<i>Akalā</i> , f.,	115 & n., 121 & n., 122
<i>akāra</i> , measure of capacity,	23
<i>Akalaga</i> <i>pāramitā</i> , <i>Sambhārāga</i> and <i>Kādam</i> id.,	179 & n.
<i>Akalā</i> <i>Plates</i> of <i>Yuvārjya</i> <i>Gōvinda</i> II,	11 & n., 11
<i>Akalā</i> , s.,	146
<i>Akalā</i> , s.,	222
<i>Akalā</i> , s.,	240, 254, 255
<i>Akalā</i> , s. n. <i>Akalā</i> , s.,	235, 239
<i>Akalā</i> , s.,	39
<i>a-kāra-dīva</i> <i>śāstra</i> , privilege,	87
<i>Akalā</i> , s.,	235
<i>Akalā</i> , s.,	148, 152, 155
<i>Akalā</i> <i>Plates</i> of <i>Saundragupta</i> ,	89
<i>Akalā</i> , s. n. <i>Prabhādīva</i> ,	160

	PAGE
<i>alphabets</i> —	
<i>Acute-angled</i> ,	109
<i>Āśka</i> <i>Brāhma</i> ,	47
<i>Āśka</i> <i>Brāhma</i> ,	225
<i>Box-headed</i> ,	19, 81, 114
<i>Brāhma</i> ,	38, 114, 119
<i>Dēvanāgarī</i> ,	23, 102, 193 & n., 270
<i>Eastern</i> ,	243
<i>Eastern Gupta</i> ,	45, 53, 156
<i>Grantha</i> ,	170, 181 & n., 283, 286 & n.
<i>Gupta</i> ,	198, 243
<i>Kannāda</i> ,	182, 189
<i>Kharoṣṭhī</i> ,	35, 38, 239
<i>Nāgarī</i> ,	1, 3, 67, 74, 77 & n., 78, 122, 137, 141, 166, 198, 230, 250, 253 & n., 270
<i>Nail-headed</i> ,	198
<i>Northern</i> ,	74, 102, 123, 141, 147, 180, 198, 249, 250
<i>North Indian</i> ,	204, 213, 256
<i>Old-Kannāda</i> ,	21 & n.
<i>Pallava-Grantha</i> ,	196
<i>Pre-Gupta</i> ,	245
<i>Shall</i> ,	255
<i>Southern</i> ,	62, 88, 102
<i>Southern, early type</i> ,	36
<i>South Indian, Nāgarī</i> ,	255, 267
<i>Telugu</i> ,	103
<i>Vatthūta</i> ,	233
<i>Amaravati</i> , s. n. <i>śāstra</i> ,	237
<i>Amaravati</i> , s.,	163, 164, 169, 169
<i>Amaravati</i> , s. n. of <i>śāstra</i> ,	254
<i>Amaravati</i> , l.,	164, 166
<i>Amaravati</i> , s.,	166, 166
<i>amāra</i> , 'minister',	72, 100
<i>Amāra</i> , s.,	158
<i>Amāra</i> , s.,	272
<i>Amāra</i> , s., 'mango field',	253, 256, 258
<i>Amāra</i> , s., 'mango field',	253, 256, 258
<i>Amāra</i> , s., s. n. <i>śāstra</i> ,	112
<i>Amāra</i> , s.,	52, 54, 55 & n.
<i>Amāra</i> , s.,	244 & n.
<i>Amāra</i> <i>Inscription</i> of <i>Nripata</i> s. <i>Amāra</i> ,	145, 187 & n.
<i>Amāra</i> s. n. <i>Amāra</i> , s. n. <i>Amāra</i> , s. n. <i>Amāra</i> ,	238, 239, 239
<i>Amāra</i> , s.,	190, 194, 195
<i>Amāra</i> , s.,	10, 13, 16
<i>Amāra</i> , s.,	11
<i>Amāra</i> , s.,	163, 166, 169
<i>Amāra</i> , s. n. <i>Amāra</i> , s.,	167, 168
<i>Amāra</i> , s. n. <i>Amāra</i> , s.,	68, 97, 162, 163, 164, 165, 168, 170
<i>Amāra</i> <i>Plates</i> of <i>Jajallādeva</i> II,	2 & n.
<i>Amāra</i> <i>Plates</i> of <i>Prabhādīva</i> I,	2 & n.
<i>Amāra</i> , s.,	92 & n., 297
<i>Amāra</i> , s., s. n. <i>Amāra</i> , s.,	162, 168, 112
<i>Amāra</i> , s. n. <i>Amāra</i> , s.,	217, 226, 237, 255 & n., 283, 294

	PAGE
Amoghavarsha III, s. n. Haddiga-Amoghavarsha III.	257 & n.
Amragarika, vi.	157, 158, 160
Amratashaka, i.	189, 202
Amuka, m.	271, 272, 279
amū (Skt. अमू), 'sign', 'insignia'	175
Amulal, i.	283
Amulal inscriptions.	284
Anantapāndi-agraharam, vi.	166
anuguli-prakāśanīya, privilege.	33
anuguli-prakāśanīya, do.	195
Anantadāra, Śiṣhāra śā.	226
Anantadāra's Copper Plate of Śaka 1016.	271 n.
Anantaditya, donee.	105, 109
Anantakūyaka, m.	273, 274
Anantaprabhū, s. n. Anantaprabhū.	273, 276
Anantapāla, s. n. Śiṣhāra śā. Anantadāra.	226
Anantapāla, Śiṣhāra śā.	271
Anantavarman, Gaṅga śā.	57, 58, 60, 61 & n., 63, 64, 201
Anantavarman, k. of Kalinga.	89, 90
Anantavarman, s. n. Gaṅga & Vajrahasta III.	68, 72
Anantavarman-Chūḍagunīya, Gaṅga śā.	101 n.
Anargha-mudala, śā.	2, 6, 8
Anarghavallī, see Anargha-mudala.	3
Anantaprabhū, minister.	275, 276
andha-anurakṣasa, purpose of donation.	195
Andar, m.	140
Andira, a line ends.	291
Andira or Andira, co.	47, 92, 118, 119, 162, 163, 164, 165
Andira, people.	192
Anand, vi.	182, 184
Anand, vi.	273 & n., 274 & n.
anaga-ranga-bhāga, purpose of donation.	192
Achharāḍa, m.	191, 192
Aniyantakāhina, Gaṅga śā.	71
Ajjanavati or Adjati, vi.	8, 13, 16 n.
Ajjanavati Plates of Gōrinda III.	12 n., 83, 206, 214, 215 & n.
anika, emblem on seal.	141
anika, 'good', auspicious sign.	168
Arjuna-bhatta, s. n. Arjunavibhatta.	213, 214 n., 221
Arjunavibhatta, m.	205, 210, 214 n.
Arjuna, m.	103, 108, 110
Arjunpurīḍa, off.	229
Astaraṅga, off.	129, 131, 199, 200, 262
astaraṅga, 'tax'.	24, 26, 27
At-to-to, s. n. Andira.	119
atthāṇa; Buddhist term.	242
atthāṇa, s.	1, 10, 33 n., 68, 143 n.
atthāṇa, changed to n.	10
atthāṇa, in Khārakṣhī.	36, 40
atthāṇa, omitted.	118, 124

	PAGE
atthāṇa, superfluous.	10, 189
atthāṇa, used for class used.	30 n., 57, 68, 74, 263, 265, 270
atthāṇa, used for final n.	62, 134, 249
atthāṇa, used for final n.	62, 74
atthāṇa, used for length of vowel.	10
atthāṇa, wrongly changed to m.	118
Aparāditya I, Śiṣhāra śā.	270, 271 & n., 272, 273, 277
Aparāditya II, do.	270 n., 271, 275 n., 277 & n., 278, 279
Aparājita, m.	146
Aparājita, Pallava śā.	144, 145 & n., 146
Aparājita, s. n. Śiṣhāra śā. Aparāditya I.	271 & n.
a-pāraspara-gā-bāṇaṇa, privilege.	87
Aparājita I, s. n. Aparāditya I.	271 n.
a-pāraspara-gā-bāṇaṇa, privilege.	87
Arab invaders.	151 n.
Arjunavallī inscription.	175
Arjunavallī, vi.	131 n.
Arjunavallī, m.	287, 288
ārūṇa, 'pleasant garden'.	259 n.
Arjunavallī, Śiṣhāra śā.	124, 125, 127, 128 & n., 130
Arjun, vi.	18, 20
Arjun, vi.	117, 119
Arjun inscription.	116 n.
Arjun Stone Inscription in Brāhmi.	119
Arjunavallī, vi.	179 n.
Arjunavallī, m.	23
Arjunavallī, vi.	167, 169
Arjunavallī, an astronomical combination.	190, 195, 196
Arjunavallī, Pāṇini śā.	294
Arjunavallī, s. n.	291
Arjuna, epic hero.	167
Arjuna or Arjunavallī, Māhātmya śā.	101
Arjunavallī inscription of Krishṇa.	192, 194
Arjunavallī inscription.	192
Arjunavallī, s. n. Arjunavallī.	11
Arjunavallī.	253
Arjunavallī, work.	255 n.
Arjunavallī inscription of Paramāra Maṇḍana-śā.	8 n.
Arjunavallī Plates of Bāṇa.	69 n.
Arjunavallī, co.	199, 203
Arjunavallī, s. n.	203, 212, 213, 214, 216 n., 222
Arjunavallī or Arjunavallī, donee.	199, 200, 202, 203
Arjunavallī, astronomer.	49
Arjunavallī, s. n. (7).	292
Arjunavallī, donee.	106, 110
Arjunavallī, 'slab as used'.	240, 248
Arjunavallī-pāraspara-māhātmya.	273, 276
Arjunavallī-śā.	31, 32

	PAGE		PAGE
Balīka, Śīlakara k.,	29	Bhāṇḍāgīra, 'store-house',	271, 272, 279, 280
Balīka III, Hoysala k.,	134	Bhāṇḍāgīribī, off.,	229
Balīkā, v.,	116	Bhandak, v.,	116, 117 & n., 118, 119
Balīkā Plates of Mahāśīva Tīrtharāja,	19, 114, 116, 118 n., 119	Bhandwal, v.,	18
Bālpur, v.,	3	Bhānuachandra, m.,	63 n., 66, 67
Bāpa, author,	12 n., 119 n., 150 n., 217	Bhānūdatta, v.,	199, 200, 203
Bāpa, dy.,	145 & n., 146	Bharahadēya, v.,	180, 188, 189
Bāpa-Vidyādharma, Bāpa k.,	145, 146	Bharaṇasavāmin, donor,	199, 201
Bandhudāsa, m.,	54, 55	Bhārmāya, dy.,	83
Bandhuvārman, Oṅga governor,	49, 51	Bharatacharita, work,	84
Bangalore Plates of Dhēndravārman,	75, 76	Bhārata Itihāsa Samādāhaka Maṇḍala Plates, 12,	210 n., 214 & n., 216
Bānawāṇi, v.,	232	Bhārat-katā, s. n. Mahābhārata,	237
Bappa, ch. of Maṇḍr,	231, 234, 235, 238	Bharatam-culka, tit. of Pullara ch. Kōppara-	
bappa, 'father' (f.),	200	jiṅgāḍāra II,	177
bappa-bhātāraka,	200	Bhārati, s. n. goddess Sarasvatī,	231, 234
Barah, s. n. vi. Valāka,	243	Bhāravi, author,	90, 93
Barah Copper-Plate of Bhōjadāra,	245 & n.	Bharukachchha, di.,	149, 152, 154
Buroda Plates of Karka,	258 & n.	Bhāṇkara, donor,	32, 34
Bāreṭr Inscription of Jagadāśabbhāṣa's		Bhāṇkara Nāyaka, m.,	277, 278
Time,	244	Bhāṇkaravārman, Maṇḍari prince,	115, 121, 122
Barā, v.,	201	Bhāpa, off.,	77, 79, 86, 129, 131, 154, 202, 203, 262, 264, 266, 268, 269
Barwa, v.,	201	Bhāta, s. n. Bhāta,	274 & n.
Bassein Stone Inscription of Mallikārjuna,	271 & n.	Bhāṭaputra, s. n. Bhāṭaputra,	89
Bastar, v.,	244	Bhāṭa, tit.,	32, 34, 74, 77, 80, 124, 129, 131, 148, 152 & n., 155, 157, 159, 213, 221, 249, 264, 265 & n., 273 & n.
Bāṭra, di.,	190, 194, 195	Bhāṭaputra, tit.,	16, 78, 206, 268, 269
Baṭra,	190	Bhāṭaraka, tit. of god,	79, 137, 138 n., 139, 248, 252, 261, 262, 264, 266, 268
batle-zoo, emblem on seal,	141	Bhāṭaraka, tit.,	262
Bendhāyana, author,	43	Bhāṭapādhyāya, tit.,	32, 34
Bhalaprabha, minister,	280	Bhāma, dy.,	201 n.
Beladi Copper Ladio Inscription,	249 n.	Bhavadāya, Śāmaṇṇa k.,	116 & n., 117, 118
Bellāghatā, v.,	52	Bharanaga, Bhāraṇa k.,	85
Bemchanatti Inscription,	100	Bharanagatī, s. n. god Śiva,	108, 135, 136
Bemara Plates of Karka,	258, 260, 266	Bhavaratman, donor,	89, 98, 99
Benkā, v.,	102	Bhāṭa,	38
Betul Plates of Saṅkhabhā,	172, 174	Bhāṭa,	38
Burāka, s. n. Vijayavāṭi,	163	Bhāṭa,	38
B.,	9, 62	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhadramagha, s. n. & Bhadrāmāgha,	248 n.	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhadrāmāgha, k. of Kavāṇḍi,	245, 247, 248	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhadravar Inscription of Chaulukya Jaya-		Bhāṭa,	38
śīha's Time,	60	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhāga, 'allotment',	243	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhāga, f. d.,	82, 89	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhāga-Bhāga-Śīha,	229	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhāga-Bhāga-kara-hirany-Śīha,	111	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhāgaṇṇa-Parisa, work,	82 n.	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhagavati, s. n. goddess Pārvatī,	231, 234, 238	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhagavati-Ārya-Devī, deity 'Holy Noble Devī',	246, 248	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhāgrathi, v.,	168	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhāgrathi, s. n. vi. Gāgā,	85, 150 & n., 153	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhāṭa, donor,	106, 110	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhāṅgāra-pārvata, see Bhāṅgāra-pārvata,	119	Bhāṭa,	38
Bhāmagaṇi, m.,	119 n.	Bhāṭa,	38

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Bhōga-bhōga</i> ,	21	<i>Bōdhisattva</i> ,	37
<i>Bhōga-bhōga-kura-kirany-ādī</i> ,	302	<i>Bovril, l.</i> ,	278 n., 279
<i>Bhōgachandra, var.</i> ,	158, 161	<i>Bowen</i> ,	44
<i>Bhōgavati, off.</i> ,	44 n.	<i>Bower Manuscript</i> ,	156 & n.
<i>Bhōgoputika, off.</i> ,	137, 159	<i>Brahmacharya</i> ,	44 & n.
<i>Bhōgika</i> , 'groom', 'housekeeper',	59	<i>Brahmadāya</i> ,	17, 152, 154, 155, 210, 211, 220, 221, 292
<i>Bhōgikā, off.</i> ,	59, 61, 66, 67, 264	<i>Brahmadāya, dāsa</i> ,	273 & n., 274 & n.
<i>Bhōgika</i> , 'resident' (?),	59, 60	<i>Brahmadāya</i> ,	22
<i>Bhōgilla, m.</i> ,	20	<i>Brahmagupta, astronomer</i> ,	49
<i>Bhōga</i> ,	262	<i>Brahman, god</i> ,	2, 3, 6, 31, 34, 130, 253, 266
<i>Bhō, cf. Bhōgika</i> ,	59, 64	<i>Brahmana, caste</i> ,	223, 224, 225, 229, 237, 239, 240, 254, 261, 262, 264, 266, 268
<i>Bhōja, Pratihāra L.</i> ,	120, 243	<i>Brahmana, work</i> ,	91
<i>Bhōja, Bhōjadēva or Bhōjārāja, Paramāra L.</i> ,	133 & n., 134, 135	<i>Brahmanandin, m.</i> ,	157, 159
<i>Bhōja I, Gurjara-Pratihāra L.</i> ,	258 n., 259	<i>Brahmapadita, m.</i> ,	105, 109
<i>Bhōjadēva, Silāhāra L.</i> ,	20 & n., 30, 23	<i>Brahmapuri, l.</i> ,	29, 30, 31, 32, 34
<i>Bhōjannālā</i> , 'almshouse',	39	<i>Brahmanishta-Paramāra, work</i> ,	139 n.
<i>Bhōjavati, m.</i> ,	244	<i>Brahmabōdika, off.</i> ,	203
<i>Bhōmāta, l.</i> ,	221	<i>Brahma-māsa</i> , 'large measure', cf. <i>śikha-māsa</i> ,	82 n.
<i>Bhōmādeva</i> ,	276	<i>Brahmaprōsthā Grant of Unnvarman</i> ,	58 n., 89 n. & add.
<i>Bhōmaka, m.</i> ,	275 n., 276 & n.	<i>British Museum Plates</i> ,	206 n., 214 n., 215, 218
<i>Bhor State Museum Copper Plate of Khamba II.</i> ,	99, 100 n.	<i>British Museum Plates of Chārudēvt</i> ,	83
<i>Bhramanagiri, m.</i> ,	119 & n.	<i>Broach</i> ,	148, 192, 306
<i>Bhramarakōtya or Bhramarakōtya-mandala</i> ,	119 n., 244	<i>Buddha, the —</i> ,	37, 38, 39, 117, 166, 190, 290
<i>Bhripakachchha, c. n. Broach</i> ,	192	<i>Budhaghosa, commentator</i> ,	39, 242
<i>Bhringha-parvata, m.</i> ,	119 & n.	<i>Buddha-māchi-Bhōgika, m.</i> ,	64, 65, 66, 67
<i>Bhūpat, godhead</i> ,	182 n.	<i>Buddhānkara, Bōdhisattva (?)</i> ,	197
<i>Bhūta, i. d.</i> ,	20, 102, 116 n., 135, 167, 159, 159, 290, 291	<i>Buddharāja, Kōdāpudumōji ch.</i> ,	96
<i>Bhumarā Pillar Inscription</i> ,	171, 173	<i>Buddhavarman</i> ,	96
<i>Bhūmi-chakrānta-ayoga</i> ,	182, 184, 211, 221, 292	<i>Budhilla, māt.</i> ,	38
<i>Bhūmi-dāsa</i> ,	161, 211, 212, 227	<i>Budhian</i> ,	85, 117, 119, 190
<i>Bhūpūtrādēva, Gurjara L.</i> ,	265, 266 & n.	<i>Buddhist Pillars</i> ,	43
<i>Bhūmā, cf.</i> ,	261, 262	<i>Buguda Plates of Mādhavarāman</i> ,	123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128 n.
<i>Bhūta-idā pratyāga</i> ,	154	<i>Bukharā's Inscription</i> ,	190 n.
<i>Bhuvanarāsi-Muni, Śaiva ascetic</i> ,	164 & n., 169, 170	<i>Bukharavaka, d.</i> ,	74, 77
<i>Bhuvanādēva, vi.</i> ,	296	<i>Bukharavakā, d.</i> ,	74, 77 n., 201 n.
<i>Būhar</i> ,	47 & n., 48, 54	<i>bull, emblem on coin</i> ,	128 & n.
<i>Būhar, vi.</i> ,	223 & n., 226, 227	<i>bull, emblem on seal</i> ,	62, 73, 75 n., 78, 114, 263, 265, 267
<i>Bijayagadh Yōga Inscription</i> ,	44, 45 n., 48, 49, 51	<i>Burhānāh Mahādīva, Sim-lāga</i> ,	93
<i>Bīdādi, vi.</i> ,	133	<i>Bavarammūdudāyār, q. of Pallava & Kōpper-vijayādēva</i> ,	181, 182 & n.
<i>Bīhārī Stone Inscription</i> ,	117 n., 238, 260	<i>Bury, vi.</i> ,	63
<i>Bīmal Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I.</i> ,	174 n.		
<i>Bīlakrō, vi.</i> ,	135		
<i>Bīrāma, ch.</i> ,	190		
<i>boat, emblem on coin</i> ,	139		
<i>boat, emblem on seal</i> ,	141, 142		
<i>Boar, incarnation of Vishnu</i> ,	255 & n.		
<i>Bodāpādū Grant of Vajralāsta</i> ,	68		
<i>Bōtha n. m.</i> ,	78, 80, 264, 265 n.		

C

<i>Camboy</i> ,	191, 192
<i>Camboy Plates of Gōvinda IV.</i> ,	10 n., 12 n., 168
<i>Cape Comorin</i> ,	180
<i>Ceylon</i> ,	196, 225

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>ch.</i>	188	Chandgūra, s. n. of Saṅgūr.	189, 190, 194, 195
Chachaburūṭi, <i>di.</i>	135	Chunjo or Chūnjo, s. n. of Chafija.	270, 279, 280
Chāchoni, <i>vi.</i>	133	Chunjo Inscription of Aparāditya I.	270
Chāchurāṭ, <i>vi.</i>	135	<i>Chavapa</i> —	
Chādicha, <i>l.</i>	102	Chāndōga or Chāndōga, 53, 54, 55, 78, 80,	
Chādija or Chādijā, <i>vi.</i>	271, 272 & n.	94 n., 98, 99, 124, 129, 131, 284,	
Chāṭadadēva, <i>m.</i>	277, 278	285	
Chāhamāna, <i>dy.</i>	134, 191 & n.	Katha,	74, 77
Chaharlagh, <i>l.</i>	30	Taittiriya or Taittirīya,	94 & n.
Chaitya,	166, 169 n.	Vajrasūtra,	199, 202, 203, 261, 262
Chaityapūra,	120 n.	Charn, <i>mahāyāna</i> ,	16, 65 n., 66, 67, 148, 152,
Chākirāja or Chākirāja, <i>ch.</i>	11, 12 & n., 17, 215 n.	153, 157 n., 211, 221	
Chāṭra, emblem on seal,	135	Chārudēvi,	88
Chakradīpa, <i>com.</i>	84	Chāṭhā, part of <i>yūga</i> ,	44 & n., 45
Chakrakōṭya or Chakrakōṭya-maṇḍala, pro-		Chāṭhā, <i>off.</i> , 77, 79, 129, 131, 154, 202, 203, 262,	
vince,	344	264, 266, 268, 291	
Chakrāyudha, <i>ch.</i>	294, 296, 297	Chātāṭ-śrīṅg-pāpānta, privilege,	251
Chāḷakore Inscription,	194	Chātāṭ-śrīṅg-pāpānta,	229
Chālūkyā, <i>dy.</i>	90, 100, 172, 296	Chātāṭmāna, s. n. of Brahman	225, 228
Chālūkyā, <i>E. dy.</i>	58 n., 69, 70, 88, 89, 90, 93, 74 & n.,	Chātāṭmāna-pāṇḍita,	145 n.
95 & n., 101 n., 104, 110, 162, 163,		Chātāṭmāna,	93 n.
167, 169, 206, 216, 225, 227		Chātāṭmāna-ārga-lāṅkāra-saṅgṛha,	121
Chālūkyā, <i>H. co.</i>	183	Chātāṭmāna-saṅgṛha, with,	33 n., 279 n.
Chālūkyā, <i>H. dy.</i>	79, 82 n., 90, 134, 142 & n., 182,	Chātāṭmāna,	22, 34
183, 217, 218, 243		Chātāṭmāna,	80
Chālūkyābhatma, <i>E. Chālūkyā</i> &,	167	Chātāṭmāna-saṅgṛha,	205, 210, 214 n.
Chālūkyā-Bhūmī II, <i>Chālūkyā</i> &,	27	Chātāṭmāna Brāhmanas,	104, 107
Chāmra, emblem on seal,	67	Chātāṭmāna-saṅgṛha,	113
Chāmra, "flycatcher," suspicious sign,	168	Chātāṭmāna,	190, 193, 196
Chāmra-Dandāṭyāka,	184	Chātāṭmāna, <i>m.</i>	190 & add., 194, 195
Chāndijā,	290 & n.	Chānhān, <i>dy.</i>	187, 225, 231
Chāṇḍadēva, <i>m.</i>	273, 274	Chānhān, <i>dy.</i>	50, 191, 192, 275, 277 n.
Chāmidīpa, <i>com.</i>	84	Chānhān, <i>off.</i>	193 n.
Chāmmak Plates of Pāṇḍarāśina II,	82 n., 831,	Chānhān, <i>vi.</i>	105, 109
86 n.		Chānhān-saṅgṛha, <i>off.</i>	187, 189, 291
Chāndī, <i>vi.</i>	118	Chānhān II, <i>Sūda</i> &,	100 & n.
Chāṇḍī, s. <i>see</i> code,	291	Chānhān-saṅgṛha, <i>m.</i>	184
Chāṇḍīśr Plates of Kumāra Vāḍha,	89 n.	Chāyita, <i>test.</i>	163, 169, 169 & n.
Chāṇḍavartman, <i>Gaṇpa</i> &,	56, 58, 59 n., 300	Chāṇḍī, <i>co.</i>	2, 4, 7, 258
Chāṇḍella, <i>dy.</i>	70	Chāṇḍī or Chāṇḍī, <i>vi.</i>	231, 233, 238
Chāṇḍī, s. n. of <i>god</i> Pāṇḍit,	224 n., 228	Chāṇḍī-Bastat-Pāṇḍit, Kinnara work,	184 n.
Chāṇḍīyama, <i>m.</i>	214, 223	Chāṇḍīyama,	190
Chāṇḍī, <i>dy.</i>	296	Chāṇḍīyama, <i>tax.</i>	23
Chāṇḍīyā, <i>ch.</i>	244	Chāṇḍīyama, <i>vi.</i>	94
Chāṇḍīyā, <i>donor.</i>	105, 109	Chāṇḍī, <i>Khāṇḍī</i> —	239 n.
Chāṇḍīyā, <i>Sūda</i> &,	29 & n., 30, 33	Chāṇḍī, used for Chāṇḍī,	270
Chāṇḍīyā, <i>Sūda</i> &,	92 n.	Chāṇḍī, <i>vi.</i>	37
Chāṇḍīyā II, <i>Gaṇpa</i> &,	83, 174 n.	Chāṇḍīyā, <i>vi.</i>	124, 129, 131,
Chāṇḍīyā-śrī, <i>di.</i>	182, 185, 194	Chāṇḍīyā, <i>donor.</i>	9, 11, 16, 18
Chāṇḍīyā, <i>donor.</i>	278, 279	Chāṇḍī, <i>off.</i>	86
Chāṇḍīyā, <i>Sūda</i> &,	29, 30, 33	Chāṇḍīyama, <i>m.</i>	53, 54, 55, 56
Chāṇḍīyā Inscription of Nāṇḍīyama,	48	Chāṇḍīyama Plates of Dēvīyama,	75, 78
Chāṇḍīyā Inscription of Pāṇḍīyama,	172 n., 227	Chāṇḍīyama Plates of Indravarman,	64
Chāṇḍīyā, <i>l.</i>	186 n.	Chāṇḍīyama Plates of Vajrasūtra,	67 n., 68 n.
Chāṇḍīyā, s. n. of Saṅgūr,	182, 185, 189	Chāṇḍīyama, <i>vi.</i>	175, 177, 180

	PAGE		PAGE
Chikkali-prāma, vi.,	142 n.	Dāmasvāmin, donee,	20, 21
Chikkali-śāhī, vi.,	142	Dāma-Nāyaka,	184
Chikkali-śāhī, vi.,	142 n.	Dāmodar, vi.,	155, 158
Chikkali Plates of Vikramādityavarman,	88, 90 n., 91 & n., 92 & n., 93 & n., 96	Dāmodara, author,	93 & n.
Chiplā, i.,	278 n.	Dāmodara, engr.,	264, 265
Chiplāy Stone Inscription,	274 n.	Dāmodara, Parivarāja k.,	171
Chidpurupalle, vi.,	94 & n.	Dāmodarabhatta, donee,	278, 279
chira-khila-lānga,	203	Dāmodarasvāmin, donee,	20, 21
Chitar, co.,	187 n., 229, 232, 233	Dāmōdarpur Copper-plate Inscription,	53, 55 n.
Chittrakōta, i.,	244	Dāmōdarpur Plates,	150, 159
Chitrōtpalā, s. v. Mahānadi,	19 n.	śāma-dharma,	66
Chitta, m.,	39	Dānārāya, E. Chālakya k.,	69, 162
Chōjaganga, rā.,	2, 4, 7	Dānārāya, Gaṅga ch.,	263, 264
Chokkalāga, i.,	283 n.	Dānārāya, Gaṅga k.,	78, 264
Chokkanāyaki, te.,	284 & n.	dhana (gifts) :-	
Chōja, co.,	175, 177, 178, 180, 181	Ātāradāna,	107
Chōla or Chōja, dg.,	10, 14 & n., 25, 96, 97, 115 n., 145, 148, 165, 175, 176, 177 & n., 180, 181 & n., 182, 217 n., 285, 296, 297	Bhalaśayadāna,	107
Chōla-Pāṇḍya viceroys,	146	Kalpavrikshadāna,	107
Chachurājānā, vi.,	223, 230	Pythirvāna,	107
Chāḍāmāni Nighaṇṭu, Tamil work,	182 n.	Tulāpurushadāna,	107
Cinira Inscription,	271 n.	Vidyādāna,	107
Cinira Pradasti,	164	Dandadāyaka, off.,	48, 79, 100, 129, 131, 153, 184, 229, 264, 268
conch, emblem on seal,	58, 67	Dandadāyaka, off.,	263
Conjeveram,	146, 179	Dandadāyaka, off.,	77, 129, & n., 131, 264
croonants, wrongly doubled,	28	Dandadāyaka, off., 'an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals',	231, 254 & n., 291
croonant, emblem on seal,	73, 263, 265, 297	dhana, iṭh-dāi-viṇḍa-ḍya-annamānā, privilege,	195
Crynamala, s. n. Kumāta,	184	Dandadāyaka, off.,	201, 20, 203
Cāṇḍāra, work,	229 n.	Dandāka, off.,	291
Copul,	191	Dantidurga, Rāshtrakūṭa k.,	10, 14, 214
Cuttack, vi.,	250 n.	Depura, vi.,	103, 106, 110
D		Dandurikā, vi.,	103, 105, 110
d.,	74	Dargul, vi.,	289
d.,	9	daria, emblem on seal,	67
Dabhoi Inscription,	191	Darvilurua, manure,	54, 55, 56
Dadda I, Śaṅgava k.,	148, 149, 153	Damanaputa, vi.,	89 n.
Dadda II, do.,	148, 149, 150, 153	Dai-āparādha, of. s. dai-āparādha, privilege,	107
Dadda III, do.,	148	Dai-āparādha, off.,	291
Dadra, vi.,	103	Dakapura, vi.,	214 n.
Dākha, vi.,	258, 259, 297	dama-śāha (dāsa-śāha),	149
Dakha,	225	Dakṣatāra, i.,	13
dakṣiṇā or dakṣiṇya,	40, 52	Dasur, s. n. vi. Dakapura (?),	214 n.
Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, co.,	116, 118, 119	datta, 'gift',	262, 293
Dakṣiṇāpātha-Sādāra, var. of Avāṇḍāra,		Dakṣiṇāśāhaśāha, off.,	291
Pulakōṭin,	8 n.	Dāvapāra, vi.,	184
Dakṣiṇa-Nāḍha, co.,	103, 105, 109	dāya, 'gift',	162
Dakṣiṇa-Tōṣaṇi, co.,	200, 201	dāyaka,	62, 163
Dakṣiṇāpāra,	278	days, lunar :-	
dama or dāma, s. n. dāmasa,	276	bright fortnight :-	
Damamala-chaturdaśī,	188, 188 & n., 189	1st,	213, 221, 271, 273
Damamala-pāraṇa s. n. Damamala-chaturdaśī,	134,	3rd,	72, 137, 138, 140, 274 n.
	135	4th,	30, 31, 34
Dāmasvāmin, vi.,	93, 94	5th,	48, 49, 52, 231, 234, 238, 247, 249, 263, 265

	PAGE
days, lunar— <i>contd.</i>	
bright fortnight— <i>contd.</i>	
6th,	277 n.
7th,	54 add., 58 add., 69, 73
10th,	3, 6, 8, 104, 111, 183, 185
12th,	66, 67, 271 n.
13th,	49, 137, 138, 140
14th,	134, 135, 186, 188 & n., 189, 277
15th (full-moon),	48, 89, 98, 99, 104, 108, 165, 205, 215, 217 & n., 223, 229, 230, 234, 236, 240, 277 & n., 278
dark fortnight :—	
3rd,	224
7th,	82, 87, 281, 282
10th,	3
13th,	104, 113, 168, 216 n., 278
15th (new moon),	45, 115, 119, 121, 122, 148, 152, 155, 190, 213, 275, 276, 278, 280
days of the month :—	
5th,	245, 247
13th,	199, 202
17th,	100, 203
24th,	100, 203
27th,	158, 161
29th,	19, 22
30th,	190, 201
days of the reign :—	
98th,	27
days of the week :—	
Sunday,	72, 104, 107, 183, 185, 190, 234, 238, 241, 277 & n., 278
Monday,	69, 73, 214 n., 217 n., 223, 229, 230, 275, 278, 279, 280, 281
Tuesday,	2, 6, 8, 104, 213, 214 n., 274 n., 278
Wednesday,	3 n., 224, 273, 275
Thursday,	3, 186, 188, 189, 271, 278
Friday,	104, 168
Saturday,	30, 31, 34, 217 n., 234, 277 n.
Dedaka, <i>donor</i> ,	107, 110
<i>donor, emblem on seal</i> ,	290
Detyaka, m.,	148, 152, 155
Delli,	187, 222, 234, 239
Dunjalitru, ca.,	90
Dub-Basavata Inscription of Jivitagupta II,	242, 243, 291 & n.
Dudi Plates of Krishna III,	257 n.
dśana, Buddhist term,	242
Dśānāśāśī, work,	231 n.
Dun, m.,	223
dhambha,	107, 163, 169, 293
dharmasamādāna-śāśī-murja, privilege,	136
dharmasat,	22, 24, 25, 26
Dhavalatna, <i>donor</i> ,	10, 11, 16 & n., 18
dhaditya,	152, 211, 221, 292
Dhāditya, <i>Parivrajaka</i> k.,	171
Dhāditya, <i>donor</i> ,	106, 110

	PAGE
Dhāditya, m.,	105, 110
dhāditya, 'procession or ablation of images' ?	157, 159
Dhagiri, ca.,	184, 270, 281
dhāgrahāya,	54, 66
Dhagupta, s. a. Chandragupta II,	82, 86
dhātula, 'temple',	164, 170, 240, 251, 292
Dhālā Dhēt, <i>Chāḍaka</i> g.,	100 & n.
Dhālā Dhēt, <i>Sinda</i> g.,	100 & n.
dhālaya, 'temple',	168, 170
Dhāmanātha, m.,	190, 194
Dhāpāla, <i>Pala</i> k.,	290 & n., 291
Dhāpāla, <i>Parasara</i> k.,	191, 192
Dhāpura, ca.,	58
Dhārāja, <i>Vādaka</i> minister,	190, 193, 194, 195
Dhārāśāstra, ca.,	57, 58, 59, 60, 61
Dhārāja I, <i>Vijayapāra</i> k.,	102, 183, 185
Dhārvāmīna, m.,	103, 110
Dhārvāmīna Thākura, m.,	128, 129, 140
dhāra, s. a. <i>Indrapata</i> ,	235
Dhāvarman, <i>Vāḥanāśāstra</i> prince,	88, 91, 92, 93, 95
dhāvatana, 'temple',	169
Dhāvatavarma, <i>Ganga</i> k.,	201 n., 281
Dhāvatavarma III, do.,	75 n.
Dhāvatavarma IV, do.,	74, 75 & n., 77
Dhāt Madhā, k.,	256
Dhāt-thoma, s. a. <i>Sasarpatta</i> ,	247
dhā,	0, 180, 259 n., 265 n.
dhā,	189
Dhāmapāgrāma, vi.,	105, 107
Dhāmapāda, work,	40 n.
Dhāmadatta, com.,	264, 265
Dhānādika Copper-plate Inscription,	53
Dhānāntara Plates of Samantavarman,	201
Dhānapāla, author,	101 n.
Dhānapati, s. a. god Kubera,	251
Dhānavāmīna, m.,	157, 159
Dhānatapāṭaka, vi.,	117 n.
Dhānuk, rāt.,	168
Dhārī, ca.,	191, 192
Dhāradatta, m.,	249
Dhārasa, s. a. vi., Dhārāśāstra,	206 n.
Dhārāśāstra, vi.,	30, 205, 206 & n., 210, 213, 221
Dhārāśāstra, ch. of <i>Chakrabhūṭya</i> ,	244
Dhārāśāstra, <i>Parasara</i> k., of <i>Adā</i> ,	232
Dhārāśāstra, <i>Rāṣṭrakūṭa</i> k.,	15, 205, 210, 220
Dhārāśāstra, sur. of <i>Rāṣṭrakūṭa</i> k. Dharmā,	144
Dhārāśāstra, <i>donor</i> ,	223, 229, 290
Dharmā,	136, 157, 159, 163, 169, 202, 203, 255, 267, 269
Dharmā,	202
Dharmachakra, emblem on seal,	290
Dharmachakra,	87
Dharmachakra, m.,	291, 292

	PAGE		PAGE
Gāṇḍhāra, <i>cf.</i>	2, 4, 7	gāṇḍhāra— <i>cond.</i>	
gāṇḍhāra— <i>cond.</i>	229	Siguli (Śāṅgali).	11, 18
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	65, 71, 76	Vachchha, <i>s. v.</i> Vata.	263, 266, 269
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	79, 261, 262, 264, 264, 268	Vajrasūtra (?)	11, 18
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	261, 268	Vārāha.	108, 110
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	84	Vasudhā or Vasudhā.	58 <i>n.</i> , 105, 109, 109, 194, 194
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	29, 21	Vata.	74, 77, 103, 105, 106, 106, 110, 109, 203, 203, 204, 205 <i>n.</i> , 206, 208
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	108	Vāṭra, <i>cf.</i> Vata.	78, 80, 109, 203, 203
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	108, 108, 109	Vasudhāryāmīn.	85
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	29 <i>& n.</i> , 30, 33	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n.</i>	249, 250, 251, 254
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	133	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	275 <i>n.</i> , 274
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	270 <i>n.</i>	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	274 <i>n.</i>
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	108 <i>& n.</i> , 107, 108, 109	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	273 <i>& n.</i> , 274 <i>n.</i>
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	200, 201	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	289
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	54, 55, 56	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	182, 183
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	20	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	23, 24
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	177, 180, 283	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	293 <i>n.</i>
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	23, 23, 23	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	10, 14
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	108, 109	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	10, 11, 15
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	79, 80	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	10, 11 <i>& n.</i> , 12 <i>& n.</i> , 13, 13, 82 <i>n.</i> , 204, 205 <i>& n.</i> , 206, 208, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 258, 259, 264, 265, 286, 297
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	290	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	104, 106
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	10 <i>n.</i>	Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	74, 77
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	105, 110
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	21, 93, 95 <i>& n.</i>
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	137, 140
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	10
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	15, 106, 210, 220
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	151
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	79, 264, 268, 268
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	289 <i>& n.</i>
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	23
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	93
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	106 <i>n.</i>
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	140
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	106 <i>& n.</i>
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	100
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	103, 106, 109
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	80 <i>n.</i>
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	29 <i>& n.</i>
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	30, 33
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	29, 30, 33
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	48, 138, 172, 173, 191, 192, 214, 235, 234, 238, 270 <i>n.</i> , 275, 277 <i>n.</i>
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	186 <i>n.</i>
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	128
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	167
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	123, 188
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	106, 110
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	71
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	259
Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>		Gāṇḍhāryāmīn, <i>n. of god Śiva</i>	37, 38 <i>& n.</i> , 60, 61 <i>& n.</i>

	PAGE
Gandama I, <i>Ganga</i> L.,	71
Gandama II, <i>do.</i> ,	72
Gandavara, s. a. <i>god</i> Śiva,	201, 202 & n.
Gupta, <i>dy.</i> ,	43 n., 83, 84 & n., 89, 103, 106, 138, 150, 173, 174, 205
Gupta-śrīpa-rājya-lakṣmī,	171, 173
Gurjara or Gūrjara, <i>dy.</i> ,	148, 191 & n., 192, 193, 194, 195, 209, 215, 220, 228, 230, 284, 296, 297
Gurjara-Prasthāna, <i>dy.</i> ,	12 n., 238, 269
Gutti, <i>dy.</i> ,	183
Gūvāla, s. a. Gūhala I.,	29
Gūvāla, <i>dy.</i> ,	29 n.
Gyāśāpur, <i>dy.</i> ,	31
Gyāśā, <i>Parvata</i> L.,	133

H

h,	9, 150, 245, 259 n.
Hālā, m.,	234, 239, 241
Hādya, s. a. <i>Kalachuri</i> <i>dy.</i> ,	2, 4, 8, 7
hala, L. m.,	66, 67
Hallaayara, <i>dy.</i> ,	78, 79
Hālī Plates of Harivarman,	91 n.
Hammira, <i>Chasaka</i> L.,	187
Hammira, <i>dh. of Mevār</i> ,	231, 232, 294, 235, 238
Hamaśramadamaradana, work,	191 & n.
Hampi, L.,	183
Hara, s. a. <i>god</i> Śiva,	12, 151, 154, 168, 206, 218, 230, 239
Haraśīla, <i>dy.</i> ,	249, 251, 253
Hārīśā Inscription,	47 n., 115, 116
Haraśa, m.,	140
Hari, m.,	108, 110
Hari, m., <i>EMdy.</i> ,	157, 159
Hari, m., <i>Fakiriyān</i> ,	157, 160
Hari Śākhā, m.,	103, 109
Haribara Mahāśāyā, <i>Vijaynagar</i> L.,	182, 185
Haribhagya, <i>dy.</i> ,	184
Haripālādya, <i>Śākhā</i> L.,	273, 274, 277
Haripara, m.,	205, 206, 210
Harikhamla, <i>Gokulāśā</i> L.,	185 & n.
Haribhāga, <i>Pāṇinī</i> L.,	92, 117
Hārī,	167
Hārī, L.,	10, 14
Hārī, L. of <i>Kanauj</i> ,	119 n.
Hārīkhamla, work,	119 n., 130 n.
Hārīkhamla, L.,	149, 153
Hārīkhamla or Hārīkhamla, <i>Śākhā</i> L.,	113 & n., 110, 119, 129, 132 of <i>Kāśā</i> ,
Hārīkhamla, L. of <i>Kanauj</i> ,	158, 243
Hārīśā Grant of <i>Śyāka</i> ,	162
Hārīśā, <i>Kāśā</i> L.,	89
Hārīśā, <i>Kāśā</i> L.,	245
Hārīśā, <i>Kāśā</i> L.,	33, 32
Hārīśā, L. m.,	201
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> , 'obstruction',	160

	PAGE
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	171, 172
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	55, 57, 62, 63 & n., 64, 66, 69
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	89 n.
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	291
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	188 n.
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	193
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	193 n.
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	199, 195, 196
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	12 n., 12 n., 221 n., 275 n.
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	33 n., 134, 193, 195, 279 n.
Hārīśā, L.,	184
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	148, 152, 153
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	75 n.
Hārīśā, L.,	34
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	25, 27, 42
Hārīśā, m.,	157, 159
Hārīśā, m.,	30, 240, 294, 297
Hārīśā, s. a. <i>śākhā</i> , <i>Hārīśā</i> ,	237
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> , m.,	245
Hārīśā,	293
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	147
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	43
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	55
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	157, 159
Hārīśā, s. a. <i>śākhā</i> , <i>Hārīśā</i> ,	296
Hārīśā,	190, 195, 196
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	134
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	182
Hārīśā,	48
Hārīśā, <i>dy.</i> ,	175, 177, 178 & n., 179, 180 n., 181 n., 182, 184, 191, 193
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	191, 193
Hārīśā, L.,	184
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	223
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	102 & n., 291
Hārīśā, <i>śākhā</i> L.,	105, 106
Hārīśā, s. a. <i>god</i> Agni,	253

I

I, initial,	78 n., 81, 123, 162, 204, 213, 279
I, medial,	85, 74, 195, 291, 296
I, medial, used for I,	115
I, suppositively used,	189
I, initial,	83
I, medial,	74, 81, 89, 91 n., 114, 166
I, <i>śākhā</i> ,	232
I, <i>śākhā</i> , <i>śākhā</i> ,	32 n.
I, <i>śākhā</i> , <i>śākhā</i> ,	47
I, <i>śākhā</i> , s. a. <i>śākhā</i> ,	272
I, <i>śākhā</i> , <i>śākhā</i> , 'lord of the lord of I',	232
I, <i>śākhā</i> , <i>śākhā</i> ,	286, 287, 288
I, s. a. <i>śākhā</i> ,	144 n.

	PAGE		PAGE
Itanmah,	186 & n., 187	Jaitirāvaṃ, <i>ś.</i> ,	231, 232, 235, 239
Itami-Kaṇḍāruvā, <i>ś.</i> ,	186	Jaitugi, <i>Tadma</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	181
Itan, <i>m.</i> ,	140	Jaitpur, <i>ś.</i> ,	120
Itan Dēvanāgarī, <i>m.</i> ,	255, 257, 258	Jājallādēva I, <i>Kalucheri</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	2, 4, 7
Indian Museum: Plates of Dēvāndravarma, 76, 201 n.		Jājallādēva II, <i>do.</i> ,	2
Indra, <i>god</i> ,	44, 99, 130, 167, 225, 230	Jājaja, 'lotus', auspicious sign,	189
Indra II, <i>Bikrakhā</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	10, 14	Jamūlgarh Lamp Inscription,	289
Indra III, <i>do.</i> ,	104, 206	Jamata; <i>donor</i> ,	100, 110
Indrathāṭṭarakavarma, <i>Vikantapāṇi</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	91, 92, 93, 95	Jamūnadi- <i>ś.</i> , <i>do.</i> ,	190, 200, 201
Indradān, <i>s. o. ś.</i> Indradhavalā (?),	227	Janamājaya, <i>s. o. Mahā-Bhātugupta II</i> , 249, 253 & n., 255	
Indradēva, <i>s. o. ś.</i> Indradhavalā,	225, 227, 228	Janopada,	72, 79, 108, 111, 112, 113, 125, 159, 202, 264
Indradhavalā, <i>ś.</i> ,	223, 224 & n., 227, 228, 229	Janupada,	77, 129, 131
Indradynma, <i>s. o. Indradān</i> (?),	227	Janāriana, <i>s. o. god Vishnu</i> ,	178 n.
Indrapāṇi's Inscription,	103	Janārya, <i>sur. of Vikantapāṇi & Māha</i> ,	
Indrarāja, <i>K. Chāḍaga</i> prince,	167	javamza III,	90, 91, 93 & n., 95
Indravarma, <i>K. Chāḍaga</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	94, 95 n.	Jandirgi Chāḍagickiti, <i>work</i> ,	90, 93, 95 n.
Indravarma, <i>Gatga</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	56, 57, 78, 94, 204	Jangyikā, <i>ś.</i> ,	53, 54, 55, 56
Indravarma I, <i>do.</i> ,	62, 63, 64 n., 78	Japila, <i>ś.</i> ,	224 & n., 228
Indravarma II, <i>do.</i> ,	62, 63 n., 64	Jarānāḍa, <i>ś.</i> ,	137
Indravarma, <i>Vikantapāṇi</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	93 n.	Jāḍa, <i>work</i> ,	39
Indrāvātī, <i>ś.</i> ,	244	Jāṭeṅga-Dungri Plates of Mahā-Sivagupta I, 230 n.	
indr(ga), Buddhist term,	241	Jatiga I, <i>Sāḍhara</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	29, 30, 33
Ipur Plates (Set I),	88, 91 & n., 92 & n., 93 n., 95 n., 96	Jatiga II, <i>do.</i> ,	39 & n., 30, 33
Ipur Plates (Set II),	91 & n., 92 & n., 93 n.	Jatila Patāṇaka, <i>Pāṇḍya</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	254
Ipur Plates of Māhāvarama I,	116	Jannor Stone Inscription of Iṅavaravarma,	116
Ira, <i>s. o. god Śiva</i> ,	235	Jāwar Inscription of V. & 1478,	231 n.
Ira, <i>s. o. rīḡa</i> ,	29	Jayabhaṭa I, <i>Gurjara</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	148, 149, 150, 153
Iśāndēva, <i>Sāmacaṇḍi</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	110	Jayabhaṭa II, <i>do.</i> ,	148, 149, 150, 153
Iśānavarma, <i>Māḍhara</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	110, 116 & n.	Jayabhaṭa III, <i>do.</i> ,	148, 149, 151 & n., 153, 154 & n., 155
Iśāpura Yāpa Inscriptions,	44, 45 & n., 51	Jayāḷ, <i>ś.</i> ,	204
Iśvara (Iśāndēva) <i>gōra</i> , <i>m.</i> ,	106, 110	Jayāḷa, <i>imp.</i> ,	158, 161
Iśvara, (<i>Antara</i> <i>gōra</i>) <i>m.</i> ,	102, 109	Jayāḷha, <i>Uchchālpa</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	171, 172, 173
Iśvara, <i>s. o. god Śiva</i> ,	235	Jayāḷhāḍhā-maṇḍalam, <i>ś.</i> ,	24
Iśvaradatta, <i>Āḍhara</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	46	Jayastimha I, <i>K. Chāḍaga</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	88, 90, 94 & n., 93 n., 167
Iśvaradatta, <i>imp.</i> ,	82, 83, 87	Jayastimha II, <i>do.</i> ,	167
Iśvaraghaṭa, <i>ś.</i> ,	229	Jayastimha, <i>m.</i> ,	194, 199, 151
Iśvaravarma, <i>Māḍhara</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	116	Jayastimha, <i>Paramāra</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	123, 134
Iśāḥa,	253, 255	Jayaśambha,	43
		Jayaśāṇi, <i>Uchchālpa</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	171
		Jayavāṇi, <i>Uchchālpa</i> <i>g.</i> ,	171
		Jayavarmadēva, <i>Gatga</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	257, 258 & n.
		Jayavarmadēva, <i>Gatga</i> <i>ś.</i> ,	261, 262, 266
		Jayavijaya, so called doorway in the Jayastimha temple at Puri,	225
		Jaynagar, <i>ś.</i> ,	227
		Jāḷaḷaḷaḷa, <i>ś.</i> ,	262 n. & add.
		Jā,	204
		Jhāmpadaprabhu or Jhāmpadaprabhu, <i>māḍhara</i> ,	276, 279, 280
		Jhāṇḍāḍga,	19, 57
		Jjika, <i>ś.</i> ,	64 n.
		Jhāḷa, <i>s. o. Chāḷaḷa</i> ,	231

	PAGE
Jihāṭā,	234
Jināyādhana, <i>progenitor of Śālikāra</i> &c.,	274
Jināyādhana, <i>Vidyadhara</i> prince, 30, 31, 32, 33 & n.	
Jināyādhana,	233 n.
Jirāṅgi Grant of Indravarmā I., 62 & n., 63, 64 n.,	92
jira-śālikāra, <i>purpose of donation</i> ,	195
jira-śālikāra, 'repairs',	276
Jitākara, s. a. Jitāśvara,	232
Jitāśvara, m.,	187, 189
Jitāśvara II, <i>Crete</i> &c.,	242, 243
Jiya-Mahipati, s. a. Alagiyādyar,	177
Jā,	124
Jānāśvara, <i>crust</i> ,	193
Jupit, <i>Twelve year Cycle of</i> —,	171
juṭṭikā,	273 n.

K

	PAGE
K.,	1, 9
Kacōyana (Kātyāyana), <i>work</i> ,	38
Kacchi, s. a. Kāchi,	144 n.
Kadala Plates of Gōvinda III's Time, 11, 12 & n.	
Kadala Plates,	206 n., 214 n.
Kadacha, vi.,	102
Kadachihahala, vi.,	102, 112
Kadachihahala, vi.,	112 n.
Kadamba, dy., 48, 50 n., 51 n., 142 n., 223, 224,	
225 & n., 226, 227, 228	
Kādambarān, s. a. Kadamba ch. Samara-	
vimha (1),	226
Kādava, s. a. Pallava,	176, 178 & n., 179 & n.,
180, 181	
Kāṇḍava-kumāra, s. a. Pallava ch. Kōpper-	
nāṅṅadāra II,	176
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Pallavādya,	181 n.
Kāṇḍavādyar, off.,	31, 34
Kāṇḍavādyar,	178
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Perumangalam-Uḍaiyār,	176
Kāṇḍavādyar, m.,	249, 254, 255
Kāṇḍavādyar, m.,	194, 236, 239
Kāṇḍavādyar, vi.,	113, 120, 122
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Kōṅḍā,	131 n.
Kāṇḍavādyar, vi.,	3
Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>damna destroyed by Vishay</i> ,	178 n.
Kāṇḍavādyar, l.,	30
Kāṇḍavādyar, sign,	1, 21 n., 22 n., 231 n.
Kāṇḍavādyar, dy.,	96, 191, 192, 193 & n.
Kāṇḍavādyar I, <i>Rāṇḍavādyar</i> &c.,	10, 14
Kāṇḍavādyar,	94 n.
Kāṇḍavādyar,	2, 3, 4 & n., 5, 7, 8, 102, 103, 115,
172, 173, 174, 255, 257, 258 & n.,	
259 & n., 260, 296	
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Kōṅḍavādyar (1),	280
Kāṇḍavādyar, vi.,	223
Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>work</i> ,	30
Kāṇḍavādyar, vi.,	284

	PAGE
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Uḍaiyār, 283 & n., 284, 286,	
287, 288	
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Uḍaiyār, 283, 285, 288	
Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>measure of capacity</i> ,	26, 26, 27
Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>sub-set of the Pāṇḍavādyar</i> , 102, 103, 104,	
105, 106	
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Pāṇḍavādyar II, or Pāṇḍavā-	
dyar II,	164 & n., 179
Kāṇḍavādyar, m.,	163
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Kāṇḍavādyar,	283 & n.
Kāṇḍavādyar, l.,	116
Kāṇḍavādyar Stone Inscription of Uḍaiyār,	116
Kāṇḍavādyar,	290, 297, 298
Kāṇḍavādyar, part of pāṇḍavādyar,	43 n.
Kāṇḍavādyar, depicted over inscription, 273, 277, 278, 279,	
280	
Kāṇḍavādyar, 'pitcher', <i>auspicious sign</i> ,	188, 281
Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>Inscription of Gōvinda IV</i> ,	104
Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>Inscription</i> ,	37 & n.
Kāṇḍavādyar, 'belonging to Kāṇḍavādyar',	128
Kāṇḍavādyar Plates of Śāṇḍavādyar,	239
Kāṇḍavādyar, 125, 128, 130, 131, 149, 150, 153, 154,	
207, 208, 219, 226	
Kāṇḍavādyar, author,	84, 83, 84 & n., 93,
172 n.	
Kāṇḍavādyar, com.,	82, 83, 84, 87
Kāṇḍavādyar, co., 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 69 & n., 70,	
75, 79, 80, 90, 91, 94, 95, 119, 123,	
125, 126, 127, 130 & n., 131 n.,	
1133, 62, 163, 200, 225, 226,	
248, 261, 262, 264, 266, 268, 269	
Kāṇḍavādyar,	89
Kāṇḍavādyar, co., 65 & n., 66, 68, 69, 72, 75, 76	
Kāṇḍavādyar, vi.,	65
Kāṇḍavādyar, Kāṇḍavādyar,	2, 4, 7
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Rāṇḍavādyar & Nāṇḍavādyar, 208, 219	
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Rāṇḍavādyar &c.,	
Vāṇḍavādyar V.,	167
Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>work of Gāṇḍavādyar</i> ,	
dyar,	31, 33
Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>Viṇḍavādyar</i> ,	253, 255
Kāṇḍavādyar, vi.,	182
Kāṇḍavādyar, vi.,	134
Kāṇḍavādyar, Kāṇḍavādyar,	2
Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>work of Kāṇḍavādyar</i> ,	
Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>work of Kāṇḍavādyar</i> ,	240, 251, 252, 253
Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>work of Kāṇḍavādyar</i> ,	114
Kāṇḍavādyar I, <i>Gāṇḍavādyar</i> &c.,	71
Kāṇḍavādyar II, <i>do.</i> ,	71
Kāṇḍavādyar III, <i>do.</i> ,	68, 72
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Asam,	261
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Rāṇḍavādyar & Nāṇḍavādyar,	144
Kāṇḍavādyar, s. a. Kāṇḍavādyar,	184 n.
Kāṇḍavādyar, vi.,	80 n., 94
Kāṇḍavādyar or Kāṇḍavādyar, <i>Pallava</i> &c., 142, 143 & n.,	
146, 147	

	PAGE		PAGE
Kanpara-Eighteen, <i>di.</i>	183	Katavantapura, s. n. Katarandapuram,	250, 258
Kanpala, Kampiladēva or Kampilādyā, <i>l.</i>	182, 183 & n., 184 & n., 185 & n.	Katcha, <i>et.</i>	102
Kampilādyā, s. n. Kampilādēva,	184 n.	Karja Plates of Karja III.	259 n.
Kāṇḍādyā, 'bricks'	201, 202	Karhāḍa Brāhmaṇa, cf. Karahāḍa,	104
Kāṇḍādyā, <i>do.</i>	207	Karigama, <i>et.</i>	105, 107
Kāṇḍādyā, <i>do.</i>	40	Karikhā, <i>Chōja</i> <i>et.</i>	90
Kanama, <i>l.</i>	51	Karikhā, family,	90
Kanawa Inscription,	51 n.	Karikhā-Chōja,	90
Kanraj, 47 & n., 103, 187, 221, 225, 238 n., 290		Kāṭhālī, <i>et.</i>	250 & n., 255, 257
Kāṇḍāntulā, gift,	235, 236	Kāṭhālī Inscription,	255 & n., 257 n.
Kāṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	16, 14, 89 n., 147, 179, 210	Kar-tary-āgama, 'elephant and horse lore',	169
Kanjali-Sāpan, s. n. Tennavan Pallava- dārayan	283, 286, 288	Kar-tary-āgama-ma-sādhana, <i>off.</i>	239
Kāṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	196	Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	26, 27
Kāṇḍāntulā, s. n. Kāṇḍāntulā,	196	Karka, <i>Bastardity</i> <i>et.</i>	208
Kāṇḍāntulā, s. n. Oṇḍa-Kāṇḍāntulā,	196	Karkha, s. n. Karkha,	14 n.
Kāṇḍā, Pāṇḍa <i>et.</i>	193 n.	Karpa, <i>epic</i> <i>et.</i>	207, 218
Kāṇḍā, Pāṇḍa <i>et.</i>	47 & n.	Karpa, <i>Gurjara</i> <i>et.</i>	140, 153
Kanley Plates of Pampurādēva,	147 n.	Karna, Kalaheri <i>et.</i>	102, 134, 258, 290
Kāṇḍā literature,	190	Karpā, people,	10, 14, 291
Kannadā, <i>et.</i>	180, 181	Karpātaka Brāhmaṇa,	104, 107
Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	178	Karpātaka, <i>et.</i>	150 & n., 200, 217
Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>Bastardity</i> <i>et.</i>	144 n., 145 n.	Karnāl Plates of Vikramāditya I.,	82 n.
Kāṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	180, 181	Karpara, <i>mint</i> ,	190
Kāṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	102, 105, 106, 113	Karphāḍāgrāma, <i>et.</i>	135
Kāṇḍā, s. n. Kāṇḍā,	190	Kāṇḍā, measure of capacity,	137, 140
Kāṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	208, 210	Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>off.</i>	157, 159
Kāṇḍā-āṇḍā-āṇḍā-āṇḍā-āṇḍā-āṇḍā,		Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	2, 4, 6, 43 n.
gift,	236	Kāṇḍāntulā,	80 & n.
Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	225, 243	Kāṇḍāntulā (year),	104
Kāṇḍāntulā-āṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	243	Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	120, 122
Kāṇḍāntulā-āṇḍā,	188, 189	Kāṇḍāntulā-āṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	283, 286, 288
Kāṇḍāntulā Inscription,	97 n.	Kāṇḍāntulā or Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	11 & n., 10, 18
Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	165	Kāṇḍāntulā Plates of Bhāṇḍāntulā,	29 n.
Kāṇḍāntulā-āṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	130, 140	Kāṇḍāntulā,	271
Kāṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	290, 291	Kāṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	233
Kāṇḍāntulā-Māṇḍāntulā,	190	Kāṇḍā Stone Inscription,	259 & n., 260
Kāṇḍāntulā-Māṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	190, 191, 194, 195	Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	264
Kāṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	37	Kāṇḍāntulā Plates,	57
Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	157, 159	Kāṇḍā, <i>et.</i>	24, 26, 27, 287, 288
Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	105, 107	Kāṇḍāntulā, s. n. Kāṇḍāntulā,	180
Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	44 n.	Kāṇḍāntulā, 'camp',	250 & n.
Kāṇḍāntulā, 'first harvesting season' cf. Tula, 50, 27		Kāṇḍāntulā, s. n. Kāṇḍāntulā,	44
Kāṇḍāntulā, 'oil' or 'tar',	41, 60, 66, 68, 238	Kāṇḍāntulā, s. n. Kāṇḍāntulā (71),	290 n.
Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	104, 107	Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>off.</i>	104, 170
Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	147	Kāṇḍāntulā (Thron) of the 31st year,	240, 250, 251 n., 253 n.
Kāṇḍāntulā-āṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	147	Kāṇḍāntulā, s. n. Kāṇḍāntulā,	275 n.
Kāṇḍāntulā-āṇḍāntulā, work,	20 & n., 275 n.	Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	275 & n., 276
Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	120, 129, 131, 202, 203	Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	138, 270 n., 277 & n.
Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	150 n.	Kāṇḍāntulā-āṇḍāntulā Inscription,	179
Kāṇḍāntulā, s. n. Kāṇḍāntulā,	83 n.	Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	82, 87
Kāṇḍāntulā, work for Kāṇḍāntulā,	82, 83, n., 87	Kāṇḍāntulā-āṇḍāntulā, work,	43, 44 n.
Kāṇḍāntulāntulā, s. n. Kāṇḍāntulā,	283, 294 & n., 285, 288	Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>et.</i>	83, 87
		Kāṇḍāntulā, s. n. Kāṇḍāntulā,	282
		Kāṇḍāntulā, <i>off.</i>	138, 140

	PAGE		PAGE
Kaurusha, one of Lakshmi's four pupils,	164	Manda-epikula-jya-bhāva, 'royal',	32
Kauṣṭhīka, ca.,	243 n., 247	Manda-epikula-nivāsa, do.,	169
Kauṣṭhīka, public,	107	Manda-epikula-pratīkṣa, do.,	252
Kauṣṭhīya, author,	254 n., 255 n., 284	Kāṇḍiyya-Bāya, s. n. Kāṇḍiyya,	184
Kāvāda, st.,	105, 109	Kāṇḍiyya = Kāṇḍiyya, cogn.,	70, 78
Kāśī, st., see also Kāśī,	147	Kāṇḍiyya, I.,	284
Kāśī-Pāṇḍi, st. of Pallava s. n. Kōpper-		Kāṇḍiyya, s. n. Kāṇḍiyya (1),	205
nāṇḍiyya I.,	179	Kāṇḍiyya Plates of Mahā-Sudhavarjya,	15
Kāśī, st., chief guard,	182	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	103, 106, 110
Kāśī, st.,	144, 145, 147 & n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	116
Kāśī, st.,	179, 178, 193 n.	Kāṇḍiyya Inscription of Mahā-Sudhavarjya,	2, 3
Kāśī, st.,	143	Kāṇḍiyya Inscriptions,	289 & n.
Kāśī, st.,	144, 147 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	291
Kāśī, st.,	3, 151 n., 152 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, 'engraved', s. n. Kāṇḍiyya,	82 n., 87
Kāśī, st., s. n. Kāṇḍiyya,	194	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	23, 24, 25
Kāśī, st., s. n. Kāṇḍiyya,	194	Kāṇḍiyya, s. n. Kāṇḍiyya (7),	224, 225
Kāśī, st., st. of Yōgiyama,	224, 227, 240	Kāṇḍiyya, s. n. Kāṇḍiyya,	214 n.
Kāśī, st., work,	192	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	213, 214 n., 225
Kāśī, s. n. Kāṇḍiyya,	180, 181	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	29, 31, 32, 34
Kāśī, st.,	180	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	103, 106, 110
Kāśī, st., st. of Pallava s. n. Kōpper-		Kāṇḍiyya, st. of Kāṇḍiyya,	103
nāṇḍiyya I.,	175 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st. of Kāṇḍiyya,	102
Kāśī, st., work,	83 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st. of Kāṇḍiyya,	102
Kāśī, st., do.,	83	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	103
Kāśī, st.,	240	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	103, 106, 110
Kāśī, st.,	2, 3, 8, 8	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	222
Kāśī, st.,	191 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	54, 55
Kāśī, st.,	10, 14, 217 n., 297	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	101 n.
Kāśī, st.,	109, 202	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	239, 240
Kāśī, st.,	159 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	129, 127, 131 n.
Kāśī, st., s. n. Kāṇḍiyya,	249, 252, 255	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	185
Kāśī, st.,	279	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	24, 25
Kāśī, st.,	130	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	221
Kāśī, st.,	75, 203 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	157, 160
Kāśī, st., s. n. Kāṇḍiyya,	23 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	27, 28, 66, 61
Kāśī, st.,	157, 160	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	89
Kāśī, st.,	249, 251, 255	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	42 n.
Kāśī, st.,	225, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	90, 92 & n.
Kāśī, st.,	103, 105, 109	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	224, 229
Kāśī, st.,	117 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	29 & n., 30, 32
Kāśī, st.,	205, 206, 210	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	291
Kāśī, st.,	257 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	24
Kāśī, st.,	104	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	225
Kāśī, st.,	64 n., 290, 291	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	29, 30, 31, 34
Kāśī, st.,	209, 268	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	157, 159
Kāśī, st.,	248	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	30
Kāśī, st.,	12 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	165 & n.
Kāśī, st.,	99, 109 n.	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	44 n.
Kāśī, st.,	204	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	79
Kāśī, st.,	29, 30, 31, 34	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	3, 4, 7
Kāśī, st.,	261, 263	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	208 & n.
Kāśī, st.,	240, 250, 251, 254	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	167
Kāśī, st.,	157, 159, 159	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	79
Kāśī, st.,	158	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	103
Kāśī, st.,	266, 268	Kāṇḍiyya, st.,	79

	PAGE		PAGE
Kōllalapura, s. n. Kōllālapura,	79	Krishnādēva, <i>Vādama</i> governor,	262
Kolavennu Plates of Chālukya-Bhūma II,	27, 69	Krishnādēvarāja, <i>Vijayanagara</i> k.,	180 n.
Kollāpur,	28, 29, 30, 273	Krishna-Kandhāra or Krishnā, <i>Vādama</i> k.,	194, 192, 193 & n.
Kōllāpura, s. n. Kollāpur,	29, 30, 31, 34	Krishnarāja, <i>Perambra</i> k.,	102, 108, 112
Kollēn Plates of Vijayanandavarman,	56	Krishna-Sulhatnaga-Akīlavarsa, <i>Śākya</i> ,	10, 14
Kōmarī Plates of Chandavarman,	56, 58 n., 89 n., 209	Krita, age,	208, 219
Kōmūjavādā, et.,	29, 30, 31, 34	Kṛta, 'fruit', 'booty', 'reward',	59
Kōmihala-vāṭikā,	280	Kṛta, <i>Hiranyanābha's</i> pupil,	30
Kondakkēra, a sort of <i>śakara</i> ,	144	Kṛta or Kṛta, s. of era,	48, 49, 50, 51, 52
Kōṇḍamañchi, et.,	89, 97, 98, 99	Kṛta, s. of k.,	59
Kōṇḍapadumati, family,	96	Kṛta, one of <i>Vīṇādāna</i> ,	66
Kōṇḍapāṇa, et.,	59	Kṛta, <i>Paṇḍita's</i> son,	30
Kōṇḍār, s. n. Kōṇḍakkēra,	144	Kṛtivilāsa, s. n. god Śiva,	120
Kōṇḍarāja, s. n. Kanodārāja,	83	Kṛṣṭnāhavarman, et.,	261
Kōṇḍōḍa Grant of Dharmarāja,	91, 94 n., 123	kā,	124
Kōṇḍirijapuram Inscription,	26	kā, confused with ka,	9
Kōṇḍōḍa, et.,	64, 69 n., 123, 125, 126, 128, 131, 201	kā, Kharoṣṭhi —,	289 n.
Konkan, Konkan, Konkan or Kōṇḍaga,		kāṭa, 'ungraved', s. n. kākā,	82 n.
et.,	102 & n., 269, 271, 277, 278, 280, 281, 282	Kakutrapa, et.,	47, 48
Kōṇḍachakravartin, Śākya et.,	277, 278, 280	Kakatriya, caste,	47, 119, 235, 238, 240
Kōṇḍa-Thūḷa,	102	kakapa-tikā,	278
Kōṇḍa-Nagaratnā,	287, 288	Kakāma, m.,	37
Kōṇḍa-Sāṭṭa,	287, 288	Kakāṇḍara, <i>maṭka</i> ,	82 & n.
Kōṇḍa-Sāṭṭa, et.,	289 & n.	Kakāṭra, ch. of <i>Maṇḍa</i> ,	231, 232, 233, 234, 238, 239
Kōṇḍarām Plates of Pulikēśa II,	88, 94, 95 n.	Kakāṭrapāṇa, aff.,	291
Kōṇḍarājagadga I, <i>Palana</i> et.,	175 & n., 176, 178, 179, 180, 181	kakāṭṭāṇa, s. n. kākāṇḍāṇa,	210, 220, 293
Kōṇḍarājagadga II, et.,	176, 177 & n., 179	ka, confused with ka,	290
Kōṇḍarājagadga-dāsa, et.,	177	ka, confused with ka,	290
Kōṇḍāṇa, m.,	115 & n., 121 & n., 122	Kakāṇa, god,	240, 254
Kōṇḍa Grant, Śaka 1003,	70 n.	Kubja-Vishnūvarāṇa, <i>K. Chālukya</i> k.,	90, 93, 94, 95 & n., 96, 107
Kōṇḍa Plates of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga,	70	Kōḷaga Plates of Śiva-Mādhātavarman,	69 n.
Kōṇḍa, Kōṇḍa or Kōḷa, m.,	19, 20, 70, 92, 94, 116, 117, 118, 119, 240, 250, 251 & n., 254, 258, 291	Kōḷa, et.,	179
Kōṇḍa, s. n. Kōṇḍāṇa,	240	kōḷāṇa, tax,	24
Kōṇḍavāṇa, s. n. vi. Shergadh,	132, 134, 135, 136, 129	Kulabāra, et.,	89 n., 92 n.
Kōṇḍa Stone Inscription of Vāṇarāja,	117	Kakāṭa, minister & son,	11, 18
Kōṭa, et.,	42, 48, 62	Kuladatta, com.,	291, 292
Kōṭāḷa Inscription,	109 n., 101	Kulanch, et.,	103
Kōṭṭarāja, et. or et.,	139	Kulāṇḍa, et.,	103, 105, 109
Kōṭṭāḷa, s. n. Kōṭṭāṇa,	9, 10 n.	Kulaputra,	86
Kōṭṭāṇa, m.,	9, 11, 10 n.	Kulaputras,	70, 267
Kōṭṭāṇa, et.,	22, 24, 272	Kulavallabha Tiruchchirrahallam-Udayāḍa Per- umānamhi Pallavarāja, general,	179
Kōṭṭāṇa, s. n. Kōṭṭāṇa,	18 n.	Kulavallabha, et.,	179
Kōṭṭāṇa, et.,	291	Kulavallabha, aff.,	198 n.
Kṛṣṇa, <i>Śākya</i> k.,	297 & n., 214, 216	Kulika, tribe,	291
Kṛṣṇa, s. n. god Viṣṇu,	151, 154, 208, 219	Kulāṇḍa-Chōḷa II, <i>Chōḷa</i> k.,	179
Kṛṣṇa I, <i>Śākya</i> k.,	10, 14	Kulāṇḍa-Chōḷa III, et.,	176, 177, 178, 179
Kṛṣṇa II, et.,	258 & n.	Kulga, s. n. Kulavallabha,	157 n., 161
Kṛṣṇa III, et.,	162, 163, 257 & n.	Kulavallabha, measure of capacity & l. m.,	53, 54, 55, 60, 107, 160
		Kumāra, s. n. god Kārtikeya,	108
		Kumārādēva, <i>Uchchakapa</i> k.,	171

	Page
Kumārāditya, <i>Uchchahāṣṭya</i> g.,	471
Kumārāgupta I, <i>Agpta</i> k.,	49, 51, 174 n.
Kumārāditya, <i>off.</i> ,	70, 157, 159, 201, 202, 203, 264, 298, 299
Kumārāpāla, <i>Chakradyūta</i> k.,	192, 275
Kumārāpāla, <i>work.</i> ,	273
Kumārā-Rāmāna Kummata, <i>see</i> Kummata,	184
Kumārā-Rāmānādhārā,	182, 183 & n., 185
Kumārā-Rāmānādhārā-śāstrya, Kannada work,	183, 185
Kumārā-Rāmāna-kutā, Kannada work,	193 n.
Kumārāśāstrya, work,	84 n.
Kumārāśāstrya, <i>denia</i> ,	20, 21
Kumārāśāstrya,	83 n.
Kumbhā, <i>Ch. of Mevār</i> ,	232
Kumbhāgar Inscription of V. S. 1517,	233, 234
Kumbhā's Tower of Victory, at Chitor,	232
Kummata, <i>co.</i> ,	185, 184 & n., 185
Kuṣṭha, spring,	214 n.
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, n.,	124, 129, 131
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, n.,	139, 141
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, <i>W. Oṅga</i> prince,	145
Kuṣṭha, <i>l. m.</i> ,	31, 34
Kuṣṭha, s. n. Kūṣṭha,	271
Kuṣṭha, <i>vi.</i> ,	285, 286, 288
Kuṣṭha, <i>co.</i> ,	84, 82
Kuṣṭha, s. n. Pravarasena II,	84 & n.
Kuṣṭha, <i>lit. of Vāṭika</i> King,	84
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, work,	81 & n.
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, <i>do.</i> s. n. Kuṣṭhaśāstrya,	83 n.
Kuṣṭha, <i>work.</i> ,	65
Kuṣṭha, <i>vi.</i> ,	11, 13, 16
Kuṣṭha, <i>vi.</i> ,	13
Kuṣṭha Chakr Inscription,	37
Kuṣṭha, <i>tax.</i> ,	24
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, <i>di.</i> ,	184
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, <i>di.</i> ,	244
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	32
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, <i>co.</i> ,	149
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, <i>vi.</i> ,	47
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, <i>one of Lakṣmī's four pupils.</i>	104
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, <i>off.</i> ,	201, 202, 203
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya,	32
Kuṣṭhaśāstrya, 'Kumārāśāstrya', 'royal',	20, 54, 55, 60, 79 & n., 97, 99, 169, 206, 291
Ku, confused with k.,	9

L

L.	9, 74, 124, 141, 243
L., confused with s.	1
Lakṣmīśāstrya, s. n. Lavraṣya,	16 n.
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>vi.</i> ,	214 n.
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>vi.</i> ,	221

	Page
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>vi.</i> ,	103, 164, 169
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>vi.</i> ,	208, 209, 211
Lakṣmīśāstrya Temple Inscription,	116
Lakṣmīśāstrya, s. n. vi. Lakṣmīśāstrya,	204
Lakṣmī, <i>Ch. of Mevār</i> ,	231 & n., 233, 235, 236, 238, 239, 241
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	432
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>vi.</i> ,	180 & n., 187, 188
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>vi.</i> ,	187, 188
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	359
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	271, 272, 277
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	271, 277, 278
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	273, 274
Lakṣmīśāstrya I, <i>work.</i> ,	255, 256, 257 & n., 258 & n., 259, 260
Lakṣmīśāstrya II, <i>do.</i> ,	259
Lakṣmīśāstrya III, <i>do.</i> ,	259 n., 260
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>vi.</i> ,	224, 227
Lakṣmīśāstrya Temple Inscription,	115 n., 116 n.
Lakṣmīśāstrya Inscription,	184 & n.
Lakṣmī, emblem on seal,	1, 18
Lakṣmī, <i>work.</i> ,	108, 112, 134, 135, 153
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	141
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	132, 134, 139
Lakṣmī, founder of Lakṣmīśāstrya sect,	104
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	102, 103, 104
Lakṣmīśāstrya, s. n. Lakṣmīśāstrya sect,	105
Lakṣmīśāstrya, s. n. Lakṣmī,	109
Lakṣmī, <i>vi.</i> ,	140
Lakṣmīśāstrya, s. n. god Gaurī,	280
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>vi.</i> ,	31 n., 32 n.
Lakṣmī, <i>vi.</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Lakṣmī, <i>work.</i> ,	67
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	37, 241
Lakṣmī, <i>work.</i> ,	40
Lakṣmī, <i>work.</i> ,	142 n.
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	137
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	38
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	240
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	0 n.
Lakṣmīśāstrya, s. n. Kanarva,	28, 33 n., 34 n., 104, 162, 169, 193
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	36, 40
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	37, 106, 137, 193 & n., 270, 282
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	240
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	38
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	40, 83 n., 140, 241, 242
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	9, 40, 62, 64, 128 n., 137, 175, 207, 270, 282
Lakṣmīśāstrya, <i>work.</i> ,	2, 9, 15, 28, 45, 53, 67, 68, 74, 79, 82, 84, 85, 100, 115, 124, 133, 137, 141, 148, 160, 162, 175, 186, 189, 191, 199, 198, 205, 212, 223, 220, 231, 242, 240, 249, 250, 261, 262, 263, 267, 270, 282, 285, 284, 290

	PAGE		PAGE
Malaya, no.,	61	Māhī-Yuvakja, E. Chāhaka &,	191 n., 157
Māhīya, <i>śrīka</i> ,	47 n.	Māhīśvara, <i>donor</i> ,	200
Māhī Kāra,	178, 184	Māhīśvara Inscription,	38
Māhīyapūjī Grant of Amarakja II,	162	Māhīśvara, <i>Buddhist deity</i> ,	196
Māhīśvara, s. n. Māyākṣeta,	104	Māhīśvara, <i>author</i> ,	271 n.
Māhīśvara, m.,	249, 254, 255	Māhīśvara, v.,	148; 152, 154
Māhī, v.,	176, 180, 181, 182	Māhī, m.,	11 n., 293, 294
Māhī-Kōśalya, <i>id. of Pālava & Eōppet-</i>		Māhī Plates of Gōvinda III,	12 n.
<i>śārngavāra II</i> ,	177	Māhī Plates of Khambhādya,	11 n., 12 n.
Māhī, v.,	114 & n., 120	Māhī Plates of Śaka 724,	296, 215, 216, 217,
Māhī, v.,	144 n.	298, 294, 295, 297	
Māhīpānāyaka, m.,	69, 73	Māhī Plates of Śaka 732,	216, 217 n., 293
Māhī, v.,	113, 114 & n., 118 n., 120 & n.	Māhī, s. n. god Kāma,	163
Māhīśvara, v.,	155 & n., 158	Māhīśvara, <i>commentary</i> ,	39
Māhīśvara, v.,	25, 32	Māhīśvara, <i>commentary</i> ,	61 n.
Māhīśvara, <i>Śaka donor</i> ,	165	Māhīśvara, <i>commentary</i> ,	223, 249, 253
Māhīśvara, <i>Śaka donor</i> &,	273, 274, 275 & n.,	Māhī, <i>śrīka</i> , &,	2, 4, 6
	276, 277	Māhī, <i>śrīka</i> ,	150, 153
Māhīśvara-Linga, <i>id.</i> ,	190 n.	Māhī, / <i>tax-free</i> &,	31, 32, 34
Māhī, v.,	101 & n., 102, 103, 132, 173, 232,	Māhīśvara, v.,	101 n., 104, 105, 106, 107
	258, 259	Māhīśvara, s. n. Māhī,	11 n., 217 n.
Māhīśvara Inscription of Kṛṣṇa,	192, 193	Māhīśvara, <i>commentary</i> ,	221
Māhī, v.,	19	Māhī, <i>commentary</i> ,	25
Māhī, v., of Māhī,	206	Māhī, s. n. Śakya-Māhī,	283 n.
Māhīśvara, <i>var. of Śakyaśvara &, Dharma-</i>		Māhī-Kṛṣṇa, <i>commentary</i> ,	283
<i>śrīka</i> ,	123	Māhī-Kṛṣṇa, <i>commentary</i> ,	283
Māhī, v.,	148	Māhī-Śakya, s. n. Śakya-Māhī,	283
Māhī, d.,	203, 206, 210	Māhī-Śakya, s. n. Toppavaṇa Pallavāditya,	283
Māhīśvara, &,	19, 22		286, 288
Māhī-Dharmāśrīka work,	129, 131	Māhīśvara, &,	202, 215, 294, 297
Māhīśvaraśrīka, <i>Prakṛtaka prince</i> ,	95	Māhīśvara, <i>Śakya</i> &,	29 & n., 30, 33
Māhīśvara,	64	Māhīśvara's Grant of Śaka 980,	29 n.
Māhī, s. n. Māhīśvara,	137	Māhīśvara, <i>Śakya</i> &,	33 n.
Māhīśvaraśrīka, s. n. Māhīśvara,	223, 229	Māhīśvara, <i>commentary</i> ,	103 n.
Māhī, s. n.,	2, 4, 7, 102, 103, 117 n., 119 n.,	Māhīśvara Kulaśrīka, <i>Prakṛtaka</i> &,	190 n.
	139, 135, 136, 201, 244, 272, 274,	Māhīśvara Śakya-Prakṛtaka I, <i>do.</i> ,	178, 179
	276, 280, 290 n.	Māhīśvara Śakya-Prakṛtaka II, <i>do.</i> ,	27
Māhīśvara,	31, 33, 244	Māhīśvara Vāmana-Prakṛtaka, <i>do.</i> ,	180
Māhīśvara, <i>fort</i> ,	232, 239 n.	Māhīśvara,	192
Māhīśvara, <i>market</i> ,	137	Māhīśvara, <i>hill</i> ,	139, 140
Māhīśvara-Śakya, <i>market tax</i> ,	140	Māhī, v.,	11, 13, 16
Māhīśvara, &,	31	Māhī, <i>Yaksha</i> ,	27
Māhīśvara Inscription of Kumāragupta and		Māhīśvara, <i>śrīka</i> ,	13
<i>Hauḍavarman</i> ,	48, 51	Māhīśvara, s. n. Māhīśvara,	13
Māhīśvara Inscription of Narvaṛman,	48	Māhīśvara, v.,	201 n.
Māhīśvara Inscription of Nāgārman,	49	Māhī, v.,	207, 219
Māhīśvara, s. n. v. Māhīśvara (I),	218	Māhīśvara, v.,	213, 221
Māhīśvara, v.,	105, 107	Māhīśvara, <i>base of army</i> ,	33 n.
Māhī, s. n. v. Māhī,	16	Māhīśvara-śrīka, s. n. Māhīśvara-śrīka,	33 n.
Māhīśvara Plates of Devapāla,	183 n.	Māhīśvara-śrīka, <i>sp. of Gaudakṣīya</i> ,	29, 31
Māhī, s. n. Māhīśvara,	137	Māhīśvara,	187, 231
Māhī, s. n. Māhī,	232	Māhīśvara, s. n. v. Vāhā,	213, 214 n., 221
Māhīśvara Grant,	69 n.	Māhīśvara Plates of Anna I,	69
Māhīśvara Plates of Amarakja II,	162	Māhīśvara Plates of Chāhīka-Bhāma I,	69
Māhīśvara, <i>donor</i> ,	10, 18	Māhīśvara Plates of Chāhīka-Bhāma II,	27
		Māhī,	164, 165, 170

	PAGE		PAGE
Māhara, family,	59	Vaṇḍaṭṭa,	71 n., 109 n.
Māhara Stone Inscription of Chandragupta		Vaṇḍaṭṭakā, 3, 13, 21 n., 72 n., 121 n., 127,	
II,	174 n.	159 n., 200, 218, 226, 227, 230 n.,	
Māhārā Inscription of the year 90,	47 n.	237 n., 239 n.	
Mānāṭṭa, commentator,	43 n.		135 n.
Mānāṭṭa, donor,	57, 59, 60, 61	Mowā, s. a. Nims,	
Mān, vi.,	186 n.	Mowā, stā,	231 & n., 232, 233
Mānkhara, progenitor of Mānkhari dy.,	47	Mānkhār, s. a. Mahāṭṭa,	274
Mānkhari, dy., 42, 46, 47 & n., 48, 52, 115, 116 &		Mhōv, vi.,	102
n., 242, 243 & n.		Mhōj, vi.,	39
Mānkhari Inscriptions on Yapa,	42	Mhōj, di.,	29, 30, 31, 34
Māyāpuri, Māhārā's wife,	231, 237, 241	Mhōj, vi.,	103
Māyāpuri, vi., 10, 12 & n., 13, 16, 17, 200, 206,		Mhōj, vi.,	103
210, 213, 216 n., 217, 218, 221		Mhōj, vi.,	103, 106, 110
Māyāpuri, Kāṇḍa E.,	46	Mhōj, vi.,	103, 110
Māyāpuri, s. a. Mahāṭṭa,	37	Mhōj, vi.,	147
Māhā, a low caste,	291	Mhōj, vi.,	144, 147
Māhā, vi.,	54	Mhōj, vi.,	231 & n., 233, 234, 236, 237,
Māhā, s. a. Māhārā,	147		238, 239, 240, 241
Māhā, vi.,	143, 145	Mhōj, vi.,	117 n.
Māhā, vi.,	89 n.	Mhōj, vi.,	47
Māhā, vi.,	150, 153	Mhōj, vi.,	117 n.
maṭṭa:—		Mhōj, vi.,	40, 52 & n.
Anaṭṭa, 3, 13, 23 n., 30, 71 n., 78 n., 87 n.,		Mhōj, vi.,	230, 237
121 n., 122 n., 127, 167 n., 170 n.,		months:—	
187 n., 188 n., 206, 218, 227,		Apāṇ (Appellations),	36, 42
237 n., 238 n.		Āṇḍa, 10, 30, 31, 34, 69, 73, 115, 119, 121,	
Āryā, 13, 71 n., 127, 150, 168 n., 206, 218		122, 217, 240, 243, 245	
Āryāṭṭi,	168 n.	Āṇḍa, Second,	104, 111, 174 & n.
Draṭṭaṭṭa,	169 n.	Āryāṭṭi,	143, 152, 154, 159, 183, 185
Kudrāṭṭi, noḍḍaṭṭi,	175	Āryāṭṭi, s. a. Āryāṭṭi,	48
Gāyāṭṭi,	44 n.	Bhāṭṭa,	205, 211, 240
Ohā,	13, 72 n.	Chāṭṭi,	48, 124, 135, 188 n., 271 n., 277 & n.,
Indrāṭṭi,	3, 13, 21 n., 221 n., 127,		279, 280
206, 227, 235 n., 230 n., 237 n.		Jyāṭṭi,	234
Kāṭṭi,	176	Jyāṭṭi, s. a. Jyāṭṭi,	60 & n., 67, 235 n.
Māṭṭi,	3, 72 n., 237, 280 n.	Kāṭṭi,	49, 82, 87, 89, 98, 99, 104, 108, 163,
Nandāṭṭa,	199		199, 201, 213, 223, 229, 236, 234,
Nāṭṭaṭṭa,	175		236, 240
Pamāṭṭaṭṭi, noḍḍaṭṭi,	175	Māṭṭi, 3, 6, 8, 77, 104, 105, 107, 112, 113, 137,	
Pamāṭṭaṭṭi, 13, 78 n., 206, 218, 227, 235 n., 238 n.,		138, 140, 199, 205, 271, 272	
237 n.		Māṭṭi, 168, 212, 215, 217, 221, 273, 293	
Rāṭṭaṭṭi,	235 n.	Nāṭṭa, s. a. Nāṭṭa,	238
Sāṭṭi,	296, 299 n.	Pamāṭṭi, 3, 216 n., 217 n., 273, 276 n., 293, 294, 295	
Sāṭṭaṭṭi, 3, 30, 71 n., 72 n., 127, 167 n.,		Phāṭṭi, s. a. Phāṭṭi,	203
187 n., 200, 218, 227, 234 n.,		Phāṭṭi,	48, 49, 52, 90, 190, 205 n.
235 n., 236 n., 237 n., 238 n.,		Pamāṭṭi, s. a. Pamāṭṭi,	190, 195, 196, 273, 276
239 n.		Sāṭṭaṭṭi,	158, 161, 231, 234, 238, 241, 251,
Sāṭṭaṭṭi,	3, 227, 240 n.		252
Sāṭṭa, s. a. Anaṭṭa,	71 n., 109 n.	Vāṭṭa, 10, 22, 54, 56, 137, 138, 140, 199, 202,	
Sāṭṭaṭṭi, 3, 13, 127, 107 n., 227, 235 n., 260 n.			265 n., 274 n.
Uṭṭaṭṭi,	93	moon, depicted over inscription,	271, 273, 274, 278,
Uṭṭaṭṭi, 3, 13, 30, 151 n., 170 n., 223 n., 237 n.,			279, 281
238 n., 276 n.		moon, emblem on seal,	67
Uṭṭaṭṭi,	153 n.	Mōṭṭaṭṭi, vi.,	205, 206, 210
		Mōṭṭaṭṭi, vi.,	163

	PAGE		PAGE
Nandi-Kamptivara, <i>cf.</i>	144	Narandrapattana, <i>cf.</i>	223, 229
Nandi or Nandivarman III, Pallava k.	144 & n.	Narandrapattana, s. n. <i>cf.</i> Narandrapattana	223
Nandi pillar	189	Nāraka, family	69 n.
Nandipura, <i>cf.</i>	103, 106, 110	Nāraka, <i>off.</i>	142, 143
Nandivarman III, Pallava k.	170	Nayaka, <i>m.</i>	156 n.
Nānchod, <i>cf.</i>	109	Nāyama, <i>Śikhara k.</i>	29, 30, 33
Nandivar, s. n. Nandivara	68 n.	Nāyaka, <i>di.</i>	261, 262
Nānchod, <i>cf.</i>	47 n.	Najūdhārāya, s. n. <i>Pandya k. Jattia Parāsi-</i>	
Nānchod Yūpa Inscription	45, 46, 47, 48, 51	lakka	254
Nanjunda, author	103 n.	Nanniyaka, <i>donor</i>	105, 110
Nannadēva, <i>Schwanitz k.</i>	110	Nāyaka, <i>lat.</i>	25
Nannadēva, <i>Schwanitz k. prince</i>	92 n.	Nānā Plates	11, 12 n., 204, 206, 214, 216 & n., 217 n., 294, 296
Nāgari, <i>cf.</i>	65, 66	Nalpur Grant of Śaṅkharādēva	201
Nāga, <i>m.</i>	80	Nāga	150
Nāga, <i>cf.</i>	244	Nāga	124
Nāga, s. n. <i>donor Nāyaka</i>	10 n., 18	Nāga-sūtra, Buddhist work	241
Nāgārāja, <i>m.</i>	127, 140	Nāgārāja, 'crepusculum'	241
Nāgārāja, <i>cf.</i>	289	Nāgārāja Plates of Bhāskaraśarma, s. n.	291 n.
Nāgārāja II, s. n. <i>Hogala k. Viru-Nāgārāja</i>		Nāgārāja-plate-pāṇḍita-samantā	107
II	178 & n.	Nāgārāja	105
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	62	Nāgārāja, Tamil work	144
Nāgārājapāṇḍita Plates of Hastivarman	69	Nāgārāja, <i>cf.</i>	290, 291
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, s. n. <i>Ramathambika</i>	231 n., 233, 238	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>sp. of Nāga k. Vāllabha</i>	224
Nāgārāja, <i>donor</i>	11, 16	Nāgārāja, Buddhist work	241
Nāgārāja, <i>com.</i>	109, 201	Nāga, <i>Vāllabha prince</i>	30
Nāgārāja, <i>donor</i>	10, 16, 18 n.	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	285
Nāgārāja, <i>com.</i>	109, 203	Nāgārāja, <i>cf.</i>	155
Nāgārāja, <i>m.</i>	74, 77	Nāgārāja, <i>cf.</i>	145 n.
Nāgārāja, s. n. <i>god Viṣṇu</i>	62, 64, 65, 66, 67 & n., 134, 135, 151, 154, 167, 236, 238, 240, 241	Nāgārāja-guru	145 n.
Nāgārāja, <i>cf.</i>	32, 34	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	12 n.
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>m.</i>	82, 86	Nāgārāja, <i>Śikhara k.</i>	15, 208, 210
Nāgārāja, <i>cf.</i>	148	Nāgārāja, <i>cf.</i>	41, 42
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	106	Nāgārāja, <i>cf.</i>	74
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	108, 112	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	157, 159
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, s. n. <i>E. Chāḍika k.</i>		Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	177
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	163, 169	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	164, 166
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	173	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	213, 221
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	31, 32, 34 & n.	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	202
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	81	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, s. n. <i>Nāgārāja</i>	109
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	103, 238, 239, 297	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, s. n. <i>Nāgārāja</i>	32, 62, 66
Nāgārāja, <i>cf.</i>	146	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, s. n. <i>Nāgārāja</i>	91, 94 n., 120, 129 n.
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	105, 107	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	41
Nāgārāja, <i>cf.</i>	103	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	132
Nāgārāja, <i>cf.</i>	223	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	80
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	177, 180	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	18, 210, 220
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	148, 149 n., 150 n.	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	146, 147
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	65, 66, 73	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	184 & n.
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	28, 29	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	33 n.
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	28, 29	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	70, 80 n.
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	38	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	144, 146
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	38	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	145, 146
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	38	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	101, 102
Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	229 n.	Nāgārājapāṇḍita, <i>cf.</i>	

	PAGE		PAGE
Nālogrāma, vi.,	194	śakā, oblation,	23 & n.
numerals, sign or symbol :—		See, symbol for —, 3, 13, 20, 60, 65, 70, 75, 79, 108,	
1, 230, 238, 241, 253, 255, 268 & n., 269,		111, 120, 127, 135, 140, 142, 207,	
271, 273, 275, 276 & n., 278,		202, 203, 206, 218, 227, 230, 260,	
277 & n., 278, 279, 280, 281, 282		262, 264, 266, 268, 272 n., 273,	
2, 230, 273, 275 n., 278, 280, 281, 282		276, 278, 279, 280, 282, 291	
3, 158, 161, 229, 246, 248, 257, 260, 275		Śaṅgōdā Grant I.,	89 n.
& n., 276, 281		Śaṅgōdā Grant II.,	89 n.
4, 42, 53, 55, 56, 230, 238, 241, 275		Orurakāṣṭha, vi.,	161 & n.
5, 45, 52, 152, 155, 230, 238, 241, 246,		Qasimabad, s. a. Dhamrao,	206 n.
248, 255, 255, 257, 260, 275, 276,		Qasimabad, vi.,	80
277, 278, 280		Qasimabad, s. a. Ujyanna,	225
6, 152, 155, 257, 271, 272, 280, 281		Qasimabad, di.,	24
7, 22 n., 53 add., 55 add., 56 add., 156,			
161, 246, 247, 248, 253, 255, 273,			
275 n., 277, 278, 282			
8, 10, 22, 53, 55, 56, 60 n., 156, 161, 228,			
241, 247, 275 & n., 276, 277 n.,			
279, 280			
9, 10, 22, 53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 67, 257, 260,			
275 n., 277 n.			
10, 42, 152, 155			
20, 10, 22, 42, 156, 161			
40, 60 n.			
48, 50 n.			
60, 53, 55, 60			
70, 62, 66, 67			
80, 152, 155, 246, 247, 248			
90, 45, 57			
100, 52, 53, 56			
200, 45, 52			
400, 152, 155			
numerals, words :—			
Asa (=5),	238		
Chandra (=1),	238		
giri (=7),	162		
śakā (=0),	162, 164		
śakā (=6),	162		
śakā (=4),	238		
śakā (=8),	162, 164, 238, 241		
Vāda (=4),	241		
Nupurāṅga, vi.,	250		
Nupurā, s. a. Lupturā (?),	250		
Nupurā, śakā,	5, 8, 60, 68, 69		
O			
8, medial, 53, 61, 125 n., 156, 162, 204,			
230			
Oḍḍaguntā, vi.,	163, 168		
Oḍḍa, co.,	128, 198, 202		
Oḍḍaka, co.,	258, 27		
Oḍḍāṅga, Uḍḍāṅga k.,	171		
Olakkū, vi.,	144 n.		
olakkū, oblation,	23 & n.		
P			
P.,	0		
p, confused with q,	1		
p, used for ph,	115		
pachāṅga, s. a. pratyāṅga,	41		
Pachāṅgāṅga-śikhaṅga, Buddhist work,	242		
Pachāṅgāṅga,	268, 268		
Pāḍāḍāṅga, vi.,	268		
Pāḍāṅgāṅga Grant of Amarakūṭa II.,	163		
Pāḍāṅga,	60		
Pāḍāṅga, vi.,	275, 276		
Pāḍā, s. a. Pād,	275 n.		
pād or pād, s. a. pād,	275 n.		
pādāṅga, tax,	70		
Pādāṅga, vi.,	278, 279		
Pādā, śakā,	298, 299		
Pādāṅga Bād, m.,	273, 274		
pādāṅga, coin,	163 n.		
Pādāṅga-śikhaṅga, di.,	144, 147		
Pādāṅga, di.,	80, 97, 98		
Pādāṅga, s. a. Pādāṅga di.,	97		
Pādāṅga, do.,	97		
Pādāṅga Copper-plate Inscription,	53, 54 n., 156		
Pādāṅga-śakā, work,	101 n.		
Pādāṅga Plates of Gāṅgā III.,	0, 10, 14 n., 15 n.,		
16 n., 206, 214			
Pādāṅga Plates of Kāṅgāchandra,	161, 162		
Pādā, dy.,	151 n.		
Pādāṅga, vi.,	179		
Pādāṅga, di.,	94		
Pādāṅga, vi.,	29 n.		
Pādāṅga, coin,	232		
Pādāṅga Plates of Kāṅgāchandra,	257 n.		
Pādāṅga, i.,	5, 6 & n., 5		
Pādāṅga, s. a. Pādāṅga, s. a.	231, 232, 233,		
238			
Pādāṅga,	242		
pādāṅga, -	14		
pādāṅga (Skt. pādāṅga), 'saddle',	246		
pādāṅga, 'saddler',	246, 248		

	PAGE
Pallava, <i>dy.</i> , 48, 89 & n., 94, 96, 144, 145 n., 146, 174 n., 175, 176, 177, 178, 179 & n., 182 n., 207, 209, 215, 216, 217 n., 220-226	
Pallava, territory,	145, 146
Pallavamalla, Pallava k.,	179
Pallavañāṭṭar,	181 n.
Pallavaraiyan,	175
palit, 'hamlet',	139
Pallichanda,	22
Pallikonda Inscription,	144 n.
Pallimadam, vi.,	163
Pallimadam Inscription,	285
paṇa, coin,	139, 139
Pañcha, s. a. Mahāyana,	34 n.
Pañchagangā, vi.,	30
pañchāgni, 'five sacred fires',	224 n.
pañchāgnika,	224 n.
Pañchāṅkṣamīn, donor,	20, 21
pañcha-mahāpāṭāka,	17, 152, 160, 170, 211, 225
pañcha-mahāṭabha,	31, 35, 71, 142, 149 & n., 150, 151, 193, 261, 263, 273, 276
pañcha-mahāyāna,	16, 54, 100, 211, 221
pañchatāriya, cf. pañcha-mahāṭabha,	140
pañchavāra, tax,	23, 24, 25, 26
pañchanirakkhi, measure of capacity,	25
Pañcharātra-vāriyam, committee,	23 & n., 27
pañcharātri,	27, 28
pañchapāli, tax,	28, 27
Pāṇḍava, epic hero,	119
Pāṇḍharpar,	192 & n.
Pāṇḍita, vi.,	233, 234, 239
Pāṇḍita, epic k.,	119
Pāṇḍavaśāṭṭa, <i>dy.</i> ,	118
Pāṇḍya, co.,	146, 179, 207
Pāṇḍya, <i>dy.</i> ,	10, 14, 145, 165, 178, 179, 217 n., 283 & n., 284, 285
Pāṇḍya-nāṭya, <i>tl.</i> ,	145, 147
Pāṇḍya, author,	4 n., 47 n., 200, 240
Pāṇḍya, l.,	233
Pāṇḍya, s. a. Pāṇḍya (T),	279
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, commentary,	39
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, cf. Mahāyāna-sūtra,	33 n.
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa-Rāmāna-śāṭṭa, Kāṇḍa work,	183
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, Cāṇḍa <i>tl.</i> ,	144 n.
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, Cāṇḍa <i>tl.</i> ,	25, 26
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	20
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	13, 54, 55, 72, 79, 106, 108, 112, 133, 135, 157, 160, 169, 164, 195, 200, 202, 203, 205, 210, 220, 231, 253, 254, 263, 264, 265, 266, 290, 291
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	89, 97
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	200, 201, 205, 209

	PAGE
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	200, 202
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	260
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	60, 65, 72, 77, 79, 86, 139, 142, 149, 150, 169, 200, 223, 228, 242, 251, 264, 266, 268
Pāṇḍya, <i>dy.</i> ,	101, 102, 103, 117 n., 132, 133 & n., 134, 135 n., 142, 161, 192 & n., 232, 272 n.
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	291
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	119 n.
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	90
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, s. a. god Śiva,	75, 268, 240
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	10, 14, 15, 17, 79, 106, 108, 112, 133, 135, 149, 169, 194, 195, 205, 210, 220, 242, 243, 251, 251, 253, 254, 263, 264, 265, 266, 290, 291, 293 & n.
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, I, Cāṇḍa k.,	25
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, Vāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	284
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, Inscription of Apāṇḍyaśāṭṭa,	275 n.
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, Grant,	109 n.
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, Plates of Mahāyānaśāṭṭa,	123, 127
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>dy.</i> ,	20, 171, 173
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	46
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	119
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, Plates,	79
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, Plates of Anantavarma,	261
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, Plates of Indravarma II,	62
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa,	125, 126, 149 n.
Pāṇḍya, <i>tl.</i> ,	3
Pāṇḍya, <i>tl.</i> ,	3
Pāṇḍya, <i>tl.</i> ,	3
Pāṇḍya, s. a. epic hero Arjuna,	10
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, coin,	280 n.
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa,	165
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa,	157, 130, 240
Pāṇḍya, <i>tl.</i> ,	133, 139
Pāṇḍya, tax,	26
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> , of Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa,	282
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	162, 163, 164, 165
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> , <i>tl.</i> ,	164 & n., 170
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, l. k.,	117 n.
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa (T), <i>tl.</i> ,	77
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> ,	273, 274
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, Mahāyānaśāṭṭa, s. a. Mahāyānaśāṭṭa,	47 n.
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, k. k.,	102
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa,	263
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa,	272 & n., 276, 280
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, Grant of Śivaraśāṭṭa,	188, 189, 289
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> , <i>tl.</i> ,	Buddhist
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, work,	242 & n.
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, <i>tl.</i> , <i>tl.</i> ,	Buddhist
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, work,	242
Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa, s. a. Pāṇḍyaśāṭṭa,	273 n.

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Patra, di.</i>	291	<i>Pāṭigaṇṇa</i> Inscription,	82 n. & add.
<i>Pāṭṇa</i> Plates of the 6th year,	249, 250	<i>Pa-lo-mo-lo-ki-li, s. n.</i> Bhramāmagiri,	119
<i>Pāṭṇa, di.</i>	236, 239	<i>Pāṇadīpaṇḍita, minister,</i>	289
<i>Pattakī, s. n.</i> <i>Pattakī,</i>	273 n.	<i>Pandh, st.</i>	116 n.
<i>Pattakī, off.</i>	108, 111, 112, 123	<i>Pannāḍan, s. n.</i> <i>Chāḍa k.</i>	180
<i>Pattakī, s. n.</i> <i>Pattakī,</i>	273 n.	<i>Pannāḍan, cf. Pannāḍan,</i>	181 n.
<i>Pattakī, off.</i>	157, 159	<i>Pan-vāryam, committee,</i>	23 n.
<i>Pattān, st.</i>	81, 84, 85	<i>Panna</i> Plates,	84
<i>pattarājai, 'chief queen',</i>	188	<i>Panna</i> Plates of Prabhāvatiguptā,	84 n.
<i>Pattārika, st.</i>	108, 109, 109	<i>Parajam, st.</i>	145
<i>Pāṇṇavāra, s. n.</i> <i>Pāṇṇavāra di.</i>	97	<i>Pāṇṇavāra-drums, coin, s. n.</i> <i>Parthian drums</i>	
<i>Payalpatana, st.</i>	104, 107	(1),	289, 291
<i>Peyohat, H.</i>	214 n.	<i>Prabhājanavarman, s. n.</i> <i>Prabhājanavarman,</i>	87
<i>Piddāḍḍa, off.</i>	100, 203	<i>Prabhākar Nāyaka, minister,</i>	275, 278
<i>Piddāḍḍa</i> Grant of Vijayanādivarman,	56	<i>Prabhājana, Pannāḍa k.</i>	171
<i>Piddāḍḍa</i> Plates of Jayasīṁha I,	88	<i>Prabhājanavarman, Ganga k.</i>	57, 58 & n., 60, 61
<i>Piddāḍḍa, st.</i>	1, 2	<i>prabhū, Buddhist term,</i>	242
<i>Piddāḍḍa, st.</i>	178	<i>Prabhākaracharya, work,</i>	238
<i>Pinnai, st.</i>	180	<i>Prabhāvatiguptā, Vāṇḍa q.</i>	85
<i>Pinnāḍai, s. n.</i> <i>Pinnāḍai,</i>	180	<i>Prabhūḍa,</i>	190
<i>Pinnāḍa-kūṭi,</i>	116 n.	<i>Prabhūḍa,</i>	61 n.
<i>Pinnāḍa-kūṭi, Tamil work,</i>	178	<i>Prabhūḍa (Pannāḍa) I, Saiva ascetic,</i>	163, 164 & n., 169
<i>Pinnāḍa, s. n.</i> <i>Pinnāḍa,</i>	144	<i>Prabhūḍa II, Saiva ascetic,</i>	164 & n., 167
<i>Pinnāḍa, s. n.</i> <i>Pinnāḍa,</i>	239	<i>Prabhūḍa (III), do.,</i>	163, 164, 165, 170
<i>Pinnāḍa-kūṭi, Udayar Udayapporūṭi,</i>	178	<i>Prabhūḍa, son of Śaṅkarāḍa k.</i>	
<i>Pinnāḍa-Nāyaka, ch.</i>	183	<i>Goviṇḍa III,</i>	10, 15, 200, 210, 220, 225 n.
<i>Pinnāḍa, st.</i>	144, 145, 148	<i>prabhū, s. n.</i> <i>prabhū,</i>	41
<i>Pinnāḍa-Āṇḍam, s. n.</i> <i>Pinnāḍa,</i>	144, 147 n.	<i>Prabhū, off.</i>	130, 273, 274
<i>Pinnāḍa, s. n.</i>	285	<i>Prabhūḍa-kūṭi,</i>	262
<i>Pinnāḍa, ch.</i>	178	<i>Prabhūḍa-kūṭi, off., 'Prime Minister',</i>	223, 226, 228
<i>Pinnāḍa-kūṭi, di.</i>	147	<i>Pradyūṭasīṁha, m.</i>	54, 55
<i>pinnāḍa, tax,</i>	24, 25	<i>Prabhūḍa, Kāṇḍa ch.</i>	223, 224, 226, 228
<i>pā,</i>	294	<i>Prabhūḍa-kūṭi, Pannāḍa ch.</i>	212
<i>pāṇḍi, s. n.</i> <i>pāṇḍi,</i>	279 n.	<i>Prabhūḍa-kūṭi, st.</i>	213
<i>pāṇḍi, coin,</i>	237, 239 & n.	<i>Prabhūḍa, s. n.</i> <i>Prabhūḍa,</i>	291
<i>Pinnāḍa, st.</i>	234, 236, 241	<i>Prabhūḍa, s. n.</i> <i>Prabhūḍa,</i>	46
<i>Pinnāḍa, s. n.</i> <i>Pinnāḍa (7),</i>	279	<i>Prabhūḍa, off.</i>	291
<i>Pinnāḍa, st.</i>	218	<i>Prabhūḍa, off.</i>	291
<i>Pinnāḍa, st.</i>	214 n.	<i>Prabhūḍa, s. n.</i> <i>Prabhūḍa,</i>	10, 22
<i>Pinnāḍa-kūṭi, st.</i>	116 n.	<i>Prabhūḍa, son,</i>	237, 240
<i>Pinnāḍa, s. n.</i> <i>Pinnāḍa (7),</i>	214 n.	<i>Prabhūḍa, son of Ganga & Dādā II,</i>	148
<i>Pinnāḍa-Nāyaka, Tamil work,</i>	178	<i>Prabhūḍa, 117 & n., 188, 231, 237, 285, 294, 295, 298</i>	
<i>Pinnāḍa, s. n.</i> <i>Pinnāḍa (7),</i>	119	<i>Prabhūḍa-kūṭi, s. n.</i>	223, 224, 225 & n., 228
<i>Pinnāḍa, s. n.</i> <i>Pinnāḍa (7),</i>	180, 181	<i>Prabhūḍa, Kāṇḍa k.</i>	1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8
<i>Pinnāḍa, st.</i>	213, 218, 221	<i>Prabhūḍa, 'door-keeper',</i>	262
<i>Pinnāḍa, st.</i>	116 n.	<i>Prabhūḍa, st.</i>	12 n., 138, 243, 250
<i>Pinnāḍa, st.</i>	57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 89, 90, 95, 96, 97,	<i>Prabhūḍa, off.</i>	20, 21, 125, 131, 229
	99	<i>Prabhūḍa, 'door-keeper',</i>	262
<i>Pinnāḍa, off., 'off.',</i>	251, 254 & n.	<i>Prabhūḍa, son, Prabhūḍa,</i>	139
<i>Pinnāḍa, st.</i>	89, 87	<i>Prabhūḍa, son,</i>	2, 6
<i>Pinnāḍa, st.</i>	105, 106	<i>Prabhūḍa-kūṭi-kāṇḍa-kūṭi, privilege,</i>	130
<i>Pinnāḍa, s. n.</i> <i>Pinnāḍa,</i>	58, 97	<i>Prabhūḍa, di.</i>	251, 262 n.
<i>Pinnāḍa Pillar Inscription of Ballapa,</i>		<i>Prabhūḍa-kūṭi, st.</i>	190, 203
<i>di.</i>	99, 96 n.	<i>Prabhūḍa-kūṭi-kāṇḍa-kūṭi, Buddhist</i>	
<i>pinnāḍa, di.</i>	240	<i>work,</i>	241

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>s</i> , subscript,	20 n., 114	Rājārāja III, <i>Chōja</i> k.,	177 & n., 178, 179
<i>r</i> , superscript,	1, 204, 213	Rājāsithara, <i>author</i> ,	83
Rāchaputnam, <i>cf.</i> ,	193 n.	Rājasmha, <i>Pallava</i> k.,	174 n.
Rādhā, <i>Krishna's</i> consort,	108, 112	Rājasmha, <i>Pandya</i> k.,	234
Rādhanagari, <i>s. n.</i> Vallavāda,	30	Rājāsitha, <i>sur. of</i> Ganga k. Hastivarman,	61, 66
Rādhanpur Plates, 12, 201, 206, 208 n., 209 n.,			67
210 n., 214, 215, 216, 217 n., 236 n.		Rājasmha III, <i>Pandya</i> k.,	233
Rāgharānka, <i>author</i> ,	190	Rājalinga-pīṭrāṅghī, <i>colony</i> ,	243, 245, 246, 248
Raghavānka, <i>work</i> ,	43 n., 64, 67 n., 173 n.,	Rājasinghavarman, <i>lc.</i> ,	244
	238 n.	Rājasinghavarman, <i>off.</i> ,	231
Rāgula Plates of Śaktivarman,	89	Rājasinghavarman, <i>off.</i> ,	251, 254 & n.
Rāheppa, <i>k.</i> ,	10, 14	Rājaya, <i>n.</i> ,	31, 34
Rahaga, <i>off.</i> ,	76, 78	Rājendra, <i>s. n.</i> Śaileśvara & Mādhavarman	
Rai Lakhamaniya, <i>s. n.</i> Lakhamanasa,	227	III,	124
Rai Mai, <i>prince</i> ,	231	Rājendravarmān, <i>Ganga</i> k.,	74, 75, 77
Rai Mai's Inscription of V. S. 1545,	233	Rājitr, <i>s. n.</i> Rājagūṇa,	201
Raipur,	233	Rājim, <i>cf.</i> ,	116 & n.
Raipur Plates of Mahā-Sodhavarāja,	19	Rājjan Plates of Tivradēva,	10, 114, 116 &
<i>raja</i> ,	26	<i>n.</i> , 118 n., 119	
Rāja, <i>n.</i> ,	273 n.	Rājput,	232
Rājākāya <i>śraṇa-pratyāṅga-malla</i> , <i>privilege</i> ,	292	Rājputānā,	232, 239 n.
Rāja-dattī, 'royal gift',	202, 203	Rājyalatta, <i>n.</i> ,	157, 159
Rājādhatī, 'capital',	235	Rājyalattita, 'chief minister',	83
Rājādhirāja I, <i>Chōja</i> k.,	25	Rāma, <i>epic hero</i> ,	167
Rājādhirāja, <i>II.</i> ,	19, 14, 15, 233 n.	Rāma, <i>s. n.</i> Rāma <i>sa.</i> ,	36
Rājādhirājadēva, <i>Chōja</i> k.,	144 n.	Rāma, <i>n.</i> ,	37, 41, 42
Rājādhirājavarman Śaṅkharādēva, <i>deity</i> ,	24, 25	Rāmabhadra, <i>s. n.</i> <i>epic hero</i> Rāma,	107, 111,
Rājagriha, <i>di.</i> ,	201		113, 135, 212
Rājapura,	275 n., 276	Rāmabhadradēva, <i>Prathāra</i> k.,	243
Rājākṣari, <i>Chōja</i> k.,	144 n.	Rāmachandra, <i>s. n.</i> <i>epic hero</i> Rāma,	233
Rājākṣarivarman, <i>Chōja</i> k.,	24	Rāmachandra, <i>Yādava</i> k.,	184, 191, 192, 193 n.,
Rājaktya-griha, <i>xi.</i> ,	103, 110		270, 281, 282
Rājaktya-mān, 'royal manum',	85 n.	Rāmadāsa, <i>commentator</i> ,	84
Rājākṣajyā, <i>tit. of</i> Hoysala Somaśvara,	180 n.	Rāmadēva, <i>cf.</i> ,	142 & n., 143
Rājākalā Tambirā, <i>tit.</i> ,	180	Rāmadēva, <i>Yādava general</i> ,	281, 282
Rājakya-sūtra, <i>s. n.</i> Rājaktya-mān,	82 n., 86	Rāmadēva, <i>Yādava</i> k.,	184, 281, 282
Rājā-mān, <i>s. n.</i> Rājaktya-mān,	82 n.	Rāmadēvi, <i>Chōlaka's</i> princess, <i>Stupa</i> g.,	223
Rājāmāya, <i>off.</i> ,	291	Rāmadēvi, <i>Uchchakalpa</i> g.,	171
Rājān, 'prince',	151, 220	Rāmagiri, <i>s. n.</i> <i>mo.</i> Rāmāk,	84 & n.
Rājān, <i>II.</i> ,	291	Rāma-grova,	37, 38, 42
Rājānaka, <i>n.</i> ,	273 & n.	Rāmākakāśa, <i>l.</i> ,	37
Rājāsaka, <i>II.</i> ,	79, 129, 262, 264, 268, 291	Rāmākakāśaka, <i>s. n.</i> Rāmākakāśa,	38
Rājānārāyaṇa Sambharāyaṇa, Sambharāya		Rāmākakāśa, <i>s. n.</i> Rāmākakāśa,	37
<i>ch.</i> ,	179 n.	Rāmabhūti, <i>n.</i> ,	89, 98, 99
Rājaya, <i>s. n.</i> Khatrīya,	237	Rāmāditha, <i>Hoysala</i> k.,	180 n.
Rājayaka, <i>II.</i> ,	129, 131	Rāmāditha, <i>s. n.</i> Kumāra Rāmādithadēva,	182, 185
Rājaparānātha, <i>tit.</i> ,	182, 185	Rāmānaya, <i>s. n.</i> Rāmākakāśa,	38
Rājapura, <i>xi.</i> ,	244	Rāmānitham Plates, 91 & n., 92 & n., 93 n., 94,	
Rājapura Copper-plate,	270 n.		96
Rājapurusha,	108, 130, 135	Rāmānitha- <i>tit.</i> ,	206 n., 216 & n.
Rājaputra, <i>Kalachuri</i> prince,	239	Rāmanj Copper-plate,	226
Rājaputra, <i>sur. of</i> Kalachuri k. Lakhamana,	239	Rāmāk, <i>mo.</i> ,	84
Rājaputra, <i>II.</i> ,	79, 129, 131, 261, 262, 263, 262,	raha, <i>Sk. m.</i> , <i>avaya</i> ,	37
	284, 288, 291	Rāma, <i>tit.</i> ,	282 n.
Rājārāja I, <i>Chōja</i> k.,	178	Rāma, <i>tit.</i> ,	233, 234

	Page		Page
Ragabhatta, <i>Sailodbhuta</i> & see Aravasthita.		Rawal Stone Inscription	294
Ragabhatta, <i>sur. of Ganga</i> & Hastivarma.	63, 64, 66, 67	ri., used for ri.	83, 200
Ragabhatta, <i>a. of god Vishnu</i> .	64, 66, 67	ri.	114, 245
Ragabhatta, <i>l.</i>	223, 224, 228	ri., used for ri.	10, 19, 82, 203
Ragabhatta, <i>m.</i>	103, 109	Raidhagar Plates of Prabhavargupta.	84 n.
Ragabhatta, <i>a.</i>	96 n.	ris- <i>aditya-dharmadharma-sarjita</i> , privilege.	231
Ragabhatta, <i>Chola</i> &.	83, 96, 97, 99	Rishi, <i>m.</i>	224, 228
Ragabhatta-Durjaya, <i>Kavilata</i> &.	90	Rishi-palchandra, '5th day of bright half of'	
Ragabhatta, <i>tit.</i>	142 & n., 143, 186 n., 187, 198, 240, 254, 255, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268	Rishyapada	227, 240
Ragabhatta, <i>a. a. brother of Mahā-Sivagupta</i>		Rishyapada, <i>a. a. Rishyapadhatta</i> .	213, 214 n., 221
(1).	116 n.	Rishyapada, <i>eng.</i>	231, 232, 240
Ragabhatta, <i>a. a. Sāmanthā</i> & Bhava-		Rishi Mahastara, <i>m.</i>	272, 274
dhava.	110 & n., 117, 118	Rishu, <i>m.</i>	105, 109
Ragabhatta, <i>a. a. Ranathambhaka</i> .	231 n.	Rishyapadhatta, <i>donor</i> .	203, 210
Ragabhatta, <i>l.</i>	231 & n.	Rishyapada Plates of Bhayavarmā,	83 n.
Ragabhatta, <i>m.</i>	187	rs.	180
Ragabhatta, <i>a. a. Rishyapada</i> & Stambha, <i>l.</i>	83 & n., 932	Rishyapada, <i>m.</i>	62, 65, 98
Ragabhatta, <i>l.</i>	231 & n., 232, 238	Rishyapada, <i>m.</i>	72, 213, 235
Ragabhatta, <i>l.</i>	184	Rishyapada, <i>m.</i>	80
Ragabhatta, <i>ri.</i>	11, 13, 10	Rishyapada, <i>m.</i>	34
rsat, 'queen'	100	Rishyapada Inscription.	224, 225
Ragabhatta, <i>ri.</i>	192, 224	Rishyapada, <i>a. a. vi. Rishyapada</i> .	63
Ragabhatta, <i>ri.</i>	192	Rishyapada, <i>a. a. vi. Rishyapada</i> .	65
Ragabhatta, <i>l.</i>	65, 94	rs.	9
Ragabhatta (Kātyā), <i>family</i> .	188, 189, 189	rs., used for rs.	234
Ragabhatta, <i>l.</i>	79 & n., 169, 202, 203	Rishyapada Plates of Prabhavargupta.	10, 11, 16
Ragabhatta, <i>dy.</i>	8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 93, 101, 102, 104, 106, 144, 145 n., 146, 182, 193, 205, 208, 213, 216, 219, 257, 258, 259 n., 298	Rishyapada, <i>a. a. god Siva</i> .	163, 189, 238, 260
Ragabhatta, <i>off.</i>	151, 154	Rishyapada, <i>m.</i>	102, 111
Ragabhatta, <i>off.</i>	15, 106, 210, 220	Rishyapada, <i>m.</i>	192
Ratanpur, <i>ca.</i>	2, 3, 4 n., 118	Rishyapada, <i>m.</i>	40
Ratanpur Inscription of Prabhavargupta II and		Rishyapada, <i>donor</i> .	90, 94
Prabhavargupta.	114 n., 118 n., 120 n.	Rishyapada I, <i>Pāṇḍava</i> &.	83 & n.
Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jājāṇhī & I.	117, 118 n.	Rishyapada II, <i>do.</i>	80, 82
Ratanpur, <i>Vedic hymn</i> .	67	Rishyapada, <i>di.</i>	65
Rati, <i>Kāma's wife</i> .	240	Rishyapada, <i>di.</i>	65
Ratnadēva I, <i>Kalachuri</i> &.	118		S
Ratnadēva II, <i>do.</i>	2, 4, 7	s.	8, 74, 183
Ratnadēva III, <i>do.</i>	3, 103	s., used for s.	2, 68, 102, 137, 141, 189, 205, 231, 240, 263, 265, 270, 284
Ratnadēva I, <i>do.</i>	2, 4, 7	s., used for sh.	48, 141, 255
Ratnadēva II, <i>do.</i>	2, 4, 7	s.	62, 74, 108, 213
Ratnadēva III, <i>do.</i>	2, 4, 7	s., used for s.	2, 10, 68, 203, 288
Ratnadēva, <i>tit.</i>	273, 274	s., used for sh.	189
Ratnadēva, <i>author</i> .	33	Sāhara, <i>donor</i> .	105, 109
Ratnadēva, <i>donor</i> .	261, 262	sa- <i>śāhara-dharmadharma-sarjita</i> , privilege.	152
Ratnadēva, <i>tit.</i>	194	sa- <i>śāhara-dharmadharma-sarjita</i> , <i>do.</i>	211, 221
Ratnadēva, <i>tit.</i>	194	sa- <i>śāhara-dharmadharma-sarjita</i> , <i>do.</i>	222
Ratnadēva, <i>tit.</i>	187	sa- <i>śāhara-dharmadharma-sarjita</i> , <i>do.</i>	241
Ratnadēva, <i>tit.</i>	103, 109	sa- <i>śāhara-dharmadharma-sarjita</i> , <i>do.</i>	241
Ratnadēva, <i>tit.</i>	97	sa- <i>śāhara-dharmadharma-sarjita</i> , <i>do.</i>	241
Ratnadēva, <i>tit.</i>	142, 143	sa- <i>śāhara-dharmadharma-sarjita</i> , <i>do.</i>	241
		sacrifices :-	
		Agastya, <i>l.</i>	46, 85, 89, 91, 92 n., 95 n., 98, 99
		Agastya, <i>l.</i>	63
		Agastya, <i>l.</i>	44, 46, 85, 91, 92 n., 95 n., 123, 128, 131, 167

	PAGE	PAGE	
Samar-Sing, s. a. Kadamba & Samara	236	Sangha, Buddhist —	157
samāsa (1)		Sanghāmanālikā, v.	293
Samastābhaya-śākyā-kāra-kirāyā-śākyā-samāsa,	113	Sanghā, v.	182, 185, 186, 194
privilege.		Sanghā Inscrption,	185
Samastābhavavāṇīśvara, sur. of E. Chāṇakya &		Sanghā, v.	182
Amaraśi II.	189	sa-māsa, privilege,	21, 87, 120, 251
Samastābhavavāṇīśvara, sur. of E. Chāṇakya &		Sankā, f.	240, 247, 248
Vijayāditya II.	163, 169	Sanskritasiddhi, sp. of Gaudarāṇya,	81
Samastābhavavāṇīśvara, sur. of Vijayapūṣpa &		Sanjā Plates of Amoghavarman I, 11, 22 n.,	243, 255, 256, 257
Iśvarāya I.	182, 183		
Samastābhavavāṇīśvara, te.,	163, 169, 170	Sanjā Plates of Gōrīnā III,	217 & n.
Samastābhavavāṇīśvara, privilege,	107	Sankā, dome,	105, 110
Samastābhavavāṇīśvara, v.	79 n.	Sankā, s. a. god Śiva,	225, 238, 239, 240, 249,
Sambalpur,	19		254, 257
Sambhū, s. a. god Śiva,	88, 123, 127, 129,	Sankā, Chāṇakya &	101
	194, 195, 235, 236, 239, 278	śākhā, emblem on seal,	19
Sambhūyaka, &	190, 200, 201	śākhā, see śākhā,	139 n.
Sambhūyāya, misreading for Sambhūyaka,	200	Sankāyana-brāhmaṇa, work,	45 & n.
Sambhūyāya, dy.,	179 n.	Sankhā Plates (lat. set) of Dādī II,	82 n.
Samga,	38	Sankhā Plates (lat. set) of Dādī II,	82 n.
Sanghamitra, monk,	38, 42	śākhā, 'worker in shells' or 'person of	
Sanghātāṇḍita, monk,	280 & n.	mixed parentage	139, 141
Sanghātāṇḍita,	36, 389 n.	Sannakī, misreading for Annakī,	214 n.
Sanghātāṇḍita,	148, 153, 155	Sannakī, off.,	120, 201, 204 & n.
Sannakī, temple Inscription,	253	Sāntā, Śrīgītā's wife,	237, 240
Sannakī—		Santāmahā Plates of Indravarma II,	63, 64
Dakṣiṇāyana,	31, 34	Santā, 'servant',	83 & n., 80, 87
Dakṣiṇā,	72	Santā, epic hero,	100, 103
Kāra,	30	Santā, 'proximity' — pressure, of, Santā,	83 n.
Makara,	2, 2, 6, 8	Santā, n.,	291
Uttarakṣa,	60, 61, 102, 163, 169, 273, 274 & n.	sa-pada-śrāṇya, privilege,	204
Vishva,	299	Saparikā, Santā for Sāparikā,	16, 211, 221
Sankabāha, Parīkṣit &	171, 172, 174	Saphara or Sāphara, n.,	240, 247, 248
Sannakī-māṇḍitā, Buddhist work,	242 n.	Saptakāṇḍa, dāya,	220
Sānna-māṇḍitā, privilege,	251	Saptakāṇḍa-nāṭka, sp. of god Vishnu,	66
Sānna-māṇḍitā, do.,	229	Sapta-kāṇḍa-nāṭka, do.,	67 n.
Sannakī-dāya-śākyā-kāra-kirāyā-śākyā-samāsa,	229	Sapta-kāṇḍa group, images of —,	254 n.
Sannakī, Buddhist term,	242	Saptakāṇḍa-nāṭka, sp. of god Vishnu,	67 n.
Sannakī-dāya-śākyā-kāra-kirāyā-śākyā-samāsa,		Saptakāṇḍa-nāṭka, do.,	67 n.
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Saptakāṇḍa-nāṭka, do.,	68
Sannakī-dāya-śākyā-kāra-kirāyā-śākyā-samāsa,		Sapta-kāṇḍa-nāṭka, do.,	68, 67 n.
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Sarabhaṇa, off.,	201
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Sarabhaṇa, n.,	10, 26, 114, 115, 173
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Sarabhaṇa,	20
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Sarabhaṇa, v.,	19
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Sarabhaṇa Inscription from Hund,	207 n.
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Sa, Rājya, general,	184
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Saragūṇa, n.,	19
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Saragūṇa, v.,	72
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Saragūṇa, goddess,	
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Saragūṇa (Sāgarāṇa), work,	65
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Saragūṇa, v.,	19
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Saragūṇa, s. a. n. Sāgarāṇa,	204
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Saragūṇa, n.,	251
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Saragūṇa or Sāgarāṇa, v. & n.,	190, 201 & n.
Sannakī, Buddhist term,			202, 203
Sannakī, Buddhist term,		Saragūṇa, v.,	201

	PAGE		PAGE
Sarkar Jalmar,	201	mesons—contd.	
Sarkhā Plates of Ratandeva II.	2 n., 4 n.	Yām (Yamhā),	91
Sarkhā Plates of Ratandeva III.	103	Sāhita, vi.,	60
Sarnāth, n.,	290	Sāhavi, vi.,	103, 107
Sāragadharpādāśa, work,	2 n.	Senz, dy.,	188, 223
Sāru, s. n. v. Mallakrū,	155 n.	Sēsa Annaka, n.,	271, 272
Sarva, s. n. Mādhava (?),	243, 297	Siddhānta, off.,	223, 229
sarva-bādhā-parihāra, privilege,	22	Siddhānta, 12.,	182, 183, 185
sarva-bādhā-vimukti, do.,	201	Siddhānta, 14.,	47, 48, 82, 84, 87
Sarvaśāstra or Sarvaśāstra, com.,	76, 78	Siddhānta, 15.,	23 n.
sarva-bādhā-śāstra, privilege,	109	Siddhānta, 16.,	31, 34
Sarvaśāstra Avasthā, done,	100, 110	Siddhānta, 17.,	178, 177
Sarvaśāstra, do.,	88	Siddhānta, 18.,	181 n.
sarva-kāra-parihāra, 'exemption of all taxes',	160	Siddhānta, 19.,	173
sarva-kāra-śāstra, privilege,	120	Siddhānta, 20.,	180, 181
sarva-mamāga,	32, 34, 190	Siddhānta, 21.,	80 n.
Sarvaśāstra, done,	102, 103, 104, 109, 1113	Siddhānta, 22.,	289
Sarvaśāstra, Uchchakṣya k.,	191 n., 171, 172, 173	Siddhānta, 23.,	187
sarva-piṇḍa-parihāra, privilege,	229	Siddhānta, 24.,	84
sarva-piṇḍa-vijeta, do.,	120, 201, 203	Siddhānta, 25.,	291
sarva-piṇḍa-vimukti, do.,	73	Siddhānta, 26.,	126, 240
Sarvaśāstra, Moukharī k.,	242, 243 & n.	Siddhānta, 27.,	10, 68, 263, 268
sarva-viśāka-parihāra-parihāra, privilege,	87	Siddhānta, 28.,	203, 268
sarva-dya-vimukti, do.,	32	Siddhānta, 29.,	100 n.
sarva-dyāvāra-śāstra-vimukti, do.,	251	Siddhānta, 30.,	291
sarva-dyāvāra-śāstra, do.,	291	Siddhānta, 31.,	201
śāstra, 'grant',	78, 80, 81, 89, 164, 167, 111, 112, 122, 170, 229, 243, 252, 267, 269, 281, 292	Siddhānta, 32.,	233
śāstra, k.,	123 n., 198	Siddhānta, 33.,	245, 246, 247
śāstra or Śāstraśāstra, k.,	126	Siddhānta, 34.,	187, 189
śāstraśāstra, Śāstraśāstra, work,	44 n., 46 n.	Siddhānta, 35.,	0
śāstra-śāstra-śāstra, privilege,	294	Siddhānta, 36.,	131, 132, 134, 135, 137, 139
śāstraśāstra, Buddhist term,	244	Siddhānta, 37.,	132
Śāstra, n.,	172, 114 n.	Siddhānta, 38.,	137
śāstra, 96, 67, 82, 86, 104, 167, 163, 169		Siddhānta, 39.,	132, 134
śāstra-śāstra-śāstra-śāstra, privilege,	272, 281	Siddhānta, 40.,	273 n.
Śāstraśāstra, n.,	83	Siddhānta, 41.,	124
Śāstra-Śāstra, n.,	263	Siddhānta, 42.,	190 n., 193, 194
Śāstraśāstra, Cāka k.,	96	Siddhānta, 43.,	273 n.
Śāstraśāstra, done,	5, 8 n.	Siddhānta, 44.,	115
Śāstraśāstra, n. of Pulakṣa II.,	167	Siddhānta, 45.,	228
Śāstraśāstra, n. of Chakṣa k.,	243	Siddhānta, 46.,	187
Śāstraśāstra-śāstraśāstra, n. of Vijayagupta k.,		Siddhānta, 47.,	13 n.
Śāstraśāstra, 182, 180		Siddhānta, 48.,	246, 247, 248
Śāstra-Khambha (or —Śāstra), Śāstra,		Siddhānta, 49.,	290
Śāstra, 1206, 293 n.		Siddhānta, 50.,	63
Śāstra, co.,	271, 278	Siddhānta, 51.,	189, 190 & n., 191, 193, 194, 195, 196
Śāstra, vi.,	103	Siddhānta, 52.,	190
Śāstraśāstra, Śāstraśāstra or Śāstraśāstra,		Siddhānta, 53.,	63
di.,	103, 105, 106, 110	Siddhānta, 54.,	75
Śāstra, s. n. god Śāstra,	278	Siddhānta, 55.,	273 n., 274 n.
śāstraśāstra-śāstra, privilege,	107, 109, 112	Siddhānta, 56.,	24, 25
śāstraśāstra-śāstra-śāstra, do.,	136, 272	Siddhānta, 57.,	190 n.
śāstra—		Siddhānta, 58.,	184
Gilma (Gishma),	61	Siddhānta, 59.,	187
		Siddhānta, 60.,	103, 110

	PAGE
Sikata, Pāṇoga,	262, 259
Silāhara, sp., . . . 29 & n., 30, 31, 32, 33 n., 197, 193, 228, 269, 270, 271 n., 272 n., 273, 277 n., 279, 281	
Silāhara, s. n. Silāhara,	273, 274
Silāhara, s. n. Silāhara,	275, 276
Silāhara Caves,	266
Silappadigaram, Tamil work,	181 n.
Silera, s. n. Silāhara,	277
Siluri, tax,	31, 20
Sinabadi, n.,	108
Sinhā, m.,	108
Sinha, s. n. Pallava & Kopperudijaga,	113
Sinhala, s. n. Singara,	191, 192, 193 & n.
Sinhā-Varishad, division of the Kalirashad,	193, 164
Sintha-parishad, s. n. Sinha-parishad,	169
Sintha-parishad, s. n. Sintha-parishad,	169
Sindhavarada-rajanika, n.,	173
Sinhaverman, Pallava k.,	179
Sinda, dy.,	108 & n.
Sindharaja, Chōdamita k.,	191, 192
Sindharaja, Paramara k.,	123, 132
. . . (S)inga-Ikram, n.,	286, 288
Singam,	281
Singara, Yādava k.,	121
Singya-Nyaka k.,	183, 184 & n.
Singapura, n.,	65
Sinimantir Plates (larger),	284, 285
Sripurman Palace of Anandavarma,	57 & n., 58
Surya Devi, Chāitanya q.,	100 & n.
Surya Devi, Sinda y.,	100 & n.
Surpur, . . . 19, 20, 115, 117, 118, 119 & n.	
Surpur Inscription of Vāsati,	115
Surpur Lakshminata Temple Inscription,	97 n.
Surpur Stone Inscription,	116 n.
Sura, n.,	204, 206, 214
Surgupta, l.,	184
Suvai, n.,	205, 206, 210, 214
Suvai Grant of Govinda III, . . . 204, 212, 213 & n., 214 & n., 216	
Siva, god, . . . 13, 83, 102, 115, 119 & n., 122, 123, 130, 133, 134, 142, 154, 182, 183, 185, 196, 178, 183, 188, 188, 190, 191, 194, 206, 223, 226, 228, 241, 208, 262 n., 273, 274, 278, 287 n., 294	
Sivagupta, s. n. Mañd-Sivaguptarāja,	122
Sivagupta, s. n. Simmanti k. Mañd-Siva- gupta I.,	249, 351, 258
Sivaliga,	85
Siva-tiga, depicted over inscription,	275
Sivalingaka, n.,	20
Sivamatha, s. n. & Sivamatha,	248 n.
Siva-Mahātīrtvarama, Kadamba k.,	39 n.
Sivananda II, N. Ganga k.,	145
Sivamatha, k. of Kesakoti,	245, 247

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	PAGE		PAGE
Bannath,	182	Śatādharmā,	281
Bogaladhara, s. n. of Sparasobhadra,	103	Śrīvallabha, <i>Pāṇḍya</i> k.,	285
Boue East-Bank, L.,	222	Śrīvallabha, son of Gōvinda IV,	106
Bumpur, state,	248, 250	Śrīvallabha, son of Bhadrakāśa k. Gōvinda III,	10, 15
Bumpur or Bumpur Raj, ci., s. n. ca. Sparasobhadra,	248, 250	Śrīvallabha, son of Vākpati Muṣṭa,	108, 119
Bonilaga, vi.,	190 & n.; 191, 193, 194, 195	Śrīvastava-Kāyastha, caste,	224, 230
— <i>apamāṇa</i> , privilege,	21, 87, 120, 201	Śringavarapukōta, vi.,	56, 59
— <i>apamāṇa</i> , do.,	14 n., 109, 152, 201, 201	Śringavarapukōta Grant of Amantavarman,	64
Bopura, vi.,	103, 106, 110	Śruti, s. n. Pado,	82, 98, 99, 103, 164, 227, 200 & n.
Borak Inscription,	190 & n.	Śruti, <i>Bhadrakāśa</i> ch.,	11 & n., 12 n., 215 & n., 216, 283, 284, 295, 296, 297
— <i>śruti</i> <i>śruti</i> , privilege,	223	Śruti, <i>Bhadrakāśa</i> k.,	144
Bori, vi.,	197, 201 & n.	Śruti, <i>Tōrpa</i> , s. n. Thamb-Tōrpa,	42, 43
Bor-dandapāṇi,	201	— <i>śruti</i> , evidence on soil,	72
Bor Plate of Mahārāja Bhāmadatta,	200	Śruti, L.,	277, 278
Bor Plate of Mahārāja Śaṅkharāya,	201	Śrūtātārka, off.,	201, 202, 203
Bor Plate,	198	— <i>śruti</i> ,	289 & n.
Bor Plate of Śaṅkharāya,	202	Śrūtāṅga, author,	217
— <i>śrūtāṅga</i> <i>śrūtāṅga</i> , privilege,	103, 211, 221	Śrūtāṅga, vi.,	158, 161
— <i>śrūtāṅga</i> , <i>śrūtāṅga</i> ,	190	Śrūtāṅgarādhya, <i>Bhāma</i> k.,	201
Śrāvasthādharma, vi.,	103, 106, 108, 110	Śrūtāṅga, son,	109, 203
Śrāvasth, s. n. Śrāvasth,	103	Śrūtāṅga, <i>Vākpati</i> 's <i>śruti</i> ,	101, 154
— <i>śrūtāṅga</i> , " <i>śrūtāṅga</i> "	79, 80, 149	Śrūtāṅga, <i>śruti</i> , L.,	149
Śrī, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Lakṣmi,	72	Śrūtārāja, s. n. Mahā-Śrūtārāja,	22 n.
Śrīhavana, vi.,	206, 209, 215, 216, 218, 220, 227	— <i>śrūtāṅga</i> , " <i>śrūtāṅga</i> "	179
Śrīlata, m.,	157, 159	Śrūtāṅga, monk,	29
Śrīlata, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Lakṣmi,	182 n.	Śrūtāṅga Inscription,	207
Śrīlata, <i>śruti</i> ,	215, 221	Śrūtā, <i>śruti</i> ,	120, 227, 249
Śrīlata Dhātava, <i>śruti</i> ,	215, 221	Śrūtā, s. n. the Buddha,	117, 198, 199, 200
Śrīlata Kāṣṭhika, m.,	224, 225	Śrūtā, son,	223, 224, 230
Śrīlata Kāṣṭhika, <i>śruti</i> ,	271, 272	Śrūtā, son,	160, 169, 169
Śrīlata Mahā, m.,	106, 110	Śrūtā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	243
Śrīlata Mahā, m.,	152 n.	Śrūtā, s. n. Chola (1),	116 n.
Śrīlata, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	108, 112	Śrūtā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	187, 188
Śrīlata Mahā, work,	271 n.	Śrūtā,	190, 199
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā,	223
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā of Mālika,	223
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā of Dola,	187 & n.
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā Mahā, m.,	8 n.
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā, depicted on inscription,	271, 273, 274, 278, 279, 281
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	— <i>śruti</i> , evidence on soil,	67
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā Plate of Kāṣṭhika,	59
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā Mahā, son,	38
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā Mahā, <i>Pāṇḍya</i> k.,	285
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā Mahā, <i>Pāṇḍya</i> k. L., m.,	38, 37
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> ,	33 n.
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā, vi.,	262
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā, <i>śruti</i> ,	152
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā, <i>śruti</i> ,	103
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā, m.,	105, 109
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.	Śrūtā, " <i>śruti</i> of gods " s. n. Śrūtā,	215, 253
Śrīlata Mahā, s. n. <i>śruti</i> Śrī,	271 n.		

	PAGE
Burapura, s. a. Amaravati.	254
Burapura, m.	271
Surat Plates of Vyāghraśarma.	12 n.
Śāravita, Pārumāra śā.	133
Śāradika, l.	271, 274 & n.
Śāra, pōl.	249, 285 n.
Śāradāva, 1897.	199, 202
Śāryavarmā, Maṅgharī k.	115
śāra, s. a. śāra.	241
śāradikā, 'mason'	234, 238, 292
śāra, s. a. śāra.	241
Śānta-śāradika, Buddhist work.	241, 242
Śānta-śāra, Buddhist work.	241, 242
Śānta-śāradika, ep. of Gaṇḍarīditya.	31, 23 & n.
Śānta-śāra, m.	2, 3, 7
śānta-śāra, 'goldenmith'	87
Śānta-śāra, m.	240, 250 & n., 262, 263
Śānta-śāradikā, s. a. of Gōvinda IV.	194, 196
Śānta-śāradikā, m.	107
Śānta-śāra, dī.	129
Śānta-śāra, m.	151, 159
śānta-śāra, 'sign-mant'	111, 153
Śānta-śāradika, dī.	168
śānta-śāra, m. śānta-śāra.	78
śānta, 'member of a guild'	283
Śānta-śāradika.	107
śānta-śāra, 'goldenmith'	143
śānta-śāra, m.	275, 272, 281, 283
śānta-śāra-śāradika-śāra-śāra, m.	112
śānta-śāra-śāradika-śāra-śāra, m.	109
śānta-śāra-śāradika-śāra-śāra, m.	120, 201
Śānta-śāra, m.	79, 89
Śānta-śāra, s. a. pōl Śānta-śāra.	125, 123, 130
Śānta-śāra, m.	100, 110
Śānta, s. a. m. Śānta.	204, 208 & n.
Śānta, m.	78, 70, 281, 202, 204, 206
Śānta, s. a. m. Śānta.	206
śānta, m. m. m. m.	3
śānta, m. m. m. m.	1

T

t.	9, 74, 88
t. dī.	9, 53, 57, 81, 110, 156, 162, 213, 261, 263, 290
t. m. for t.	10
Takṣa-śāradika, work.	233, 234
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	226 & n., 227
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	129, 131
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	187, 190, 201, 202, 203, 291
Takṣa-śāra, m.	97
Takṣa or Takṣapura, m.	29, 30, 31, 33, 275

Takṣapura-śāradika, ep. of Śānta-śāra k.	275, 276
Takṣapura, m.	278, 279
Takṣa, m.	142 n.
Takṣa, m.	142 & n., 143
Takṣa II. W. Chakṣa k.	142
Takṣa-śāradika, 'chief of guild of oilmen'	138, 140
Takṣa-śāradika, work.	46 & n.
Takṣa, 'Arab'	151 & n., 154 n.
Takṣa, m.	229
Takṣa-śāradika Inscription of Pāṇḍita k.	23
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	23
Takṣa or Takṣa, E. Chakṣa k.	107
Takṣa-śāradika, dī.	129
Takṣa, s. a.	109
Takṣa, m.	11 n.
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	201
Takṣa-śāradika, s. a. m. Takṣa.	11 n.
Takṣa, m.	13
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	14 n.
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	10, 13, 16
Takṣa, m.	170, 177, 178, 180, 181
Takṣa, m.	178
Takṣa literature.	175 & n., 176, 178, 180
Takṣa-śāradika, l.	190, 204
Takṣa, s. a. m. m.	229
Takṣa-śāradika, 'copper plate'	104
Takṣa-śāradika, 'copper plate'	54, 55, 100, 108, 202, 203
Takṣa-śāradika, 'copper plate'	129
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	21, 121, 143, 249, 251, 254, 255
Takṣa, m.	78, 79, 89
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	163, 166, 169
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	30, 37, 39
Takṣa, s. a. Takṣa.	144 n.
Takṣa, 'heated' or 'engraved'	158, 161, 202, 203
Takṣa, s. a. m.	105
Takṣa-śāradika, s. a. Ārya-Takṣa.	293
Takṣa-śāradika Rock Inscription.	224
Takṣa-śāradika, dī.	115, 120 & n., 122
Takṣa-śāradika, work.	233
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	39
Takṣa, m.	129 n.
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	233
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	287, 288
Takṣa, m.	141, 143
Takṣa Copper plate.	37, 38
Takṣa Lamp Inscription.	289
Takṣa Silver Scroll.	37, 41
Takṣa-śāradika, m.	271
Takṣa Plates.	58 n.
Takṣa Plates of Dāśarathavarmā.	75, 76, 77 n.
Takṣa Plates of Indravarmā.	78 n.

	PAGE		PAGE
Turmhka, 'Mohammedan',	183, 185	upadhyaya,	28, 221, 229, 230, 278 & n., 274 & n., 275
Turruā, s. o. or Turvuk,	290 n.	Upalabdhā, vi.,	142, 143
Turvuk, vi.,	230 & n.	Upalata, vi.,	141, 142
Tusā, vi.,	20	Upasādhā,	89, 107, 109
Tutshi Falls,	224	upāsādhā,	17, 142, 160, 211
Tyāgadhāra, mt. of E. Chāitkya & Indravat-		Upasādhā, Kṛtī's mt.,	30
man,	103 n.	Upasādhā, off.,	70 & n., 120 & n., 131, 157, 159, 201, 202, 203, 204, 208, 211
U		Upasādhā,	154
u, initial,	123	upastha,	44, 45 & n.
u, medial,	9, 74, 81, 212, 254 n., 260, 267 n.	Upasādhā, off.,	106
u, medial, used for ā,	113	Upasādhā, s. n. of Vākyā,	223, 269
ā, medial,	9, 74, 137	Upasādhā, s. n.,	124, 125, 131
upādhā, s. n., 'pasturist cow',	33 n.	upādhā, s. n. 'Upasādhā hall',	39
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	227
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	102, 279, 280
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	280 n.
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	274, 279, 280 & n.
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	178
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	23, 280, 281
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	61, 63
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	60 n.
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	280
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	54
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	61 n.
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	23
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	100
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	103, 104, 105
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	280, 281, 282
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	143
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	23 n., 39
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	23 n., 39
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	281
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	74, 75, 77
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	100, 201, 202
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	278
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	280, 281
Upādhā, s. n.,	143, 152, 155	Ura, s. n.,	270
V			
v, initial,	9, 53, 67, 68, 130, 213, 254 n.		
v, used for ā,	2, 10, 38, 53 & n., 98, 74, 102, 124, 141, 156, 198, 203, 231, 249, 255, 251, 263, 265, 267, 280		
vādhā, 'saying',	180, 190 & n., 191, 194, 195, 196		
vādhā,	199		
vādhā,	213		
vādhā,	271 & n.		
vādhā,	287, 288		
vādhā,	284 & n., 285		
vādhā,	11, 16		
vādhā,	236		

	PAGE		PAGE
Vaiśaṇṭhīputra, metonymy of <i>Gaṇa</i> & <i>Saith</i>		Vijayāṇḍi Grant of Jaitila-Parāṇaka-Naṇḍi-ja-	
varman,	53 & n.	ḥaraya,	178
Vaiśaṇṭhīputra, metonymy of Bakṣivarmaṇ,	89	Vijāṅ, ca.,	110 & n., 258
Vaistupāla, minister,	191	Vijāṅ or Vijāṅmaṇḍala, ca.,	57, 69, 89 n.,
Vaishṇavīka, author,	241	92 & n., 95, 163, 167, 206, 209, 213, 216, 217 n.,	
Vaiśāṇḍya, m.,	100, 109	218, 220, 207	
Vaiśāṇḍya, m.,	223, 229	Vijayakṛpā, m.,	230, 238
Vaiśāṇḍya, <i>Sāhitya</i> & <i>śāstra</i> ,	30	Vijayakṛpā, m.,	273, 274
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	270	vijāṅ, error for <i>vijāṅ</i> or <i>Vijāṅ</i> ,	69 & n., 73
Vaiśāṇḍya Nāyaka, m.,	273, 274	vijāṅ, 'courtesan',	69, 73 n.
Vaṇa, <i>śāstra</i> ,	46	Vijāṅkar Vṛta,	287, 289
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	199, 203	Vijāṅgarā, m.,	157, 158, 160
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, & n. <i>Vaiśāṇḍya</i> ,	232	vijā, tax,	23, 24
Vaiśāṇḍya, m.,	11, 12, 15	vijāṅ, tax,	289, 289
Vaiśāṇḍya, m.,	173	vijāṅ, tax,	28, 27
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, m.,	157, 158, 160	Vijāṅka, m.,	10, 13, 16
vijāṅ,	277, 278	Vijāṅka or Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>father of</i>	
Vaiśāṇḍya, & n.,	207, 210, 204	śāstra,	237, 240, 241
Vaiśāṇḍya, m.,	206, 212, 213, 214, 222	vijāṅka, 'nagana',	241, 242 & n.
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	157, 158, 160	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>Buddhist work</i> ,	241, 242
Vaiśāṇḍya, m.,	273, 274	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>Buddhist work</i> ,	241
vijāṅ, & n. <i>vijāṅ</i> (?)	276 n.	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	201, 203
Vaiśāṇḍya, & n. <i>Vaiśāṇḍya</i> ,	174 n.	Vijāṅka, m.,	84, 117 & n., 118
Vaiśāṇḍya, m.,	174 n.	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	159, 201
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	174 n.	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	30, 32, 23 n.
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	214, 222	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163
Vaiśāṇḍya, & n. <i>Vaiśāṇḍya</i> ,	109	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	164	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya,	3, 7, 89, 98, 99, 103, 103, 164,	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya,	205, 210, 214 n., 287, 289, 293, 293	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya,	80, 98, 99, 253, 253	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	91	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya,	10, 26, 44 n., 102, 102,	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya,	106, 107, 208, 218	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya,	53, 55, 94 n., 103, 103, 104	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya,	74, 77, 94 n., 105, 106, 109	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya (white),	20, 149	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya, <i>śāstra</i> ,	273 n., 276	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	179	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	17, 152, 211, 223	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya, & n. <i>Vaiśāṇḍya</i> ,	13, 206, 218	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya, & n. <i>Vaiśāṇḍya</i> ,	43, 44, 51	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya, <i>śāstra</i> ,	47	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya, <i>śāstra</i> ,	23	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya, <i>śāstra</i> ,	96	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	282 n.	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya, & n.,	28, 27	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya, <i>śāstra</i> ,	24	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍya, m.,	103, 107	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	96	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	144	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169
Vaiśāṇḍyaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	282	Vijāṅkaśāstra, <i>śāstra</i> ,	163, 164, 169

	PAGE		PAGE
Vikramāditya, a. n. Chalukya & Vikramāditya,	227	Vikramāditya, work,	222
Vikramāditya, Chola & ,	98	Virajika, m.,	73 n.
Vikramāditya I. Chola & ,	146	Virajika, m.,	74
Vikramāditya, H. do.,	147	Vishakhadatta, drama,	20, 21
Vikramāditya, K. Chalukya & ,	167	Vishakhadatta, Gupta & ,	28
Vikramāditya II. K. Chalukya & ,	68, 227	Vishaditya, Chalukya & ,	182
Vikramāditya, son of Chāndragupta II.	82, 94	visarga,	224
Vikramāditya VI. Chalukya & ,	109	visarga, changed to s,	224
Vikramāditya, ,	188 & n.	visarga, mark of punctuation resembling —,	204
Vikramāditya, Vikramādityavarman, a. n. Vishnu-		visarga, omitted,	10, 115, 207, 201, 205, 209
Isana & Vikramādityavarman II,	81 & n.	visarga, superfluous,	21 n., 201, 208
Vikramādityavarman, work,	134	visarga, used for punctuation mark,	173
Vikramāditya, a. n. Vikrama,	227, 228	visarga, f. d.,	54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 62, 66, 75,
Vikramāditya, son of Chāndragupta I. Tamil work,	174	76, 78, 80 & n., 83, 84, 97, 99, 102, 124, 128,	
Vikramāditya, son of Vikramāditya I. Gurm-		131 & n., 148, 152, 159, 163, 165, 168, 170,	
derman;	63, 60	184, 185, 186, 201, 202, 203, 205, 221, 201,	
Vikramāditya, Chola & ,	83, 85, 87, 89	202 & n., 204, 206, 208, 275, 270, 290 & n., 291	
Vikramādityavarman I, Vikramāditya & ,	91, 95	Vishakhadatta,	125 n.
Vikramādityavarman II, do.,	88, 91 & n.	vishakhadatta, 'local measure', cf. vishakhadatta,	87 n.
	92, 93, 95 & n.	Vishakhadatta, aff.,	13, 53, 54, 55 & n., 54 n.
Vilakhi, m.,	73 n.	79, 104, 109, 111, 151, 157, 160, 201,	
Villapalekka, m.,	120	202, 203, 210, 220, 224, 228, 231	
Villiyandi, m.,	176	Vishva, m.,	43
Villiyandi inscription,	176, 177	Vishva, drama,	51, 54
Viluvayyala, m.,	181, 182, 183	Vishva, god,	18, 20, 21, 24, 71, 82 n., 102,
Vinayachandana, m.,	206, 207, 208, 209	115, 120 n., 124, 177 n., 182 n., 240,	
Vinayachandana, m.,	11	223, 224, 228	
Vinayachandana, m.,	105	Vishva, m.,	106, 110
Vinayachandana, m.,	82, 83 n., 84, 85, 87	Vishva, m.,	200, 218, 219 n.
Vinayachandana, Gupta & ,	71	Vishva, m.,	110
Vinayachandana, m. and Gupta,	230	Vishva, m.,	80 n.
Vinayachandana, Gupta & ,	88, 92	Vishva, m.,	81, 90, 94, 95, & n.,
Vinayachandana, work,	34, 35	92 & n., 94 n., 95 & n., 96, 110	
Vinayika, m.,	84 n., 167, 183, 206, 211, 214 n.,	Vishva, m.,	281
	222, 243, 207	Vishva, m.,	85, 92, 99
Vinayapuri, m.,	157, 158	Vishva, m.,	84
Vinayapuri, m.,	186, 187, 188, 189	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, m.,	23, 27	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, m.,	294	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, m.,	229	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, m.,	180	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, m.,	154	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, Chalukya & ,	101, 102	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, a. n. Kampladitya,	163, 184	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, sign indicating comment being made,	67, 68, 102	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri II, Gupta & ,	177, 178 & n., 181 n.	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, Gupta & ,	178 n.	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, Gupta & ,	100, 201	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, Gupta & ,	180	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, m., measure of capacity,	25, 27	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, m. of Vinayapuri & ,	182	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, m.,	138 n.	Vishva, m.,	81
Vinayapuri, m.,	100	Vishva, m.,	81

	PAGE
Vitadēva, <i>domes</i> ,	124, 129, 131
Vitthala, <i>idol</i> ,	193
Vināyapāṇi Granth, Śaka 1003,	70 n.
Vināyapāṇi Granth, Śaka 1057,	70 n.
Vināyapāṇi Plates of Anantavarman Chāḍḍa- gupta,	70
Vodhūna, s. a. Bōdhūna,	265
vōḍḍ, coin,	138
vōḍḍ, s. a. vōḍḍ,	138
Vōḍḍakāḍḍa, <i>id.</i> ,	64 n.
Vōḍḍapa, <i>domes</i> ,	11, 16, 18
Vōḍḍakāḍḍa, <i>wich</i> ,	192
Vōḍḍakāḍḍa Inscription,	177 n.
vōḍḍakāḍḍa, <i>emn</i> ,	158, 160 & n.
Vōḍḍakāḍḍa, <i>id.</i> ,	72
Vyāghraśāstra, <i>Uchchāḍḍa</i> E.,	171, 172, 173
Vyāghraśāstra, <i>id.</i> ,	173
Vyāghraśāstra, "commentary",	89, 98
Vyāghraśāstra, s. a. Vyāghraśāstra,	276 & n.
Vyāghraśāstra, <i>id.</i> ,	117 n.
Vyāghraśāstra,	17, 21, 53, 58, 66, 87, 87,
89, 99, 121, 211, 222	
Vyāghraśāstra,	129, 131, 265, 267
Vyāghraśāstra, s. a. Vyāghraśāstra,	120 & n.
Vyāghraśāstra, <i>id.</i> ,	273 n., 278 n.

W

Wagon, <i>id.</i> ,	13, 16 n. <i>id.</i>
Wagon, <i>id.</i> ,	13
Wagon, <i>id.</i> ,	118
Wagon, <i>id.</i> ,	263 n., 214, 215 & n., 216
Wagon, s. a. Wagon,	44, 88
Wagon, <i>id.</i> ,	27, 41
Wagon, <i>id.</i> ,	150
Wagon, <i>id.</i> ,	117 n.

Y

Y,	9, 45, 126, 189, 198
y, confused with p,	1
y, doubling of consonant before,	9, 57, 82, 82
y, used for j,	2, 141, 200
Yāgyavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	178 n., 184 & n., 190, 191,
192, 193 & n., 194, 208, 210, 279, 279, 281, 282	
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	20, 21
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	20, 21
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	40
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	108
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	77, 41
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	280
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	108, 107
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	64
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	49
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	251, 252, 264, 266

	PAGE
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	126
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	113
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	47 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	212, 213
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	80 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	90 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	80 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	274 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	172
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	58
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	21, 24, 272 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	271 & n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	277 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	273
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	190, 195, 196
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	289
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	216 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	182, 183, 203
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	281, 282
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	183 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	278, 279
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	272 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	210 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	277 n.
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	184, 187
Yājñavalkya, s. a. Yājñavalkya,	273 n., 278 n.
Yājñavalkya,	271 & n., 272 & n., 273
Yājñavalkya,	274 & n., 278 & n.
Yājñavalkya,	280 & n., 211
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	282, 283, 288
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	282, 283, 288
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	283
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	188, 181, 249
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	189, 203
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	28, 179, 247
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	28
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	18, 22, 27, 289
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	144, 147
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	179
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	124, 249
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	22
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	193, 202, 203
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	249, 253, 255
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	84
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	124, 125, 131
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	62, 82
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	24, 25
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	249
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	89, 89, 89
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	89
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	87
Yājñavalkya, <i>id.</i> ,	27, 28

	Page
Vinadava, <i>donce</i> ,	124, 129, 131
Vitthala, <i>Jelly</i> ,	193
Vinagapatam Grant, Śaka 1003,	70 n.
Vinagapatam Grant, Śaka 1057,	70 n.
Vinagapatam Plates of Amarendraśman Chōḍa- gāha,	70
Vōḥṁa, s. a. Bōḥana,	265
vōḥ, <i>can</i> ,	138
vōḥ, s. a. vōḥ,	138
Vōḥkharahāga, <i>di</i> ,	64 n.
Vōppa, <i>donce</i> ,	11, 16, 18
Vraṭānanda, <i>work</i> ,	192
Vyāḥkharahāga Inscription,	177 n.
vriśakha, <i>can</i> ,	138, 140 & n.
Vriśakha, <i>vāḥ</i> ,	72
Vyāghraśāstra, <i>Uśāḥāḥa</i> &,	171, 172, 173
Vyāghraśāstra, &,	173
Vyāghraśāstra, 'commensary',	83, 98
Vyāghraśāstra, s. a. Vyāghraśāstra,	276 & n.
Vyāghraśāstra, s. a. Vyāghraśāstra,	117 n.
Vyāghraśāstra, s. a. Vyāghraśāstra,	17, 21, 23, 28, 46, 47, 47, 47, 98, 99, 121, 211, 222
Vyāghraśāstra,	129, 131, 262, 263
Vyāghraśāstra, s. a. god Śiva,	135 & n.
Vyāghraśāstra, <i>prist</i> ,	273 n., 279 n.

W

Waggon, <i>vi</i> ,	15, 16 n. add.
Waggon, <i>vi</i> ,	13
Waggon, <i>vi</i> ,	118
Waggon-plates of Plates,	205 n., 214, 215 & n., 216
Waggon, s. a. vi. Vaggon-plates,	44, 45
Waggon Vase Inscription,	37, 41
Wheel of Law, emblem on seal,	150
Wurgan, <i>vi</i> ,	117 n.

Y

Y,	9, 45, 156, 189, 199
y, confused with y,	1
y, doubling of consonant before, —,	9, 37, 62, 82
y, used for j,	2, 141, 205
Yāgya, <i>op</i> ,	178 n., 184 & n., 190, 191, 192, 192 & n., 194, 208, 219, 279, 279, 281, 282
Yājñavalkyaśāstra, <i>donce</i> ,	20, 21
Yājñavalkyaśāstra, <i>donce</i> ,	20, 21
Yājñavalkyaśāstra, <i>donce</i> ,	44
Yaka, <i>vi</i> , cf. Ayaka,	103
Yakha,	37, 41
Yakha Image Inscription,	289
Yamagata, <i>vi</i> ,	105, 107
Yamagata, <i>vi</i> ,	64
Yamagata, <i>vi</i> ,	49
Yamagata, <i>vi</i> ,	251, 282, 284, 286

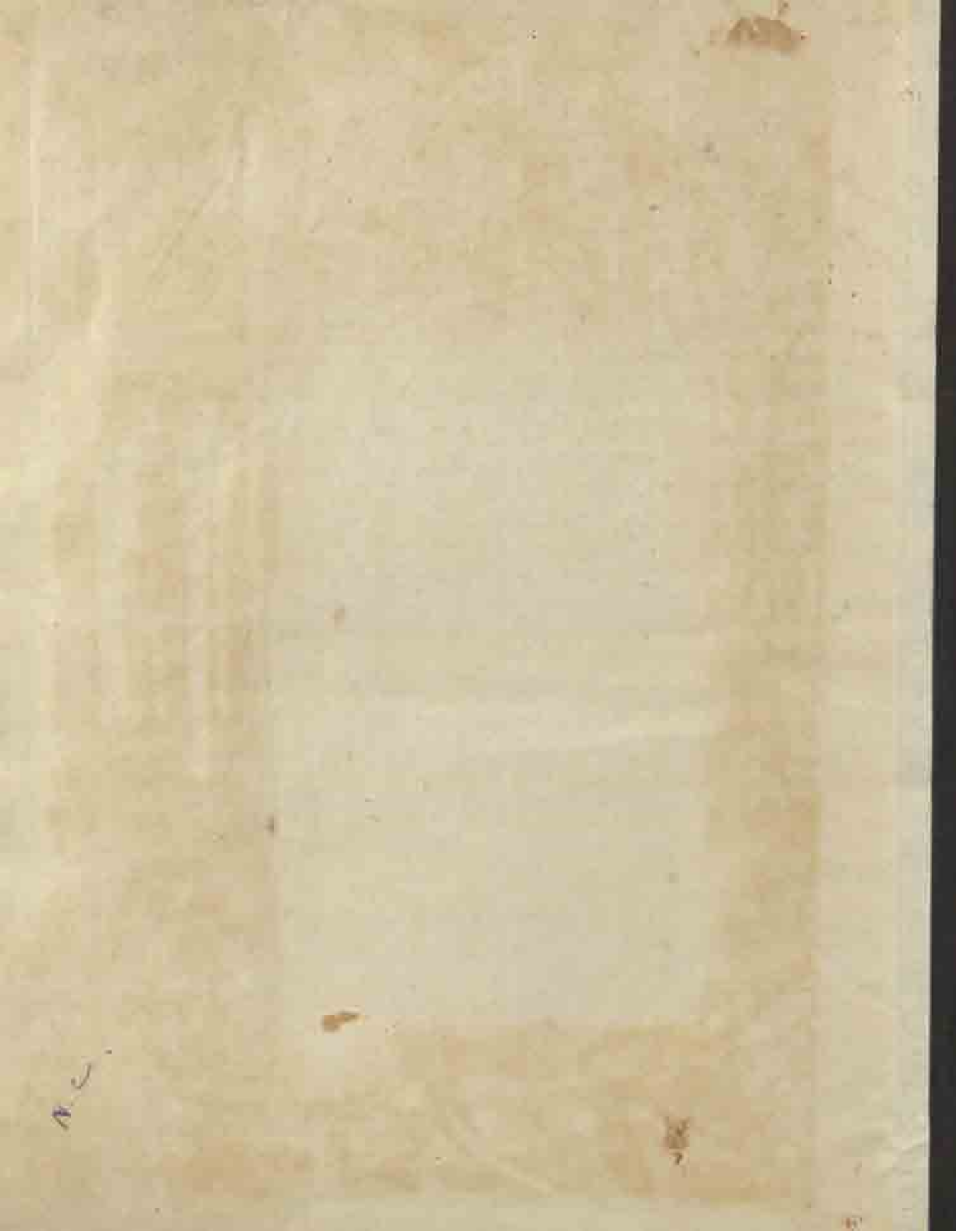
	Page
Yamagata, <i>vi</i> ,	138
Yamagata, <i>vi</i> ,	113
Yamagata, <i>vi</i> ,	47 n.
Yamagata, 'Muhammadan',	233, 239
Yamagata, s. a. Mahā-Sivagupta I,	90 n.
Yamagata, s. a. Mahā-Sivagupta,	90 n.
Yamagata, <i>vi</i> ,	90 n.
years of the cycle:—	
Yamagata,	274 n.
Yamagata,	172
Yamagata,	24
Yamagata,	31, 34, 277 n.
Yamagata,	271 & n.
Yamagata,	277 n.
Yamagata,	273
Yamagata,	100, 193, 196
Yamagata,	280
Yamagata,	216 n.
Yamagata,	183, 183, 203
Yamagata,	281, 282
Yamagata,	183 n.
Yamagata,	278, 279
Yamagata,	277 n.
Yamagata,	216 n.
Yamagata,	277 n.
Yamagata,	104, 107
Yamagata, s. a. Vriha,	275 n., 276 n.
Yamagata,	271 & n., 277 & n., 278
Yamagata,	275 & n., 276 & n.
Yamagata,	205 & n., 211
years, regnal:—	
Yamagata,	283, 284, 284
Yamagata,	283, 283, 284
Yamagata,	283
Yamagata,	158, 161, 249
Yamagata,	199, 202
Yamagata,	26, 176, 249
Yamagata,	24
Yamagata,	19, 22, 27, 249
Yamagata,	144, 147
Yamagata,	170
Yamagata,	134, 249
Yamagata,	25
Yamagata,	199, 202, 203
Yamagata,	249, 253, 254
Yamagata,	94
Yamagata,	124, 126, 131
Yamagata,	82, 87
Yamagata,	24, 25
Yamagata,	249
Yamagata,	89, 96, 90
Yamagata,	90
Yamagata, <i>vi</i> ,	37
Yamagata, <i>vi</i> ,	27, 28

	Page		Page
Yodiballa Inscription,	100 n.	Yōpa, . . . 43 & n., 44 & n., 45 & n., 46, 51, 52	
Yōpa, <i>dates</i> ,	99, 98, 99	Yōpa Inscriptions of King Mahayazman,	43
Yōpavara, <i>com.</i> ,	224, 227, 249	Yuvārāja,	167, 168, 223, 229, 230
Yōpāgalla,	279	Yuvārāja I—Kāyāravardha, Kalachari &,	253, 254
Yuan Chwang, <i>Chinese pilgrim</i> ,	118, 119		
	A n., 241		
Yuddhamalla I, <i>P. Chakradya prince</i> ,	167		
Yuddhamalla II, <i>do.</i> ,	167		
Yuddhishtira, <i>epic hero</i> ,	22, 40, 46, 48, 49, 121, 152, 161		

Z

Zafar Khān, & n. / Musaffir Shāh I, 23





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